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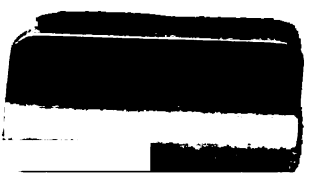

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(BIMONTHLY.)

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WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., EDITOR.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1896.

ART. I.—EDGAR A. POE'S ADDENDA TO HIS "EUREKA," WITH COMMENTS.*

THESE extracts relate to, and constitute a part of, a letter written on February 29, 1848, by Edgar A. Poe to a correspondent still living in one of the States of our Union. Since Professor Stringham, of the California State University, has seen fit to publicly comment upon the matter embraced in these extracts, without having given a clear, comprehensive idea of the text of Poe's *Addenda* (refer to Mr. George E. Woodberry's Life of Poe), it seems but fair to all parties concerned, including such portion of the public as may have read the professor's strictures, that the lack be now supplied by a publication of the hitherto unpublished Addenda.

In the letter referred to Poe writes to his correspondent:

"I presume you have seen some newspaper notices of my late lecture upon the Universe. You could have gleaned, however, no idea of what the lecture was, from what the papers said it was. All praised it as far as I have yet seen, and all absurdly misrepresented it. . . . To eke out a chance of your understanding what I really *did* say, I add a loose summary of my propositions and results.

. . . . . .

"By the by, lest you infer that my views, in detail, are the same with those advanced in the *Nebular Hypothesis*, I venture to offer a few addenda, the substance of which was

*Being *Extracts from Siftings*, by Sieve. Copyrighted in 1889, but not hitherto published.

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penned, though never printed, several years ago, under the head of

"'A PREDICTION.'

"As soon as the beginning of the next century, it will be entered in the books that the Sun was originally condensed at once (not gradually, according to the supposition of Laplace) to his smallest size; that, thus condensed, he rotated on an axis; that this axis of rotation was not the centre of his figure, so that he not only rotated, but revolved in an elliptical orbit (the rotation and revolution are one, but I separate them for convenience of illustration); that, thus formed, and thus revolving, he was on fire and sent into space his substance in vapor, this vapor reaching farthest on the side of the larger (equatorial) hemisphere, partly on account of the largeness, but principally because the force of the fire was greater here; that, in due time, this vapor, not necessarily carried then to the place now occupied by Neptune, condensed into that planet; that Neptune took, as a matter of course, the same figure which the Sun had, which figure made his rotation a revolution in an elliptical orbit; that, in consequence of such revolution—in consequence of his being *carried backward* at each of the daily revolutions—the velocity of his *annual* revolution is not so great as it would be if it depended solely upon the Sun's velocity of rotation (Kepler's third law); that his figure, by influencing his rotation—the heavier half, as it turns downward toward the Sun, gains an impetus sufficient to carry it past the direct line of attraction, and thus, to *throw outward* the centre of gravity—gave him power to save himself from falling to the Sun; that he received, through a series of ages, the Sun's heat, which penetrated to his centre, causing volcanoes eventually, and thus throwing off vapor, and which evaporated substances upon his surface, till finally his moons and his gaseous ring (if it is true that he has a ring) were produced; that these moons took elliptical forms, rotated and revolved, 'both under one,' were kept in their *monthly* orbits by the centrifugal force acquired in their *daily* orbits, and required a longer time to make their monthly revolutions, than they would have required, if they had had no daily revolutions.

"I have said enough, without referring to the other planets, to give you an inkling of my hypothesis, which is all I intended

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to do. I did not design to offer any evidence of its reasonableness; since I have not, in fact, any collected, excepting as it is flitting, in the shape of a shadow, to and fro within my brain.

"You perceive that I hold to the idea that our moon must rotate upon her axis oftener than she revolves round her primary, the same being the case with the moons accompanying Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus.

"Since the penning, a closer analysis of the matter contained has led me to modify somewhat my opinion as to the origin of the satellites—that is, I hold now that these came not from vapor sent off in volcanic eruptions and by simple diffusion under the solar rays, but from rings of it which were left in the inter-planetary spaces, after the precipitation of the primaries. There is no insuperable obstacle in the way of the conception that meteoric stones and 'shooting stars' have their source in matter which has gone off from volcanoes and by common evaporation; but it is hardly supposable that a sufficient quantity could be produced thus, to make a body so large as, by centrifugal force resulting from rotation, to withstand the absorptive power of its parent's rotation. The event implied may take place not until the planets have become flaming suns—*from an accumulation of their own Sun's caloric, reaching from centre to surface, which shall in the lonesome latter days melt all the 'elements' and dissipate the solid foundations out as a scroll.*

"The sun forms, in rotating, a vortex in the ether surrounding him. The planets have their orbits lying within this vortex at different distances from its centre; so that their liabilities to be absorbed by it are, other things being equal, inversely just according to those distances, since length, not surface, is the measure of the absorptive power along the lines marking the orbits. Each planet overcomes its liability—that is, keeps in its orbit—through a counter-vortex generated by its own rotation. The force of such counter-vortex is measured by multiplying together the producing planet's density and rotary velocity; which velocity depends, not upon the length of the planet's equatorial circumference, but upon the distance through which a given point of the equator is carried during a rotary period.

"Then, *if* Venus and Mercury, for example, have now the same orbits in which they commenced their revolutions—the

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orbit of the former 68 million miles, and that of the latter 37 million miles from the centre of the Sun's vortex—; if the diameter of Venus is 2⅜ times the diameter, and her density is the same with the density of Mercury; and if the rotary velocity of the equator of Venus is 1,000 miles per hour; that of Mercury's equator is 1,900 miles per hour, making the diameter of his *orbit of rotation* 14,500 miles—nearly 5 times that of himself. But I pass this point, without farther examination. Whether there is or is not a difference in the relative conditions of the different planets sufficient to cause such diversity in the extents of their peripheries of rotation as is indicated, still each planet is to be considered to have, other things equal, a vortical resistance bearing the same proportion inversely to that of every other planet which its distance from the centre of the solar vortex bears to the distance of every other from the same; so that, if it be removed inward or outward from its position, it will increase or diminish that resistance accordingly, by adding to or subtracting from its speed of rotation.

"Then, Mercury, at the distance of Venus, would rotate in an orbit only $\frac{17}{68}$ as broad as the one in which he does rotate; so his centrifugal force, in that position, would be only $\frac{17}{68}$ as great as it is in his own position; so his capability, while there, of resisting the *forward pressure* of the Sun's vortex, which prevents him from passing his full (*circle*) distance behind his centre of rotation and thus adds to his velocity in his *annual orbit*, would be but $\frac{17}{68}$ what it is in his own place. But that forward pressure is only $\frac{17}{68}$ as great at the distance of Venus as it is at that of Mercury. Then Mercury, with his own rotary speed in the annual orbit of Venus, would move in this orbit but $\frac{17}{68}$ as fast as Venus moves in it; while Venus, with her rotary speed in Mercury's annual orbit, would move $\frac{68}{37}$ as fast as she moves in her own—that is, $\frac{68}{37}$ of $\frac{68}{37}$ as fast as Mercury would move in the same (annual orbit of Venus); it follows that the square root of $\frac{68}{37}$ is the measure of the velocity of Mercury in his own annual orbit with his own rotary speed, compared with that of Venus in her annual orbit with her own rotary speed—in accordance with fact.

"Such is my explanation of Kepler's first and third laws, which laws *cannot* be explained on the principle of Newton's theory.

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"Two planets gathered from portions of the Sun's vapor into one orbit would rotate through the same ellipse with velocities proportional to their densities—that is, the denser planet would rotate the more swiftly; since, in condensing, it would have descended further toward the Sun. For example, suppose the Earth and Jupiter to be the two planets in one orbit. The diameter of the former is (in round numbers) 8,000 miles; period of rotation, 24 hours. The diameter of the latter, 88,000 miles; period, 9½ hours. The ring of vapor out of which the Earth was formed was of a certain (perpendicular) width; that out of which Jupiter was formed was of a certain greater width. In condensing, the springs of ether lying among the particles (these springs having been latent before the condensation began) were let out, the number of them along any given radial line being the number of spaces among all the couples of the particles constituting the line. If the two condensations had gone on in simple diametric proportions, Jupiter would have put forth only 11 times as many springs as the Earth did, and his velocity would have been but 11 times her velocity. But the fact that the falling downward of her particles was completed when they had got so far that 24 hours were required for her equator to make its rotary circuit, while that of his particles continued till but about ⅛ of her period was occupied by his equator in effecting *its* revolution, shows that his springs were increased above hers in still another ratio of 2½, making, in the case, his velocity and his vortical force (2½×11=) 27 times her velocity and force.

"Then the planets' densities are inversely as their rotary periods, and their rotary velocities and degrees of centrifugal force are, other things being equal, directly as their densities.

"Two planets, revolving in one orbit, in rotating would approach the Sun, therefore enlarge their rotary ellipsis, therefore accelerate their rotary velocities, therefore increase their powers of withstanding the influence of the solar vortex, inversely according to the products of their diameters into their densities—that is, the smaller and less dense planet, having to resist an amount of influence equal to that resisted by the other, would multiply the number of its resisting springs by the ratios of the other's diameter and density to the diameter and density of itself.

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Thus the Earth, in Jupiter's orbit, would have to rotate in an ellipse 27 times as broad as herself, in order to make her power correspond with his.

"Then, the breadths, in a perpendicular direction, of the rotary ellipses of the planets in their several orbits are inversely as the products obtained by multiplying together the bodies' densities, diameters, and distances from the centre of the solar vortex. Thus, the product of Jupiter's density, diameter, and distance being ($2\frac{1}{3}$ times 11 times $5\frac{2}{4}$=) 140 times the product of the Earth's density, diameter, and distance, the breadth of the latter's ellipse is about 1,120,000 miles; this, upon the foundation, of course, that Jupiter's ellipse coincides precisely with his own equatorial diameter. It will be observed that that process, in its last analysis, presents the point that rotary speed (hence that vortical force) is in exact inverse proportion to distance. Then, since the movement in orbit is a part of the rotary movement—being the rate at which the *centre of the rotary ellipse* is carried along the line marking the orbit—and since that centre and the planet's centre are not identical, the former being the point around which the latter revolves, causing, by the act, a relative loss of time in the inverse ratio of the square root of distance as I have shown, back; the speed in orbit is inversely according to the square root of distance. Demonstration—The Earth's orbital period contains $365\frac{1}{4}$ of her rotary periods. During these periods, her equator passes through a distance of (1,120,-000×$\frac{22}{7}$×$365\frac{1}{4}$=) about 1,286 million miles; and the centre of her rotary ellipse, through a distance of (95,000,000×2×$\frac{22}{7}$=) about 597 million miles. Jupiter's orbital period has ($365\frac{1}{4}$× $2\frac{1}{3}$×12 years=) about 10,957 of his rotary periods, during which his equator courses (688,000×$\frac{22}{7}$×10,957=) about 3,050 million miles; and the centre of his rotary ellipse, about the same number of miles (490,000,000×2×$\frac{22}{7}$). Dividing this distance by 12 ($\frac{30500000000}{12}$) gives the length of Jupiter's *double* journey during one of the Earth's orbital periods=254 million miles. Relative velocities in ellipse ($\frac{1286}{254}$) 5 plus to 1, which is inversely as the distances; and relative velocities in orbit ($\frac{597}{254}$) 2 plus to 1, inversely as the square roots of the distances.

"The Sun's period of rotation being 25 days, his density is only $\frac{1}{25}$ of that of a planet having a period of 24 hours—that

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of Mercury, for instance. Hence Mercury has, for the purpose now in view, virtually, a diameter equal to a little more than $\frac{1}{12}$ of that of the Sun ($\frac{888000}{25}$=35,520; $\frac{85520}{3000}$=11.84; $\frac{888000}{11.84}$)—say, 75,000 miles.

"Here we have a conception of the planet in the *mid-stage*, so to speak, of its condensation—after the breaking up of the vaporous ring which was to produce it, and just at the taking on of the globular form. But before the arrival at this stage, the figure was that of a truck the vertical diameter of which is identifiable in the periphery of the globe (75,000×$\frac{22}{7}$=) 236 thousand miles. Halfway down this diameter the body settled into its (original) orbit—rather, would have settled, had it been the only one, besides its parent, in the Solar System—an orbit distant from the Sun's equator ($\frac{236000}{2}$=) 118,000 miles; and from the centre of the solar vortex (118,000+$\frac{888000}{2}$=) 562 thousand miles. To this are to be added, successively, the lengths of the semidiameters of the truck of Venus, of the Earth, and so on outward.

"Then, the planets' *original* distances—rather, speaking strictly, the widths from the common centre to the outer limits of their rings of vapor—are pointed at. From them, as foundations, the present distances may be deduced. A simple outline of the process to the deduction is this: Neptune took his orbit first; then Uranus took his. The effect of the coming into closer conjunction of the two bodies was such as would be produced by bringing each so much nearer the centre of the solar vortex. Each enlarged its rotary ellipse and increased its rotary velocity in the ratio of the decrease of distance. A secondary result—the *final* consequence—of the enlargement and the increase was the propulsion of each outward, the square root of the relative decrease being the measure of the length through which each was sent. The *primary* result, of course, was the drawing of each inward; and it is fairly presumable that there were oscillations inward and outward, outward and inward, during several successive periods of rotation. It is probable—at any rate, not glaringly improbable—that, in the oscillations across the remnants of the rings of vapor (supposing that these were not *completely* gathered into the composition of the bodies), portions of the vapor were whirled into satellites, which followed in the last passage outward.

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"Saturn's ring (I have no allusion to the rings now existing), as well as that of each of the other planets after him, while it was gradually being cast off from the Sun's equator, was carried along in the track of its next predecessor, the distance here being the full quotient (not the square root of the quotient) found in dividing by the breadth to its own periphery that to the periphery of the other. Thus, reckoning for Uranus a breadth of 17 million, and for Saturn one of 14 million, miles, the latter (still in his vaporous state) was conducted outward (through a sort of capillary attraction) $\frac{14}{17}$ as far as the former (after condensation) was driven by means of the vortical influence of Neptune. The new body and the two older bodies *interchanged forces*, and another advance outward (of all three) was made. Combining all of the asteroids into one of the *Nine Great Powers*, there were eight stages of the general movement away from the centre; and, granting that we have, exact, the diameters and the rotary periods (i. e., the densities) of all the participants in the movement, the measurement of each stage, by itself, and of all the stages together, can be calculated exactly."

Having now given Poe's "Addenda" transcribed from the letter referred to, we in turn will venture to do a little proving upon those assumptions-for-criticisms of Professor Stringham, which we cite, substantially in full, as follows:

"Poe's purely scientific speculations are mainly contained in the unpublished 'Addenda' to a report of a lecture on 'The Universe,' sent to a correspondent. . . . They exhibit, once more, Poe's tenacity of mind—the sleuthhound persistence of intellectual pursuit; but, like his metaphysics, they represent a waste of power. They are, moreover, characterized by extraordinary errors. Some of the data are quite imaginative, it being impossible to determine what are the facts. Some of them are quite wrong. The density of Jupiter, for example, in a long and important calculation, is constantly reckoned as two and a half; whereas it is only something more than one fifth; and the densities of the planets are described as being inversely as their rotary periods; whereas in any table of the elements of the solar system some wide departures from this rule are observable.

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"Again, it is stated that Kepler's first and third laws 'cannot be explained upon the principle of Newton's theory;' but in fact they follow by mathematical deduction from it. Poe's own explanation of them is merely a play upon figures.

"A striking instance of fundamental ignorance of astronomical science is his statement, at various places, that the planets rotate (on their own axes) in elliptical orbits, and the reference he frequently makes to the *breadth* of their orbits (the *breadth* of their paths through space), agreeably to this supposition. Such a theory is incompatible with the Newtonian law of gravitation, according to which any revolution in an elliptical orbit implies a source of attraction at the focus of the ellipse. . . . To make the proper rotations of the planets themselves take place about a focus, which would be merely a point moving in an elliptical orbit about the sun, would be to give them an arbitrary motion, with no force to produce it."

This complaint from Professor Stringham presents three distinct items, two of which can be met by plain, easy arithmetical ciphering; while the other horn of the dilemma may be knocked off through logical reasoning from presumably approved premises. Before commencing our surgery we will propound two or three direct questions *at* the professor. Is not the "table," to which you call attention, that *old one*, measuring compactness in precise accordance with Newton's rule for fixing gravitating tendency—that is, by finding the ratios of distances from the centers of gravity (the phrase being, here, convertible into centers of density!)? Did not the table record Mercury as the closest-grained; Venus, next; Earth, third; so on, outward? Have not you (judges in the case) already taken wide "departures" with respect to the three planets named? If you have discarded one part of the regulation, what feasible ground have you for holding to any other part?

The undisputed premises of which we spoke are, that the planets were originally diffused particles, and that these began to fall together—in other words, took a step toward a rotary movement. Every particle put forth a spring of velocity. The sum of the springs indicates the number of the pieces deposited within a given compass and the narrowing of the spaces among them. Condensation and speed of descent go abreast. Swift rotation necessarily *means* correspondingly near contact.

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As to the mathematical deduction of Kepler's two laws from the Newtonian code, this code declares that gravity is multiplied in exact proportion to the square of decrease in distance; that the same drawing force is (was) the cause of the planetary revolutions about the source of itself. Then by inference which cannot truthfully be gainsaid these revolutions must be hastened in complete union with the application of the enlarged power—that is, orbital velocities *are obliged* to be accelerated *by square;* "whereas" Kepler *demonstrates* that the augmentation is gauged by the *square root.*

As to the breadths of elliptical rotary orbits, let the professor start the earth upon her course about the sun. Her center coincides with a point of the approximately even—*unswitched*—curve of her average orbit. He insists that such position is kept, *always*—that the height from that center to the equatorial periphery of her figure will be forever that from the pivot to the circle of rotation. Well, she advances along the orbit at the rate, say, of 67,000 miles per hour. Take notice that this is the measure of the center's progress. Of course, since the axial turning (also forward) continues, the circumference *has to go* a little faster. Surely the critic will need no farther guidance by us to enable him to *deduce mathematically* (by a "play upon figures"?) the inevitable fact that each rotation will be performed in fewer than twenty-three minutes, hence that there will be more than 23,000 "days" in a single "year" (reckoning radius of orbit 93,000,000 miles).

By consulting some of the recent issues of the London periodical entitled *Nature* Professor Stringham will discover that the selfsame ill-begotten *elliptical monster*, exorcised by him from the "Addenda," has been offered in attempted elucidation of the *lifting of latitude*, discussions of which he no doubt has read. Our closing advice to him is that he construct a machine consisting of an unbalanced wheel upon an axle; that he ascend with it in a balloon; set it revolving, withdraw the axle, letting it down whirling. Will—can—it describe any other than elliptical figures? Furthermore, is it possible for him to even *imagine* (intelligently) the formation of a perfect sphere, such as his plan provides for, out of atoms hanging loose and huddling indiscriminately in space?

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Art. II. —AN INSPIRING CHAPTER IN METHODIST HISTORY.

Since the Primitive Methodist Connection, after a very successful existence of eighty-five years, seems likely soon to end its separate career the time is favorable to review its history. Negotiations for a union between it and the Bible Christians have so far progressed that the time cannot be distant when they will fully come together under some such name as the "Presbyterian Methodist Church" or the "Methodist Union Church," both of which have been proposed by the committee. Since the Primitives have, according to the latest returns, 196,324 members (besides some 5,000 probationers), together with 462,856 pupils in Sunday schools, and the Bible Christians have 34,047 members, with 56,222 in the Sunday schools, the combination would give certainly a body with more than 750,000 adherents, if not well toward a million. And this union will be, we trust, but the prelude to that larger amalgamation which shall blend the more than two millions of Wesleyan Methodists and the half million of smaller Methodist bodies into one grand consolidated Church, that will swing clear of all coquetry with the semi-Romanized Anglican Establishment and take its rightful place, in self-respectful dignity and aggressive power, at the head of the truly Protestant forces of the empire.

Exceptions have often been taken by Wesleyan Methodists to the name "Primitive Methodists," adopted by the new organization in 1812, as though it contained an unfair reflection on the older body. But we think history will justify the appellation. John Wesley said at Chester, in April, 1790, after exhorting the preachers to go into the streets and lanes of the city, as well as under the trees and hedges of the country, that all might be brought in, "This is the way the primitive Methodists did." And this was peculiarly and specifically the way adopted by those who followed Messrs. Bourne and Clowes in 1807 and after. Moreover, it was for doing this these leaders were cast out of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection. The camp meeting held on Mow Hill in Cheshire, Sunday, May 31, 1807, was the beginning of the offense; and the refusal of its promoters to cease these irregular operations, by

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which great numbers were converted, sealed their fate. They felt that they must listen to what they regarded as the voice of God rather than the voice of man; and they deemed that they were genuine followers of that great innovator and open-air preacher, John Wesley, who was ready at any time to throw routine and regularity to the winds if he might only save more souls. So they went steadily on, perfectly satisfied that the work was of the Lord, and that good but mistaken men would not be permitted to overthrow it. The issue fully justified their opinion.

Great as are the wonders connected with the rise and growth of Wesleyan Methodism in the eighteenth century, they are more than paralleled by the facts brought out in a study of the beginnings of Primitive Methodism in the nineteenth century, which was an equally marvelous revival of true religion. The latter movement, while not headed by men of such ability and distinction as led the former, had nevertheless leaders who were in a very marked degree men of God, and it showed even a more rapid progress. Tyerman * is authority for the statement that at Wesley's twenty-fourth Conference, in 1767, twenty-eight years after Methodism was founded, there were 41 circuits, 104 itinerant preachers, and 25,911 members, being an average gain of less than one thousand members a year. Whereas at the fourth Primitive Methodist Conference, in 1823, thirteen years after the formation of the first class, there were 45 circuits, 202 itinerant preachers, and 29,472 members, being an average annual gain of more than two thousand. Taking a longer period of comparison the result is the same. In 1781, which was forty-two years from 1739, the year in which Mr. Wesley's societies actually begun, the number of members in the Wesleyan Connection was 44,461. The number in the Primitive Methodist Connection after forty-two years, that is, in 1852, the date of the founder's death, was 109,984. In 1799, sixty years after the beginning of Wesleyan Methodism, the number of members in the society was 107,752; in 1867, sixty years from 1807, the earliest beginnings of Primitive Methodism, the numbers in society were 155,247. Of course it may be urged that the population of the country was not so numerous in Wesley's day, that the principles of religious liberty were not so well understood, and that—what

* *Life and Times of John Wesley*, vol. ii, p. 609.

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perhaps most of all kept down the numbers of his societies—Mr. Wesley was so strongly attached to the Church of England as to very seriously oppose the rise of a new denomination. But, on the other hand, it should also be said that the Primitive Methodist preachers had nowhere such audiences as attended the Wesleys and Whitefield, nor the help which the latter's learning, eloquence, and prestige afforded; nor had they by any means such a free field on which to operate, since they were obliged to follow another body of similar doctrines and principles that had already largely taken possession of the country; yet their members were not drawn from this other body, but from the wholly neglected, unevangelized masses. So, on the whole, the comparison cannot be accounted an unfair one. And it serves at least to awaken a desire to know by what means, under what circumstances, through what instrumentalities, these marvelous successes were achieved. The story is one of stirring incident and thrilling interest.

Messrs. Bourne and Clowes have been mentioned as founders and leaders. They were, indeed, a remarkable couple, neither of whom could well have been spared. It is not possible to enter here into the details of their lives, but a sketch must be given. Hugh Bourne, the chief impelling spirit of the movement, came into the world April 3, 1772, and left it October 11, 1852. He was a poor man, a carpenter, with very few natural advantages of any kind, and not converted till he was twenty-seven. But the sequel showed that he had within him a mind of no ordinary strength, as well as a heart that burned with zeal for the Master. Being led of the Lord, as he firmly believed, to inaugurate in England what had proved so useful in America, open-air, all-day religious services, or camp meetings, he was not one to draw back at opposition; and, although the establishment of a new denomination was at first the farthest possible from his thoughts, as he took step after step under providential guidance, he came at last to see that there was no other way. He was compelled after a little to give up his business, that he might devote his whole time to evangelistic labors and the general superintendency of the rising cause. No toil was too heavy, no service too menial, no journey too long, no expense too great for him, if only the Master's work could be promoted. His journeys were almost always on foot.

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It is probable that no man ever walked so many miles in the prosecution of Christian enterprise. He kept this up to the last of his long life, chiefly, it would seem, because he was unwilling to spend money on his own comfort or convenience that might be, as he thought, more advantageously expended on other objects. It was owing mainly to his judicious counsels, his pious example, and his tireless industry that matters moved forward so well. He looked after everything. He was hard at it, early and late, now rectifying abuses, now reclaiming backsliders, now organizing schools or building chapels, now visiting families, now preaching with all his might. He struck out a set of rules for the government of the societies, he established a tract society, he prepared a hymn book, he was connectional editor up to the time of his superannuation, in 1842. His was the master mind appealed to on almost all occasions, his was the guiding hand that rarely failed to find the right channel for the ecclesiastical ship. He had great legislative talents. Without his sagacity, energy, and determination it is scarcely possible that the connection could have conquered its early difficulties. He chiefly constructed its polity, shaped its laws, and enforced the stringent measures that were necessary for the general good. For strong faith and prayerfulness, self-denial and generosity, energy and zeal, he has rarely been surpassed.

William Clowes was born March 12, 1780, and died March 2, 1851, just sixty years after the departure of Wesley. After a wild and reckless youth he was powerfully converted in his twenty-fifth year. He speedily became a tremendous exhorter, heartily united with Bourne in holding camp meetings, and soon developed into the chief preacher of the movement. His exertions were enormous. He was emphatically a shouter, and would labor till his strength failed night after night, after working hard all day from six to six at his temporal calling, which was pottery. When arrangements were made for him to give his whole time to evangelistic effort, extensive revivals followed his work and there were large ingatherings. At the first Conference of the Primitive Methodists, in 1820, the membership was 7,842; at the second it had become 16,394; in 1822 the number was 25,218; in 1823 the membership was 29,472, and at the fifth Conference, in 1824, it was 33,507. This was most amazing growth, a development from about 4,000 in 1819

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to over 33,000 in 1824. It was too rapid to be healthy, and the rate could not be continued. But it shows that there had been sweeping revivals, and among those who promoted them Mr. Clowes was foremost. His career as a preacher was brief but brilliant. His labors were exhausting, his economy was rigid, and the strains to which he constantly subjected his physical energies, combined with the excesses of his youth, soon laid him aside in premature decay. He had to be located in 1827, at Hull, where he spent the last twenty-four years of his life. His preaching was original, his power in prayer extraordinary, his heavenly-mindedness most marked. All recognized him as a man of eminent holiness, who lived the Gospel as well as preached it. Bourne was the Wesley, Clowes the Whitefield of the new Methodism, or like Bunting and Newton in later Wesleyan days. Both were great and good; each supplemented the work of the other. One was the organizer, legislator, administrator; the other was the pioneer missionary, the breaker-up of fallow ground. One had the penetration, foresight, tact, and grasp of the commander in chief; the other the heroism, dash, and fire of the general of division or the cavalry commander. Both were actuated by a pure and ardent desire to extend the Redeemer's kingdom.

How were their labors, and those of their coadjutors, received by the British public of that day? In a way that would hardly be credited did not authentic records bear unimpeachable testimony to the facts. They worked mainly among the ignorant, vicious, degraded masses, whose savage brutality found in their unresisting meekness plentiful opportunity to disport itself. The clergymen and magistrates, being as a rule much more scandalized by irregular ways of doing good than by any amount of wickedness, generally took the part of the mobs against the preachers. Indeed, they often set the rabble on, instead of restraining them, giving orders for the bells to be rung, the drums to be beaten, and the fire engines to be played, that the evangelists might be driven out of town and the cause of the devil properly maintained. Dangerous bulls were let loose to break up the congregations. Stones, clods, filth, and rotten eggs were used with the utmost freedom, and sometimes with fatal consequences. Poor men who opened their cottages for religious services often had their windows

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and doors torn out, and an appeal to the magistrates not only brought them no redress, but subjected them to greater injuries from those who were encouraged by the attitude of the officials. The preachers were very frequently knocked down, kicked, beaten, and trampled under foot by ruffianly rioters, escaping with their lives as by a miracle. They endured pouring rain and pelting hail, the extremities of winter's cold and summer's heat, sleeping under the open sky when people were afraid to give them shelter, and going for days with scarcely any food, because no one would sell to them. They saw the inside of a great many prisons, but their enemies made nothing by it; for they took joyfully both the spoiling of their goods and the casting out of their names as evil, knowing that they had in heaven a more enduring substance; and, like the apostles, they were glad that they were "counted worthy to suffer dishonor for the Name." Jeremiah Gilbert wrote, "Within the last fifteen months I have been taken before magistrates for preaching the Gospel six or seven times; but I have never lost anything but pride, shame, unbelief, hardness of heart, the fear of man, love of the world, and prejudice of mind. I have always come out of prison more pure than when I went in." Mr. Bunn was committed to Bury jail for ten days on an unfounded charge of obstructing the highway. Even the prisoners were indignant at this shameful defiance of law and justice, one of them remarking to Mr. Bunn, "Sir, they sent you here for trying to do good, and me for doing harm." When George Stansfield was sent to Dover jail for seven days for preaching in the streets the prisoners thought, from his dignified appearance and gentlemanly bearing, that he was come to inspect the prison, and were astonished beyond measure to learn that he was to be confined as a criminal for praying and singing. Another, Mr. S. Waller, sentenced to imprisonment for three months, was taken severely ill, and through the neglect of the prison doctor his life was seriously imperiled. But kind friends bestirred themselves, and he was brought back from death's door. Mr. Isaac Hedges received twenty-one days' imprisonment with hard labor, being charged with blocking up a public foot-path, though he had simply preached to five persons in front of a wheelwright's shop, seventeen feet from the middle of the road. Mr. Thomas Russell, in 1830, for selling a few maga-

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zines and hymn books without a hawker's license, was sentenced to three months' hard labor in Abingdon House of Correction. Arriving there, he was stripped before the doctor like a vile criminal, dressed in prison clothes, and placed among the felons. In a short time his health was so greatly impaired that he could not relish the food provided, and his hands bled from the cruel irons. But the unfeeling medical attendant only said, "Here he came to be punished, and here he must be punished." His case was brought before the Religious Protection Society of London, and in a month he was released. When the agent of the society asked him what he wished done about it he replied, "All I wish is to go on preaching unmolested by the magistrate," which was secured to him. Mr. James Bonser was jailed a good many times. When liberty was offered him on condition that he would promise to preach no more in the streets he replied that he would sooner die in prison than make such a promise. Unable to sleep for the cold, having only a few boards and a little straw to lie upon, he walked about and sang the praises of God, like Paul and Silas, declaring to those who tried to stop his noise that, though his body was confined, his tongue was at liberty. Summoned before the bailiffs at the Town Hall, and severely threatened, he defied them, maintaining that he had done no wrong; and, after much consultation together, having totally failed to intimidate him or extract any promises or fines from him, they were obliged to set him at liberty, "finding nothing how they might punish" him. Mr. Joseph Reynolds, after being trampled by a crowd, had his clothing torn and all his money taken from him. In consequence of which he says:

I have been obliged to suffer much hunger. One day I traveled near thirty miles, and had only a penny cake to eat. I preached at night to near two thousand persons. But I was so weak when I had done that I could scarcely stand. I then made a supper of cold cabbage, and slept under a haystack in a field till about four o'clock in the morning. The singing of the birds then awoke me, and I arose and went into the town, and preached at five to many people. I afterward came to Cambridge, where I have been a fortnight, and preached to a great congregation, though almost worn out with fatigue and hunger. To-day I was glad to eat the pea husks as I walked on the road. But I bless God that much good has been done. I believe hundreds will have to bless him in eternity for leading me hither.

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These are but a few specimens of hundreds that might be given. Such was the heroic character of the earnest, unlettered men whose deeds fill the earlier annals of the Primitive Methodist Connection, and such were the things they were called to endure. They were plain, humble souls, with little education and no polish, but all the better adapted on this account to reach the classes that most needed them. These classes required the truth of the Gospel to be delivered in strong, blunt language, with homely illustrations, great earnestness of manner, and much depth of feeling. Smooth sentences and fine diction would have been thrown away. Rugged bodies and great powers of endurance, together with fervent souls, were more needed than highly cultivated minds. They were well endowed for the work they had to do. They did it well. In some cases they were protected by the officials; in other cases powerful nonofficial friends were raised up; in all cases they were entirely confident that the Almighty was with them. The Acts of the Apostles find a wonderfully complete parallel in these Methodist chronicles. The ignorant were enlightened, the fallen were uplifted, the lost were saved.

The denomination was introduced into Scotland in 1826, into Canada in 1829, into Ireland and the Channel Islands in 1832, and in various later years into Australia, New Zealand, and Africa, where it has had good success. In England, where the early hardships were so severe, it has experienced large prosperity. Great changes have taken place. Instead of preaching chiefly in the open air or resorting to kitchens and cottages, barns, and factory lofts, there are now nearly forty-six hundred connection chapels, besides twelve hundred and eighty other chapels and rooms. Many of these chapels or churches are spacious and elegant structures. The value of the Church property is more than three and a half million pounds. The congregations have correspondingly improved in intelligence, wealth, and social influence. The salaries and allowances of the preachers are more than double what they were, and their education, if not their abilities, has greatly increased. Elmfield College was established near the city of York in 1863, and Bourne College, Birmingham, was opened in 1876. Both together provide for 240 pupils. There is a ladies' college at Chapham Common, London, and a theological institute at Man-

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chester. The Book Establishment at London is flourishing, its profits being nearly £5,000 a year, mainly devoted to the superannuated ministers' fund. There is a general chapel fund, a chapel loan fund, and a chapel aid association, all of which are doing good service in helping to erect new chapels and pay old debts. A Connectional Fire Insurance Company was formed in 1867, with a capital of £20,000. The interest on the investments is more than twice as much as the fire loss in ordinary years, and large grants are made to needy chapels. The Missionary Society celebrated its jubilee in 1893, and a thanksgiving fund of between forty and fifty thousand pounds was then raised, one fourth of it going to the missions.

The doctrines of the Primitive Methodists are precisely the same as those of the Wesleyan Church, and the polity is not widely different. There are twelve legal members of the Conference, instead of one hundred. The preachers are stationed by the District Meetings instead of by the Annual Conference, but there is an appeal to the latter body, which makes any needful alterations. Both the District Meetings and the Conferences are made up in the proportion of two laymen to one traveling preacher. The system of government thus contains a very unusually large admixture of the lay element, and is in most respects substantially Presbyterian.

It has been said that the most striking peculiarities of the connection are: (1) The vast amount of unpaid labor performed by laymen; (2) The influence of the laity in Church government; (3) The devoted and zealous attention paid to the lower classes. Another has mentioned lay agency, female preaching, and open-air work as the three usages to which the present strength and efficiency are due. Still another (Mr. Petty, the chief historian of the Church) says: "The main secrets of the success of the denomination are, under God, its extensive and persevering labors, and its spirit of earnest piety, ardent zeal, and glowing charity." Labors there certainly were of an almost incredible amount. Says Mr. Petty:

> Each traveling preacher is expected to pray with thirty or forty families a week at least, on an average, for the year round; and we have reason to believe, from an extensive examination of official documents for a number of years, that though a few of the preachers have not equaled the amount a greater number have considerably exceeded it, and the majority have not

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fallen short of it. Evangelical and pastoral labors so abundant, performed with energy and zeal, and accompanied by the blessing of God, will account in part for the multitude of souls which have been brought to the Lord and united to the denomination.

Mr. William Garner, whose record the historian regards as a fair example of the labors of his brethren in general, in the space of twenty-one years, from 1823 to 1844, traveled on foot, with trifling exceptions, 44,936 miles, and preached 6,278 sermons. These journeys did not include his daily perambulations in the towns and villages where his lot was cast, nor did the sermons include exhortations and addresses. When it is remembered that these journeys were made without reference to the weather, to meet fixed appointments, some under a scorching sun, some through depths of winter snow, some in drenching rains, the amount of toil and endurance indicated will be the better realized. And many of the local preachers, we are assured, were scarcely inferior to the traveling ones in their devotion to the work.

We deem it a most inspiring history. The movement was certainly from on high; not a split or secession from any other body begun in ill-will or springing from disappointed ambition, but an earnest, heaven-born desire to promote by unusual methods the salvation of those masses who were not being reached by ordinary agencies. A similar movement in our own day has taken the form of the Salvation Army, and its spread has doubtless been one of the causes which have somewhat checked, in recent years, the growth of the Primitive Methodists. It may be that, as a separate denomination, they have about run their course and done their work. That course has been most honorable, that work has been most important. Whatever the future has in store for them, the record of their past will long be studied, when men would be thrilled by noble deeds and incited to the largest outlay of all their powers for God.

James Mudge.

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ART. III.—THE FORCES WHICH DETERMINE CHARACTER.

IT is claimed by some so-called "liberal" advocates of Christianity that the time has come to reconstruct its creed on a more rational basis. Thus the Rev. J. Llewellyn Davies says:

> I believe that it will be entirely to the advantage of Christianity that we should dismiss the idea of the "miraculous" from our contentions and our thoughts. The claim made in the name of miracles has had a pestilent effect upon the Christian cause. We are all familiar with the logical argument: our Lord and his apostles wrought miracles; miracles could only be wrought by supernatural power; it is at our peril if we refuse to accept the authority of those who had supernatural power at their back. Such an argument obviously challenges the keenest criticism of the evidence in favor of the alleged miracles—the kind of criticism with which we sift reports of modern miracles, if indeed we think it worth while to criticise them at all. It suggests to us to refuse belief to the Christian creed until we are satisfied that the evidence for the miracles is such as could prove the most improbable things to the most scientifically skeptical mind.

But why do Mr. Davies and others of his school desire the abandonment of miracles as one of the evidences of the truth of Christianity? The reason assigned is that "it is futile to enter into controversy about the Trinity, or miracles, or the efficacy of prayer, or the relation of science to religion, with those to whom there is no Father in heaven, and to whom Christ is a well-meaning enthusiast." Is it true, however, that the dismissal of these purely theological questions from the field of controversy would conciliate the opponents of the supernatural? There remains the vital question as to the forces which determine character. Professor Huxley, the champion of scientific agnosticism, declares that, if the Church would renounce miracles, he would estimate as highly as anyone "the purely spiritual elements of the Christian faith." His admirers refer to him as among "the thousands of men, not the inferiors of Christians in character, capacity, or knowledge of the questions at issue, who will have nothing to do with the Christian Churches on the ground that the evidence in support of the improbable things which the gospels relate appears to them utterly inadequate."

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Yet, while the disciples of Professor Huxley profess to estimate highly the "purely spiritual elements of the Christian faith," they reject the claim of any supernatural agency in developing these "elements." The agnostic school admits that the dispositions which minister to the higher life of mankind are peace, joy, patience, hope, love, and reverence—all of which are Christian dispositions and embodied in the life and teachings of Jesus. But how these elements are developed in the human heart and produce the highest type of moral character is the question at issue, involving a controversy as bitter as any waged about miracles. Indeed, the same difficulty concerning supernaturalism presents itself.

Christianity adopts as fundamental the words of Christ addressed to Nicodemus, "Ye must be born again," and holds to the theory of a spiritual birth, which is not in accordance with natural law, but is supernatural, and therefore miraculous. As the agnostic school rejects the reality of Christ's physical miracles, it, of course, rejects his doctrine of the new birth, a moral miracle and the greatest of all. Christianity teaches that those virtues or dispositions which form the best type of moral character are the fruit of a regenerated heart, while the Huxleyan philosophy asserts that they are the fruit of evolution, or result from the operation of purely natural forces. The fundamental proposition of evolution is that "the whole world, living and not living, is the result of the mutual interaction, according to definite laws, of the forces possessed by the molecules of which the primitive nebulosity of the universe is composed." In other words, man is an automaton, and simply acts out of the human nature which comes to him by heredity. What he feels and what he does at any moment are the results of his inherited nature and the external forces influencing him. Everything is determined by that which precedes it, and hence could not be otherwise than it is. Effects in the ethical as well as the material world are the inevitable outcome of their antecedents. Morality is, therefore, the product of the interaction of the primary forces. According to this theory all men, the wisest and the most foolish alike, feel and judge and act as the primary forces intended they should. But Christianity teaches that man, instead of being a machine in God's universe, was created in the divine image, and is, therefore, a free moral being

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capable of choice, influenced by motives, and susceptible of regeneration. Surely this exalted estimate of him, even though Christianity deals with him as fallen and in need of moral renovation, is in striking contrast with the view of the fatalistic philosophers who pretend to believe in the perfection of human nature. Nor will the Christian Church abandon the doctrine of the supernatural work of the divine Spirit in human hearts and thus deny the experience of the hundreds of millions of its devotees from the time of Christ to the present. Herbert Spencer asserts that the inherent natural forces will gradually and necessarily improve mankind, and cannot fail to produce a perfect society. He seems to regard the world as a garden to be cultivated and filled with fragrant flowers and luscious fruits, forgetful that weeds will there spring up abundantly and prevent the growth of flowers and fruits. But Christianity goes to the foundation and pulls up the evil by the roots. It recognizes the fact, taught by Christ and confirmed by human experience, that sin has introduced into the soul degrading forces which tend to individual and social ruin.

The Christian religion, considered only as a system of ethics entirely divorced from the supernatural, is superior to the agnostic philosophy because it enthrones conscience and makes a distinction between right and wrong. Mr. W. S. Tilly, while anxious to win to Christianity the so-called "determinists," does not indorse their ethical system. He says:

> The old conception of conscience as the formal principle of ethics, the internal witness of the supreme Judge, "a prophet in its informations, a monarch in its peremptoriness, a priest in its blessings and anathemas," is put aside as outworn rhetoric. The moral sense, we are assured, is not primitive, is not innate, but a mere empirical fact transformed and established by heredity; a "phenomenon" (so they call it), variable and varying with the exigencies of the race. General utility, the good of the species, is then the only scientific and experimental criterion of human action, the sole rule of right and wrong; and morality consists in the apprehension of that principle and in conformity with it. And so John Morley, in his book on *Compromise*, dogmatically affirms that "moral principles, when they are true, are only registered generalizations from experience." Human society, in the view of this sage, is not an organism, but a machine; just as the individual men of whom it is composed are machines, a kind of company, as some one has happily expressed it, which insures against risks by applying the principles of solidarity and reciprocity, the taxes being the premium. And, as right springs

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from the fact of living together, so duty springs from the necessity of living together. This agrees with Bentham's doctrine that what we call crime is really a miscalculation, an error in arithmetic.

How can men become better in heart and life, thereby promoting their own welfare and that of society, unless there be a higher standard than mere utility? It is not true that they can be induced to forsake evil and practice virtue because they believe that the latter course is the more profitable. A genuine reform in character results from a sense of duty to love and obey God as he is revealed in conscience and nature, agnosticism not conceding that he speaks in any verbal or written message. In proportion that man's responsibility is recognized to conscience as the tribunal which decides the quality of human conduct, in that proportion society will be elevated. But the school of "determinism," which treats ethics as a branch of physics, entirely ignores duty and responsibility as applicable to man. The only duty imposed on him by society is to avoid that which is detrimental to the general welfare. Beyond this he has no responsibility. Mr. Cotter Morison, an advocate of this theory, while repudiating moral responsibility as unscientific and absurd, virtually admits that human nature is capable of being modified by training for better or for worse. He says: "The sooner it is perceived that bad men will be bad, do what we will, though of course they may be made less bad, the sooner shall we come to the conclusion that the welfare of society demands the suppression or elimination of bad men and the careful cultivation of the good only." This concession that men "may be made less bad" is a recognition of the Christian doctrine that they can attain a higher type of character by the operation of spiritual forces. Of course, if bad men may be better, they must be free to choose; but how can they do so if, according to "determinism," "positivism," or "naturalism," they are automatic machines and products of a necessary evolution? Mr. Morison's plan for the purification of society is unique, if not humane. He says: "Society has the right to suppress the bad man in some effectual way, and, above all, prevent his leaving a posterity as wicked as himself." And again, "The soldier who deserts in presence of the enemy is deservedly shot. In civil life there are forms of criminality which are

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worse than desertions; they are open hostilities to the best interests of humanity." Mr. Morison is not guilty of scientific consistency in his proposed method of exterminating the criminal classes, or even bad men not on the criminal list. If they are machines, and morality is the product of molecular forces, bad men are not to blame for their inherited natures. Herbert Spencer, however, does not favor the "suppression or elimination of bad men," but prefers to deal otherwise with the criminal classes and trust to penal reform as more in harmony with an enlightened and humane age. He expects the world to become better and happier by social evolution, the good finally predominating, on the principle of "the survival of the fittest."

How much more rational and humane is the Christian method of removing the evils of individual and social life! Christ sympathizes with man and appeals to his better nature, not regarding him as a machine, incapable of choosing between right and wrong, but as a free moral agent, possessed of a conscience and convinced of his responsibility. This estimate of even "bad men" invests them with a dignity which the agnostic philosophy does not recognize. Mr. Morison candidly admits that modern society is threatened with ruin, but his remedies are inadequate. Crime is rampant and defiant, corruption in public office abounds, and unrest in labor circles is unprecedented. What is needed is that there be preached with greater emphasis the teachings of Christ concerning love to one's neighbor, which implies love to God. The practice of the "golden rule" requires that best type of character which is the product of the "purely spiritual elements of the Christian faith," so highly praised by Professor Huxley.

The great defect in all existing systems of reform is the tendency to overlook, or minify, the heinousness of sin and to silence the voice of conscience. Even the pulpit is exalting the religion of culture, and is ignoring the absolute necessity of the "new birth." In seeking to eliminate the miraculous element from the Gospel some so-called reformers in the Christian Church are practically abandoning the doctrine of the supernatural work of the Spirit in human hearts. Mr. Davies —who, in his able paper on "The Higher Life—How is It to be Sustained?" makes such an eloquent plea for Christianity

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and exposes the errors of agnosticism—shows commendable zeal in his efforts to popularize the Christian faith, but thus far the conversion of agnostics and materialists to his reconstructed system has not been encouraging. Evidently he is a believer in the divine Christ, though he would not urge men to accept Jesus because of his mighty works as recorded in the gospels. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, in referring to this Gospel, he says:

> By presenting the Son of man as divine it makes every man sacred and dear to his fellow-men. It gives an entirely satisfying law of life, a sure basis of duty, a universal and progressive morality. It so far explains the sufferings and trials of life as to induce them to bear them with a refining patience. It holds out a light from beyond the grave which dispels the gloom of death. It opens a fount of joy too deep to be exhausted.

Surely a Gospel which has offered such possibilities to men in all lands and ages is a more exalted system than the mere vaporings of shallow philosophers. It is a provision for world-wide need; it is of supernatural origin.

H. H. Fairall

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Art. IV.—DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINE IMMANENCE.

The last word will never be spoken respecting the relation of God to his universe. Whoever thinks and writes on this great theme must do so with the understanding that he will not fathom the whole truth. It has been the problem of thoughtful minds in all ages, and many have derived from it a maximum of mental training who have reached only a minimum of truth. The problems involved cannot be settled by any preeminence of intellectual ability, or by a consensus of philosophical opinion, for the greatest minds of the race have neutralized their influence by discrediting each others' theories. It is not a question that can be decided by expert testimony. We may well distrust anyone who sets himself up as a final authority on account of any preeminence of philosophical grasp. Yet, whatever the difficulties which beset this problem, thoughtful men cannot and ought not to ignore it. They must think and study, and perchance God will give them a measure of truth.

In these times of unfettered speculation the ocean is traversed by numberless currents and cross-currents, while the air is boisterous with gales and cyclones. It may be well to see whether the Christian doctrine of God's immanence in nature maintains its anchorage or whether in this respect we are drifting with wind and tide. A belief in this immanence assumes that God created all things, and concerns itself with his relation to the universe after creation. Was he so closely related to his universe as to lose his identity in it? Did he create a vast machine which could run without his further care? Or, did he construct a universe distinct from its Creator and yet needing his constant guidance and control? Christian thinkers have generally given an affirmative answer to the last question.

We may look to John Wesley for a brief statement of the doctrine of God's immanence in nature:

> He is the true God, the only cause, the sole creator of all things. . . . And as the true God he is also the supporter of all the things that he hath made. He beareth, upholdeth, sustaineth all created things by the word of his power; by the same powerful word which brought them out of nothing. As this was absolutely necessary for the beginning of their existence, it is equally so for the continuance of it; were his almighty influence withdrawn they could not subsist a moment longer. Hold up a

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stone in the air; the moment you withdraw your hand it naturally falls to the ground. In like manner, were he to withdraw his hand for a moment, the creation would fall into nothing. As the true God he is likewise the preserver of all things. He not only keeps them in being, but preserves them in that degree of well-being which is suitable to their several natures. He preserves them in their several relations, connections, and dependencies, so as to compose one system of beings, to form one entire universe, according to the counsel of his will. How strongly and beautifully is this expressed: Τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν, "By whom all things consist," or, more literally, "By and in him are all things compacted into one system." He is not only the support, but also the cement of the whole universe. I would particularly remark (what perhaps has not been sufficiently observed) that he is the true author of all the motion that is in the universe. To spirits, indeed, he has given a small degree of self-moving power, but not to matter. All matter, of whatever kind it be, is absolutely and totally inert.*

This statement covers the ground of God's relation to material things. Mr. Wesley implies, but does not directly state, that the same relation exists between the Creator and created spirits. "He is also the supporter of all things that he hath made," whether in the realm of matter or spirit. He grants to created spirits a certain measure of freedom, but not such as to make them independent of the Creator. God is so necessary to the existence of the universe that were he to withdraw himself for an instant it would vanish into nothingness.

The doctrine of the divine immanence mediates between the extreme, on the one side, of an absolute transcendence which represents God as holding aloof from the universe, and the extreme of pantheism, on the other side, which degrades God to a level with the universe and loses him in it. We must not permit the true doctrine to be cumbered with objectionable notions, but must guard it from all misleading bypaths. In order to fortify ourselves in this belief let us look at a few considerations:

1. First, this doctrine is not inconsistent with a true view of transcendence. In fact, any correct view of transcendence must find its proper modification and complement in immanence. It goes without saying that God is above his creation. He does not bring himself to the level of nature by creation and preservation. A philosopher who has invented a rat-trap to protect himself from vermin does not bring himself to the level of this simple contrivance because he baits and sets the trap. A

* Sermon of "Spiritual Worship."

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man is above any machine which he is capable of inventing, building, and running.

But we cannot hold to any view of transcendence which represents God as turning away from his universe, and leaving it to run itself. The mechanical theory of God's relation to nature has value for neither philosophy nor religion. If we draw our illustration from the most perfect man-made machine, and press the analogy, it will utterly fail us. A machine cannot run itself. It depends on both God and man for conservation and preservation from destruction. It must be attached to some force of nature in order to run at all, and in order that its materials may hold together. And in attaching it to nature we attach it to God, who is behind and above nature and responsible for it. But in addition to this a man must stand over it and keep it in order. If left to itself it will finish a brief task and cease to run. An engineer starts a train and jumps off; it runs wild for a few hours, stopping at no stations, and probably ends in a smash-up. At best the fires will soon be out and everything come to a standstill. An immense knitting mill, run by water power, is set in motion; the doors are locked and it is left to itself. It is safe to say that in a few weeks, at most, the whole machinery will be a tangled wreck which has come to silence and will never sing again the song of useful industry unless the hand of man is invoked to put it in order. No theory of transcendence is rational which represents God as creating the universe and then leaving it to take care of itself while he looks on, or looks off, with indifference. The mechanical theory of the deists is no solution of the problem of God and the universe. The correct view of transcendence is that which joins with immanence and presents us an infinite, personal God, omniscient, omnipotent, speaking into existence a varied universe and then with fatherly care looking after its interests. The mere fact that we pronounce him infinite and the creation finite declares his transcendence. The Christian doctrine, which represents God as a father stooping from infinitude to superintend the destiny of a planet, a sparrow, a man, is the best exposition of the divine immanence. The two doctrines present a rational and beautiful conception of God, and we may humbly believe that the Creator has taken pains to thus reveal himself to men.

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2. On the other hand, and from the opposite pole of thought, the doctrine of the divine immanence must not be confounded with any form of pantheism. Some Christian thinkers lean toward the absolute transcendence of the deists, for fear that some elements of pantheism are wrapped up in the doctrine of the divine immanence. Many persons see pantheism when it does not exist. It is not necessary to accept the mechanical theory in order to escape pantheism. We need not exclude God from the universe in our endeavors to save his identity from being swallowed up by it. God can keep his hand on nature without losing himself in nature.

Pantheism is a diversified system of speculation, and it would be well if earmarks were attached to its various phases, so that it could be easily recognized. A satisfactory definition of pantheism it is difficult to find. Webster gives this: "The doctrine that the universe, taken or conceived of as a whole, is God; the doctrine that there is no God, but the combined forces and laws which are manifested in the existing universe." While this definition will not be accepted as adequate by many who incline to pantheistic views, it may serve as a starting point.

Dr. McCosh* gives some of the leading phases of pantheism, although he does not claim to follow it into all its "shapes" —"if shape it can be said to have whose very nature is to be shapeless." His first division is "Material Pantheism." Of this theory he says: "According to this it is the mere matter of the universe, with its forces, its life, its thought, as the result of organism, which constitutes the One All, that may be called God." This is simply materialism, which finds whatever God there is in the material universe. There is no personality, of course, in such a God. Dr. McCosh's next division is "Organic or Vital Pantheism." God is the life of the universe. He is the life of the animal, the plant, the man. There is no personality here, but God is simply a life principle animating all things. His next division is "One Substance Pantheism." This is the system of Spinoza, the great apostle of modern pantheism. According to his philosophy God is the only substance, and this substance has two attributes, thought and extension, which correspond to spirit and matter. The God of Spinoza is not a personal being. He is simply the sum of all

* *Intuitions of the Mind*, p. 399.

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things under the phases of thought and extension. It is a misnomer to speak of such a conception as God. Dr. McCosh's last classification is "Ideal Pantheism." This is the opposite pole from materialism, but each is alike frigid, for there is no place in either for a personal God. The material universe is lost in God, and God himself is lost in a system of ideas.

Thus do pantheistic theories sway from the extreme of materialism to the opposite extreme of idealism. Materialistic pantheism makes the "all" of the universe to consist of matter, while idealistic pantheism approaches the problem from the opposite side and construes everything as spirit. But both are alike atheistic, for, in the end, after bewildering speculations, the existence of a personal God is denied. Between these extremes there is room for many phases of pantheistic thought, but in them all the idea of a personal God is buried under the mass of the universe; and an impersonal God is a figment of the philosophical imagination. The God of pantheism, in every phase, is but a myth of philosophical speculation.

Let us now try to state, in a few words, the difference between the immanence of God in nature and pantheism. The doctrine of the divine immanence recognizes a *personal* infinite God. He is distinct from all things; is in no way tangled up with, or lost in, his creation. He stands in his personality above creation, over against nature and separate from it, yet upholding it and controlling it by his wisdom and power. But pantheism recognizes an *impersonal* absolute God. He does not create; he simply exhibits himself in various modes and phases in the universe. He is not distinct from the universe, but confused and confounded with it. The difference is simply immense between an unconscious absolute, evolving itself into the various forms of nature, and a personal God creating the universe and making it so dependent on himself that it must be constantly upheld by his power. It ought not to be difficult for Christian thought to draw a boundary line between two systems so radically unlike. No man need hesitate—through fear that such a doctrine has any fellowship with pantheism or is liable to lead to it—cordially to embrace the belief that God, while above nature, is in nature, upholding and keeping it in existence by his almighty power. Wherever there is a clear recognition of a personal God, of a creation entirely distinct from

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the Creator, and of an active superintendence of nature, there is no pantheism.

3. We may comfort ourselves still further with the thought that the doctrine of the divine immanence is the most reasonable and sensible account that has been given of the relation of God to the universe. Why may not the theories of philosophy be subjected to the test of hard sense as well as other theories? Who will venture to say that a philosopher, bewildering himself with speculation and reaching the conclusion that the whole universe is a delusion, is any better guide than the plain man with common sense who knows no better than to take things as he finds them? Who shall say that the logical faculty, locating its premises in the dark, and relentlessly pursuing its speculations to absurdity and chaos, affords a surer path to truth than the good sense of the mass of mankind? Starting from different premises, this method has led myriads of speculators to contradict each other, and has yielded a plentiful harvest of philosophical confusion and bewilderment, while the good sense of mankind has practically agreed that there is a personal God, and a created universe distinct from God, yet under his superintendence and care. Says Professor Bowne:

> Life abounds in practical certainties for which no very cogent reasons can be given, but which are nevertheless the foundation of daily life. Our practical trust in the uniformity of nature, in one another, in the affection of friends, in the senses, etc., are examples. Numberless logical objections could be raised which reduce all of these to matters of probability; but none of these things move us. The things which we hold, or rather which hold us, with deepest conviction are not the certainties of logic, but of life.*

It may be profitable to place the doctrine of the divine immanence by the side of other theories, which have been claimed to solve the same great problem, and let the good sense of mankind judge between them. Is the doctrine not more rational than the mechanical theory, which represents God as creating the universe with such powers that it can run itself and then turning his back upon it? This theory is liable to the suspicion of trying to eliminate God from the universe. If there is such a personal God as we believe in, who is the Creator of all things, the only rational thought for us is that he is still

* *Philosophy of Theism*, p. 32.

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interested in his creation and is looking after its welfare. When we think of a machine in operation the master's hand and eye are always upon it. Or is the doctrine of the divine immanence not more rational than the pantheism of Spinoza? According to this philosophy God is simply substance, and the only substance—not a person. The material universe and individual beings have no real existence. All that exists is infinite substance, if anyone can conceive what is meant by such a term. Under this theory there is no relation of God to the universe to be explained; and, as we have no real existence, we need not, cannot trouble ourselves with either God or the universe. Does any Christian wish to exchange the doctrine of the divine immanence for the specter of Spinozism? Or shall we prefer the "emanation theory," which pervades all oriental philosophy and represents creation as but an outburst of the substance of Deity, like a jet of gas from the sun, or a mass of matter thrown from a volcano, which after a little time drops back again to the original substance? Shall we conceive of God as projecting parts of himself in various directions, for his own amusement, and then recovering himself at his pleasure? And shall we conceive of ourselves as jets of Deity, thrown out for a little but doomed to be absorbed again in the original infinite substance? Or shall we prefer the subjective idealism of Fichte, which makes the ego the only reality, and construes all else as a product of the imagination? Do we in fancy create our own God and construct the universe to our own liking? Do the trees by the roadside grow in our imaginations and not in the solid ground? Are we the creator, rather than God? Is there no God, no universe, whose relations need explaining? Such is one of the results of philosophical speculation. Are we ready to accept it and lay aside the rational doctrine of Christian theism? Does any form of materialism seem more reasonable than the Christian doctrine of the divine immanence? Are we ready to believe that all the powers of the universe are wrapped up in matter? Or is the theory of blind force back of matter and operating through matter more rational than that of a personal God superintending the universe which he has created? Or will we believe that there is an "unconscious intelligence" at work between God and the universe, as an explanation of their relations? A man has a right to accept such a theory if

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he chooses, but the rest of the world has also a right to ask what possible conception is awakened in the human mind by the term "unconscious intelligence." Are we ready to drop our theism and accept the notion that the "all" of the universe, by a process of evolution, reaches consciousness only in man, and that consequently the universe finds its acme in the human race? Or, with more daring fancy, will we place God at the end rather than the beginning of the series, and consider him the last and highest product of evolution? Will we attribute to the "universal substance" "intelligence and self-existence" without personality? Will we base our philosophy and our religion on a hobgoblin which is impersonal yet intelligent and self-existent? Will it please us better to think that there are no individuals in the universe, but rather an aggregate of life which transiently manifests itself in separate forms? Will it clear our thought to any extent to be told that we are "identical with the absolute," or that we are equal with God? Shall we solve all the problems of the universe by elevating man to God's place and worshiping ourselves or our fellow-men? Or will it dispel the fogs from philosophical speculation to wipe out the universe with one courageous stroke and declare that God, man, matter have no real existence?

Is there anything, in any or all of these theories, to drag the Christian thinker from his moorings? He has a right to scoff at such vapory speculations. In place of all this the common sense of mankind has believed in a personal God, who created the universe, and whose omnipotence keeps it in being. The Christian philosopher may confidently claim that this is the most rational account of God and the universe.

4. Such a discussion as this ought not to terminate without the fact being emphasized that the doctrine of the immanence of God in nature is in harmony with the teachings of God's word. We do not regard Scripture as a handbook of philosophy, but it will never be safe to leave the teachings of the Bible out of the account when making up our conclusions on any subject. Such a course will only invite revision at a later date. Doubtless every theory of science and philosophy will ultimately have to make its peace with the word of God, and so the Bible must be a factor in the discussion of all questions.

An exhaustive argument would make use of a large part of

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the Bible, for its pages are filled with this doctrine. Nothing in Scripture is more frequently or emphatically affirmed than God's creative power and his perpetual superintendence in the affairs of the universe. Material things are molded by his hand as clay takes form under the skill of the potter. Animals are fed and cared for by his bounty. Men cannot escape from his presence. Heaven, earth, and hell afford no hiding place from his all-seeing eye. A few passages will show the trend of Scripture teaching. Look at this sublime utterance: "And, Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the works of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou remainest: and they all shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail" (Heb. i, 10–12). This cannot be construed as merely the poetry of the Old Testament, though it be a quotation from the Psalms, for it finds a place and an indorsement in the New Testament, where its sentiments are repeatedly found, as in Matt. xxiv, 35; 2 Peter iii, 7–10. Here we have clearly taught the great principles of Christian theism—a personal God, a creation, a clear distinction between Creator and creation, and the added thought that the continuance of the one is not dependent on the continuance of the other. There is no pantheism here. A decaying world is not a decaying God. It looks as though God might suffer the world to go to destruction without any harm to himself.

One passage more. Paul was himself a philosopher, and looked into many "things hard to be understood." He did not blink the "mysteries" of life in presenting the Gospel to men; and from his peculiar relation to God, and his superior mental equipment, we might look for a satisfactory solution of the most profound problems. He at one time had a discussion with certain Greek philosophers on Mars' Hill concerning the very question before us, and announced his theory of God and the universe in no dubious terms. Certain of the Epicureans and Stoics took the apostle to the place where the gravest questions were debated, and gave him an opportunity to explain some of the fundamental principles of the Gospel. The Epicureans were materialists. Matter unfolded itself into its various forms without any creating power. Human souls were only a refined

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form of matter. There were gods, to be sure, but they had a good time in the interstellar spaces without any concern for the affairs of the universe. The Stoics were pantheists. With them God and the universe were identical. The universe was but "a period in the development of God" himself. In the face of their theories Paul thrust the wholesome doctrine of Christian theism, declaring a Creator, a created universe, an upholder of all things, a nourisher of nature, and a Father of men: "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshiped with men's hands, as though he needed anything, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; and hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us: for in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring" (Acts xvii, 22–28). Many truths are established in these passages, and they are the very truths that lie in the safe middle ground between pantheism and an extreme view of the divine transcendence. They touch the relations of matter and spirit to the God who created and upholds both.

Such is the teaching of Scripture on this important question, and the Christian may be thankful that the doctrine of the immanence of God in nature, which lays the foundation for the kindred doctrines of divine providence and the fatherhood of God, is both rational and scriptural.

Henry Graham

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Art. V.—DOCTRINE OF THE FUTURE LIFE IN THE BOOK OF JOB.

Belief in God and belief in a future life are the two limbs on which the colossus of religion stands as it strides the mystery of life. These fundamental beliefs seem eternally to join hands, so that a great theologian has remarked, "Theism in all its forms can as little dispense with the immortality of man as with the personality of God." As a deduction from this we would suppose that the philosophy or religion which sees God in clearest light would present the richest, deepest, most adequate doctrine of the future. And as a rule this is true. The philosophy of the eighteenth century, which was preeminently theistic, made the doctrine of the immortality of man, as Erdmann expresses it, "the dogma *par excellence*." But Hegel, whose idea of God is far more misty, speaks rarely and cautiously on the subject; and Comte, whose one absolute certainty is the nonexistence of the absolute, teaches everlasting annihilation rather than everlasting life. In religion, also, we see that the form under which God is conceived determines the specific form of the belief in immortality which is held. Brahmanism, with its pantheistic tendencies, naturally gives rise to a theory of human transmigration, while Zoroastrianism, because it adheres to the idea of a supreme will, emphasizes the doctrine of personal continuance.

In harmony with the general principle just stated we would expect to find in the Book of Job a very clear and adequate revelation of man's immortality; for, if anything is characteristic of this composition, which Carlyle called the "oldest choral melody as of the heart of mankind," it is the splendor of its theism. The consciousness of a personal God is the fundamental *differentia* of Hebrew thought, and nowhere is it displayed more brilliantly than in Job. Even in the most skeptical and despairing passages, where everything rocks and sways, the belief in a personal God is as stable as the position of Gibraltar by the sea. Says Zöckler: "Our best modern theology, in its most approved and philosophical symbols, may be challenged to produce anything surpassing the representations which this ancient writing gives us of God, as a spirit, eternal and unchangeable in his

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being, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth." The book is also given up to the discussion of a question whose enigmas only a true doctrine of the future life can illumine. The writer is a Hercules wrestling with that profound problem which has been handed down the ages, and which has been the ever-recurring specter at the banquet of human thought, "Why do afflictions befall the righteous?" What Job needs, to reconcile him to his fate and to snatch the veil of mystery from the face of the Sphinx, is, above all else, an adequate doctrine of the future; and hence, if anywhere, we have a right to expect that in this book the Hebrew belief will be set forth in a light both full and clear.

Whether this is the case or not is a question on which critical students have widely differed. On the one hand, we have those who, with Dewey, tell us that the writer of this book knew no more of the doctrine of immortality than the Philistines knew of the secret of Samson's strength. Says a somewhat recent review writer: "There is absolutely no knowledge of a future life in the Book of Job." On the other hand, we have writers, like Michaelis and Ewald, who claim that the aim of the book is to teach the immortality of the soul, and by the hope of a future state to reconcile man to the inequalities of the present.

That the author of this "divine drama of the ancient Hebrews" was not as ignorant of the theory of a future life, as the more negative writers affirm, we think can be easily shown from various arguments. (1.) The philosophical presupposition is against it. All peoples, as Cicero so long ago affirmed, seem to have a belief in the continuance of man beyond the grave. Indeed, this belief is not a dogma of religion, or a dogma of philosophy, but is an impulse of man's nature to be reckoned among the primary and necessary religious truths. Says Principal Fairbairn: "To the instinct of a living man, who has not yet learned to reason either from the facts of experience or the data of consciousness, death cannot suggest annihilation, because annihilation is a thought too abstract and repugnant to these instincts to be either intelligible or credible. In such a man faith is stronger than sight; he can conceive and understand life, but not its negation. If he thinks of the dead he thinks of them as living; the very attempt to represent them in thought is an attempt to represent living, not dead, men."

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Now, Job, as a sincere religionist speaking out of his deepest consciousness and strongest feelings, and his friends, who stand like flint for the traditional beliefs, could not have been devoid of a belief in the soul's future existence, although they may not have developed it to more than a shadowy copy of present conditions. (2.) Again, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, Job's people certainly held to such a belief. They had every opportunity to embrace the doctrine, for Abraham came from Chaldea, where a very emphatic belief in the future life existed, as the lamps and remains of food found in their tombs testify. Doubtless the patriarch, before his call, had often united with his ancestors in praying that they might live forever "in the land of the silver sky," while in Egypt, also, the Hebrews must have been impressed with the great truth of future existence; for here the idea passed into the life and ethics of the nation, and was living and palpable. In the fact that the superstition of necromancy, notwithstanding a divine command against it, prevailed for centuries among the Hebrew people, we have a decisive evidence of their belief in a future life. Specific passages also manifest that, even in the oldest parts of the Old Testament, death is never thought of as annihilation, as the completed end of existence. When it is said of Abraham that he is gathered to his fathers certainly more is meant, dying as he did far from his ancestral home, than the possession of a common tomb with them. In David's remark, "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me," the continued existence of his child is taken for granted. The author of Job, being fully in possession of the ideas of his people, could not have diverged from them so as to deny to man a species of immortality. (3.) But that Job held the belief in a future life is clear from a study of certain references in the book itself. Before we treat the more positive passages, however, it is necessary to say a word concerning those references which have been brought forward as implying annihilation. Thus, in chapter vii, 8, Job says to God, "Thine eyes are upon me, and I am not." And again, in chapter vii, 21 (R. V.), he asks, "Why dost thou not pardon my transgression, and take away mine iniquity? For now shall I lie down in the dust; and thou shalt seek me diligently, but I shall not be." In the last of these passages Job simply means that death will soon hurry

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him away, and, unless God shows him a renewal of favor soon, he will have no chance to do this and thus vindicate his ways before men. In the former passage the thought is much the same. That the reference to being no more is not to be taken absolutely he proves by the simile of a cloud, which illustrates the impossibility of a return from sheol, and not the soul's utter destruction. Nor does xiv, 7–12, with other similar passages, give us dogmatic utterances, but popular representations of the grave, such as are still current in literature. In the visible order of nature the dead do not return again, but are consumed and vanish away like the flood. Says a commentator, "In enlarging on this aspect of death the writers of the Old Testament are not stating the real condition of the soul after death, but only its apparent one, as derived from the life we are now enjoying." Otherwise these negative passages would be in contradiction to those which clearly imply continued existence. Some of these passages are the references made to the shades and conditions of life in the underworld, which will be considered in a subsequent paragraph. In such references as that in xiv, 22 (R. V.), which says of man in Sheol, "But his flesh upon him hath pain, and his soul within him mourneth," we have a certain proof that Job thinks of the shades as existing, since he clearly means to indicate their experience of pain and sorrow as inhabitants of the joyless and gloomy underworld. One cannot read the famous seventeenth verse of chapter three without seeing that with Job the dead still in a sense continue their existence. Such a passage as xiv, 13 (R. V.), "O that thou wouldest hide me in Sheol, that thou wouldest keep me secret, until thy wrath be past," could only have been written by one who had some conception of a future life. The old proof text of immortality in xix, 26, 27, is held by many to refer to Job's vindication while he is still on the earth; but, as will be seen when we later examine it, the passage rather refers to a vindication which Job shall behold when he becomes an inhabitant of Sheol.

Still, while it is clear that Job believed in a future life we think those greatly err who place his development of the doctrine almost on a par with the New Testament revelation. It is one thing to have an idea of future continuance, and another to have an evangelical hope of everlasting life. That the latter

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was not possessed by the writer of the Book of Job is seen in the fact that the whole drift of its thought is against the supposition. Says one writer, and we think truly, "If a clear knowledge of the future had been held there would have been no problem, and the book could not have been written." Both by Job and his friends the doctrine of immortality is continually ignored, and that when it is the key to the mystery they are endeavoring to fathom. This doctrine would have wonderfully helped them in reconciling the experiences of life with the righteousness of God. It would have sustained Job in the fiery furnace of his trial. But, instead of this, through the poem runs the minor chord of the sufferer's despair. Job speaks out of the depth of his sorrow, a time when a soul would lay hold for comfort on all it knows; but he continually wraps himself in the densest gloom and hangs about him drapery as dark as a funeral pall, declaring that the thoughts of his heart bring night into the day. He sadly calls corruption his father, and the worm his mother and sister. The grave is his house, and the grave is to him a place where his hopes perish—a thing which he plainly dreads almost as much as his sufferings. Indeed, as we read Job's words we cannot but feel that the darkness of the future which is drawing its curtain about him—for he expects speedy death—is quite as much a cause of his anguish as are his misfortunes. With him, as with the Hebrews generally, the future was utterly without hope, a dire calamity desirable only to put an end to extreme misfortune.

The inquiry, therefore, becomes especially interesting as to what Job did believe on the question of the future life. In chapter xxx, 23, he says, "For I know that thou wilt bring me to death, and to the house appointed for all living." This house appointed for all the living is not simply the grave, but Sheol, "the great involuntary rendezvous of all who live in this world." The word "Sheol" is of disputed derivation. Winer, Hengstenberg, and others think it comes from שָׁאַל, which is equivalent to *poscere*, "to ask," so that the kingdom of the dead would mean that which is insatiable in its demands (Prov. i, 12, Isa. v, 14; Heb. ii, 5). The majority of modern Hebrew scholars, however, find the root of the word in שָׁעָה, which signifies "ravine," or "abyss." Sheol is located by Job, as by the ancients generally, below the earth, since in xi, 8,

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he speaks of its depths. It is a sad and gloomy region, where the dead spread their couch in the darkness (xvii, 13). It is also termed (x, 22, R. V.) "a land of thick darkness, as darkness itself; a land of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness." Here we have as terribly vivid a picture of the superlative gloom of the underworld as when Milton, in his description of hell, writes of "darkness visible." The Vulgate corresponds with Job's idea when it speaks of Sheol as "a murky land covered with the thick darkness of death; a land of wretchedness and obscurities where is the shadow of death and no order, but sempiternal horror dwells everywhere." It is entered through barred gates (xvii, 16; xxxviii, 17), and in its dust its inhabitants lie down (vii, 21; xxi, 26). Although beneath the earth, its location is not known (xxxviii, 19), nor has anyone seen even the shadow of its gates (xxxviii, 17). Throughout its borders confusion reigns (x, 22). There is no exit from it. "He that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more. He shall return no more to his house" (vii, 9, 10, R. V.). Yea, the heavens shall pass away before he shall rise (xiv, 12). In sharp distinction from the land of the living (xxviii, 13), Sheol is pictured as the land of destruction (xxviii, 22). Over it King Silence sways his scepter.

One cannot but notice the similarity of this description of Sheol to that found in the Babylonian poem called "The Descent of Istar." Here the underworld is spoken of as follows:

> The land whence none return, the region of [darkness],
> To the house of darkness, the seat of the god Irkalla,
> To the house from whose entrance there is no exit,
> To the road whose course never leads back,
> To the house whose inmate is shut off from light;
> Where dust is their substance, clay their food,
> The light they behold not, in darkness they dwell,
> They are clad like a bird with a garment of feathers,
> Over the door and bolt is scattered the dust.

Nor does this similarity seem strange when we remember that to a considerable extent the Hebrew religion, although favored with a distinct revelation, grew up on the basis of Semitic thought and worship.

The condition of those in Sheol is drawn by Job in colors

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equally dark with his description of the underworld itself. The departed are termed "shades," which is derived from a word meaning "to be slack, relaxed, exhausted, weak, powerless." Zöckler calls them "the marrowless and bloodless shades or forms of the underworld; the wretched inhabitants of the realm of the dead." Whether the body and soul were thought by Job to be together in Sheol is a question on which commentators disagree; but it is certain that he did not look at the soul as entirely without corporeity. Thus, in xiv, 22 (R. V.), he says of the dead that "his flesh upon him hath pain, and his soul within him mourneth." The idea of abstract spirituality is not found in the views of any early people; it comes only when the philosophic mind has been largely developed. Hence, notwithstanding the attempts of some to so explain this passage as to leave the soul and body separate in Job's mind, it is clear that he regarded the former as retaining a certain residue of its earthly body in the underworld. While the dead have a certain self-consciousness this seems only to extend to a vague realization of their misery, so that Sheol may be appropriately called "the land of forgetfulness." Especially is there no perception of what occurs in the upper world. "His sons come to honor, and he knoweth it not; and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not of them" (xiv, 21, R. V.). Job's idea seems much the same as that in Ecclesiastes (ix, 5, 6, 10), where the dead are spoken of as knowing nothing, and as having no longer a reward, while their love, their hatred, and their envy are perished. Indeed, existence in Sheol is a condition more resembling death than life, and therefore it is often spoken of as a kind of perpetual sleep (xiv, 12). The power of God is sufficient to disturb it (xxvi, 6), and it is a proof of his omnipotence that this is so. Because of this deep lethargy, this semiconscious condition, in which the dead lie, the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest (iii, 17). All classes and conditions of men are blended together, the poor with kings and counselors of the earth who built up waste places for themselves or filled their houses with silver (iii, 14, 15). The differences so marked on the earth disappear. The servant is free from his master, and prisoners hear not the voice of their overseers. As Seneca says, "Death reduces by a just law to a state of equality all who in their

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families and circumstances had unequal lots in life." The thought is similar to that of the Greek poet:

> Where they an equal honor share
> Who buried or unburied are;
> Where Agamemnon knows no more
> Than Irus he contemned before;
> Where fair Achilles and Thersite lie
> Equally naked, poor, and dry.

Our conclusion, then, is that Job looked at Sheol as a dread and gloomy region, and the condition of those who had departed as one without hope (xiv, 7; xvii, 15). We do not wonder that, with all his conscious integrity, he shrank back from it as a calamity. Only for one reason could man welcome it—as a relief from pains and sorrows more dreadful to bear than the shadowy, vegetating existence of the underworld.

This view of the future world which Job gives us is much the same as prevails in classical antiquity. It is uniformly spoken of in such terms as "the dismal region," "the lonely land," "the dark regions," "the black place of eternal night," "the dolesome realm of darkness," or "the dark domain." In his visit to the realm of the dead Ulysses meets with Achilles, whom he thus addresses:

> But sure the eye of Time beholds no name
> So blessed as thine, in all the realms of fame:
> Alive, we hailed thee with our guardian gods,
> And dead, thou rul'st a king in these abodes.

To which Achilles replies in the following words:

> Talk not of ruling in this dolorous gloom,
> Nor think vain words, he cried, can ease my doom.
> Rather I'd choose laboriously to bear
> A weight of woes, and breathe the vital air
> A slave to some poor hind that toils for bread,
> Than reign the sceptered monarch of the dead.

Another important inquiry has reference to the doctrine of rewards which the Book of Job presents. This is, indeed, the central theme of the composition. The author is a highly poetic and meditative soul, and is troubled over the prevailing opinions of his day upon the question of retribution. A theory of temporal rewards and punishments had long been taught in Israel. The righteous are prospered and the wicked are afflicted. Against this doctrine, advocated by his three friends,

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Job contends with all his might, and, falling back on experience, shows that often the wicked live and wax mighty in power (xxi, 7), while the righteous are troubled all their days. Where, then, is the solution? God is just and good; his righteousness is as the light. How can there be such a conflict between justice and moral worth? Or, how can the apparent contradictions in the law of rewards be explained? Job's friends try to reconcile them by the principle of hope—not the anticipation of future recompense, but the hope that, if a man continue in integrity, his momentary sufferings will give place to happiness, while the prosperity of the wicked must come at length to a terrible end. But this is not a solution; for no amount of subsequent prosperity, on the theory of merely temporal rewards, can atone for a good man's misfortune and misery. And it is here that the weakness of the epilogue of the drama comes to view. The giving of double to Job for all he lost did not excuse the righteousness of God in making him suffer—which is the point in dispute. Elihu comes forward, however, with a different and better solution. He points to the fact that the explanation is to be found in the infinite wisdom of God, which it is folly for man to seek to follow, and in the fact that sufferings may come to the righteous as a purifying discipline. To this Job assents, and confesses that the way of God is in the sea, and that man must humbly submit to what the higher wisdom brings him. But this submission is without hope. There is no indication that the light will ever emerge from behind the cloud; and there is no suggestion that any compensation will ever come to the man who has perished in his misery. As Schultz says, "The real difficulty is not touched." The one-sided idea that suffering is penal is not balanced by any doctrine of the future adjustments, as must necessarily have been the case if Job had known anything more than the doctrine of merely temporal rewards and punishments. The thought of the whole poem seems to be that this world is the only place for the action of God's government, and that a failure in its justice here would be a breach in the entire system of moral order. Some have professed to see suggested in certain passages the rewards of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked in the future world; but there is not a verse in the book which, rightly

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interpreted, gives this thought. The reason there is no doctrine of future rewards in the poem—a doctrine which presents one of the most powerful motives for human action—is plainly the empty character of the future life as Job conceived it. And this is true of the entire Old Testament. We find that neither the law, the moralists, nor the prophets appeal to reward and punishment beyond the grave as a motive for right action—a fact that seems very strange when we remember how largely the Hebrew religion is an ethical one. The reason for this is that the doctrine of immortality is too vague and unsubstantial to admit of it; and another reason is that, until the time of the exile, the idea of the individual is largely merged and lost in the idea of the nation.

In this particular, also, we find a striking similarity between the ideas of Job and the old Semites. The ancient Babylonians taught the same doctrine of temporal rewards and punishments in much the same way. Their gods dealt almost exclusively with the living. As early as 4000 B. C. we find kings erecting temples for the preservation and prolongation of their lives. Tiglath-pileser says of his grandfather Asur-dân, "The work of his hands and the offering of his sacrifice pleased the gods so that he arrived at the highest age of all." The punishment of evil-doers was likewise with earthly sickness, misfortune, and death. In an incantation we read, "Whoso fears not his god, like a reed shall he be cut off." However, for a few special favorites of the gods there was a happier state, as they were translated to an isle of blessedness and there continued, enjoying the same kind of existence they had in this world. Later, as the doctrine of immortality was developed, there came to be granted to men the same privileges that had at first been extended only to the heroes of epic song. This similarity of view between the Hebrews and Babylonians is found in the common derivation of both, for there is much truth in the remark of Schultz: "The view of Mosaism of the condition after death is clearly, throughout, not an Old Testament religious doctrine. It is a national or racial one in all its characteristics."

There yet remains one phase of the doctrine of the future life in the Book of Job to be investigated. This relates to the resurrection of the dead. Did Job have a belief that at last men would rise from Sheol to a renewed life? Many

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writers are very confident of this. Pope, in his *Theology*, says that no criticism can rob us of Job's ancient testimony to the resurrection of the body. Adam Clarke tells us that in Job we have a revelation of the general resurrection. Dr. Cooke, in his book on *Doctrines of the Resurrection*, devotes twenty-five pages to an attempt to show that "in various places throughout the Book of Job the doctrine of a resurrection is distinctly taught or implied;" and, "if this be denied, many passages will be wholly without satisfactory meaning, and the interpretation of the book as a whole somewhat doubtful." These writers but express the opinions of scores of others.

But, notwithstanding all that is said, we have here a case in which the wish is father to the thought; for there is no correct exegesis which can show such a doctrine in the book. In the first place, the thought of individual resurrection is the last of the religious ideas developed in the Old Testament. It is clearly taught only in one passage (Dan. xii, 2), and even here a general resurrection is not spoken of. "Many," says Daniel, not all, "shall awake." As Reuss suggests, it is probable that to the prophet the favor of a resurrection is reserved for the Jews only. In Isa. xxvi, 19, we have a passage which, with the indefiniteness of poetry, suggests that the idea of individual resurrection was increasing among the people. In some of the later Psalms, as, for example, xlix, lxxiii, cxxxix, we may have more or less distinct foregleams of the thought, although some of the ablest critics contend that their references are to protection from the penal death of the wicked, and rest and blessedness in the present life. Ezek. xxxvii has been much relied on by those who see this doctrine in the Old Testament. On this Schultz has well commented, as follows:

> Undoubtedly the real reference of this passage is to the people of Israel. Some might, indeed, find in the very simile used by the prophet a proof that the resurrection of the dead was a thought with which pious minds were then familiar. But it seems to me to prove the very opposite. If the belief in a resurrection of individuals had been known to the prophet, then his reply to the question, "Can these bones live?" must surely have been, "Certainly, Lord." And, in that case, this whole vision would be no longer a sign. The field full of dead men's bones would no longer be an emblem of a hopelessness too great for human thought to overcome, nor the raising of the bones a miracle of miracles. On the contrary, the bones would of themselves be a sign of hope; and their being raised

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would be an event to be expected as a matter of course. Instead of a miraculous pledge of something otherwise incredible we should have a rather weak parable, "As certainly as those corpses will rise again, so certainly will dead Israel also be raised from the dead." Consequently this passage was well suited to arouse in the reader a belief in the resurrection of individuals also. But a proof that such a belief already existed it most assuredly is not.

These passages are the principal ones claimed for a belief in a resurrection, except those in Job, which we shall soon examine, and all of them except the one in Daniel are deficient. Hence we claim that the presumption is against the doctrine of the resurrection being taught in Job, since it was not a dogma of Hebrew theology in his day, and did not develop till a much later date, of which Reuss writes as follows:

The feverish expectation of the end, a hatred of oppression that was not satisfied by the prospect of a temporal and fleeting vengeance—above all, the conviction that eternal righteousness could not allow the countless victims who died for their God and their faith to fall unrewarded—all these causes finally gave rise to a belief in the resurrection of the dead and a judgment beyond the tomb.

If we turn to an examination of the passages in Job which are claimed to teach the resurrection we shall have the presumption sustained. In xiii, 15, we find that famous verse which is the basis of several celebrated hymns and poems: "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him"—an utterance which Cooke calls "an expression of the most triumphant hope in the salvation of God." Unfortunately for him, however, the proper translation of this passage is, "Lo, he may slay me, yet will I wait for him." Delitzsch renders it, "I wait for him that he may slay me." The thought seems to be that, through his disease, Job will soon be brought to his dissolution, and seeing his condition is hopeless he waits for his end. Again, chapter xiv, 7–14, is often brought forward with great confidence. Says Cooke, "Every figure here used indicates Job's belief in a resurrection." We must, however, differ with him. In the earlier verses Job says that man's condition is more hopeless than the palm tree, which if hewn down may sprout again, or, though its root wax old and its stock die in the ground, may be revived when it feels the vivifying energy of water. "But man dieth, and wasteth away: yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he? As the waters fail from the sea,

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and the river decayeth and drieth up; so man lieth down and riseth not: till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be roused out of their sleep" (R. V.). Unlike the tree whose death is only apparent, but like the dried flood which perishes without hope, is man. Some say, however, that Job held that finally, at the destruction of nature, when the heavens and earth pass away, men will awake and be restored. Cooke tries to show that the destruction of the heavens was a current belief among various ancient peoples; yet some at least of those whom he quotes did not think of the destruction of the universe, but only of the periodical renovation of the earth. Our real inquiry, however, should be as to what the Hebrews thought on this question. Delitzsch has well pointed out that they viewed the heavens as imperishable. He says:

> What does not happen until the heavens are no more never happens; because God has called the heavens and the stars with their laws into existence (Psalm cxlviii, 6); they never cease (Jer. xxxi, 35); the days of heaven are eternal (Psalm lxxxix, 30 [29]). This is not opposed to declarations like Psalm cii, 27, for the world's history, according to the Scripture, closes with a change in all these, but not their annihilation.

Says Zöckler, "According to the popular conception of the Hebrews, the heavens endured forever (Psalm lxxxix, 30 [29]; Jer. xxxi, 35)." Says Professor Evans, "It is assuredly straining the language, and at variance with the connection and with Job's present mood, to assume in the expression an implication that when the phenomenal heavens should disappear man would awake." Canon Cook, in the *Bible Commentary*, alludes to the expression as "equivalent to a denial of the possibility of restoration to life." In chapter xiv, 13, Job hopes that Sheol may be a place of safety for him till the wrath of God is turned away, when he trusts he may be remembered again in mercy. This is his wish; but he recoils from it as if without foundation, asking, "If a man die, shall he live again?" Yet he does not suggest the possibility of an affirmative answer, but the reverse. "All the days of my warfare would I wait till my release should come" (R. V.). Here he likens his life to the service of the soldier who must endure the privation and suffering incident to his occupation, and says he will wait till his change of condition comes.

The principal utterance of Job, however, which is relied

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upon to teach the doctrine of the resurrection is in chapter xix, 25–27. It is not necessary to say that this is a very difficult passage. It is involved and obscure, and there is not a little probability that the text has become corrupt. Many writers may be quoted on both sides concerning its reference to the resurrection, though nearly all the later critical scholars agree that it does not. The reasons for their opinion are that this supposition is out of harmony with the design of the poem and the course of the argument; that, if it makes such reference, the idea must have been alluded to in order to solve the problem discussed; that the connection in which it stands and the reply of Zophar are against the interpretation; that neither Job's friend, Elihu, nor the Almighty refers to it as a source of consolation; that it is inconsistent with Job's frequent longings for death as the end of his miseries; that the later Jews who searched the Scriptures for proofs on this question never bring it in evidence; that the correct translation of the passage does not support it, and that the subsequent passages show no such changes of thought on the part of Job as they must if he has suddenly awaked to new light. What, then, is the proper interpretation of the passage? Job has been appealing to his friends not to persecute him further. He wishes that his assertions of innocence were recorded in a book, engraved with an iron pen on a rock, and the engraved letters filled in with lead to render them still more imperishable, that they might go down to posterity as a witness to the integrity of his conscience. Then his faith in the righteousness and justice of God asserts itself—a faith rooted in the deepest consciousness of the true Hebrew—and he cries out, "I know that my avenger liveth"—Elvah is here implied—"and that he will arise over the dust," that is, the dust in which he is soon to make his grave; "and after my skin and the flesh adhering to it shall have been torn to pieces, or rotted away in the grave, yet, free from my flesh," or "out of it," for this is the better rendering of the original, "I shall behold Eloah." This does not mean that Job considered he would have a purely incorporeal existence in Sheol, for, as we have seen, such was not his belief. He thought of the soul as having a substantial, though vague and shadowy, corporeity in the underworld. Thus, the passage simply teaches that the time will come when Job shall see from Sheol

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God vindicating his integrity against his enemies. It is the desperate affirmation of his tormented spirit at a time when he expects soon to die, rising to grasp in a larger way his belief in God's righteousness and justice. If it is objected to this that Job did not believe that those in Sheol could see what occurs on the earth, we may reply that he teaches God's power to be such that it can arouse the sleepers; and he probably feels that the case is so important that he will be permitted to see his vindication. Or, as is more probable, he may be speaking in vision, merely meaning to affirm that such a vindication will occur. This interpretation is more in harmony with the obvious phraseology of the passage than the view that Job will live to see, before he dies, his vindication and restoration. Our conclusion, then, is that the passage teaches the existence of the soul in Sheol, but that it in nowise teaches the doctrine of a resurrection. On this subject Job was in ignorance, as were all the other Hebrew writers before the exile.

Such, then, is the doctrine of the future life in the Book of Job. While the thought of future continuance was in the writer's mind the larger hope as revealed in the New Testament was not known to him. It is Jesus Christ who has brought life and immortality to light; not that he introduced the conception, but that he filled up the vague and shadowy outline with revelations of infinite meaning. He made the doctrine a living force in the lives of men. He enriched and developed it so that it has become one of the strongest motives in influencing human action. All that is really helpful and inspiring in the doctrine we owe to him.

Samuel Plantz

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ART. VI.—THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF BALZAC.

FRENCH romance, until recently read by few Americans, is now rapidly becoming a staple of our literature. Rabelais, Alfred de Musset, Alexandre Dumas, Paul de Kock, Gautier, George Sand, Victor Hugo, Balzac are names as familiar as those of our English novelists. Our schools have opened the floodgates of a foreign tongue, and the waters are pouring forth in babbling torrents. Curiosity had been whetted by warnings and appetite intensified by our excited life; so that the American mind was prepared to receive these streams of brilliant story. Translators who timidly experimented with a few of the most Englishlike of the French novels were astounded at the avidity of their reception, and are now putting the most Frenchlike into our speech. Imitations are made; with what success is seen in the unparalleled popularity of Du Maurier.

It is often asserted that the charm of the French romance is its immorality. If that were true it would soon lose its life. The charm of vice is not its viciousness. When corruption is stripped of its enticing garb it is revolting. Even those who live in filth do not admire it. The charm of the French story is its vivacity, its transparent clearness, its sparkling gayety, its fragrance of philosophic mysticism emitted from the bloom of a richly colored flower, its cheerful view of life, which contrasts so happily with the sober and almost sermonish air of many an English tale. These are the qualities which give to French romance its magnetism. If they shelter an irreverence toward religion or a glorification of uncleanness they are indeed perilous. A harlot adorned as a goddess, though worshiped under the vault of Notre Dame, is a harlot still; and, if she can be dethroned only by the destruction of her shrine, then it would be well for every lover of the pure to join the ranks of the iconoclasts and batter down the noble temple which houses the abomination.

Can the charge of immorality which is so often made against French romance in general be sustained against the work of Balzac in particular? He has his detractors. Rome and Madrid at one time prohibited his works. Venice through an entire carnival reveled in a masquerade of his characters.

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The question is a serious one; for this colossal figure has come into romance as Shakespeare came into drama. Less than fifty years have passed since Victor Hugo pronounced the funeral eulogium over the open grave of his friend in Père la Chaise, and already the ablest critics give him the foremost place in his sphere, unapproached and unapproachable therein through all time and all countries.

Never in the literary world was genius more closely wedded to erudition, industry, personal purity, artistic finish, productiveness. His fecundity is astounding. His biographer, Saltus, has with great accuracy prepared a Balzac bibliography; and the titles and dates of his books cover thirty-four 12mo pages. He had planned to write for his *Comédie Humaine* one hundred and forty-four stories; eighty-eight were finished, together with numerous other treatises, essays, articles, and plays, when his prolific pen fell from his wearied fingers. Nor do any of these stories bear the marks of haste. His severest critic was himself. His mode of handling his proofs was as pathetic as it was laborious. He would erase, interline, cover the margin with whole paragraphs, and sometimes leave hardly a trace of the original. The second proof was handled as the first; and such was his desire for perfection that this process he would often repeat ten times before he sent out his work to the world. The result was, every stone he laid in his edifice was a finished work of art and will bear the closest scrutiny.

But each part is so closely related to the whole that to appreciate what this architect has done we must view the building in its entirety. Gautier likens the work of his friend to a cathedral of a town, hidden by the neighboring houses, but which seen from the horizon is outlined immense above the flattened roofs. "The structure he builded towers upward as we recede from it and awes us by its hugeness; and surprised generations will ask each other, 'What manner of man is this giant who alone has heaved up these formidable blocks and reared so high this Babel where are heard the murmurings of all social orders?'" Such a phenomenal product will be read and studied as the centuries move on. Lovers of literature will yield to its fascination as they do to the bard of Avon, and lovers of purity will anxiously inquire as to its moral influence.

The character of the man prepares us to believe in the

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essential purity of his work. His was an exceptionally chaste life. George Sand, who knew his habits, says, "His private life covers no black spots." Gautier describes the moral code which his intimate personal friend laid down for himself as one that rivals the severity of Trappist or Carthusian friars. Against all examples to the contrary, he insisted that simple habits and absolute chastity were essential to the development of the highest literary faculty, and that all excess is the ruin of talent. His ablest disciples say that *Louis Lambert* is largely autobiographical. If so his was a great and aspiring soul struggling in its chrysalis for that beautiful and lofty life for which every human spirit is destined. That so-called novel is really a profound psychological study, as pure and as delicate as a Hebrew psalm. *Albert Savarus* is supposed by many to be a picture of the author's relation to women. Fiction gives no more heroic and spotless love. Not even Ibsen, whose frosty purity is unquestioned, and who has conceived a similar situation, can equal the high tone of Balzac's passion and the all but divine mode of its use.

Balzac was more than moral. He was religious. We have often been pained by the utter inability of most of the great English novelists to conceive and correctly present true ministers of the cross. These are usually represented as weak, hypocritical, or ridiculous. This Frenchman, with his amazing gift of insight into the springs of human character, is almost the only great story-writer who fathoms the motive of the sacred calling. His priests and nuns are the veritable creatures who so nobly combated the triumphing wickedness and distress of the restoration. While a sacred name did not deter him from exposing the vices of professionalism he everywhere exhibits reverence for the genuinely good.

He was, however, too great a spirit to limit his faith to the current doctrine of the Roman Church, in which he was born. Nor was he oblivious of its grievous errors. He studied and almost worshiped the Bible. His *Jesus Christ in Flanders* is a most powerful phantasmagoria, in which the decrepitude of the Church is pictured as an old hag, hairless, toothless, withered almost to a skeleton, with wrinkled skin over her livid face, clad with dusty rags of holy office. He addresses her, "Miserable woman, why do you prostitute yourself to men? You

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grew rich in the heyday of your passions, and you forgot your pure and fragrant youth, your sublime devotions, your innocent principles, your fruitful beliefs. You abdicated your primitive power, your supremacy wholly spiritual, to gain the powers of the flesh. Abandoning your linen vestments, your mossy couch, your grottoes illumined with divine lights, you have sparkled in diamonds, in luxury, in lust. Proud, insolent, desiring all things, obtaining all things, overthrowing all things that were in your way, like a prostitute in vogue who pursues her pleasure, you have been sanguinary as a queen besotted by will." Thus he presses his scathing indictment of the mother Church in a way that would have delighted the heart of Knox or the most savage anti-Romanist. But he closes his story with, "To believe is to live. I have lately seen the obsequies of a monarchy; we must now defend the Church."

Who but one who knew the life of God in the human soul could have uttered such sentences as these: "The final life, the fruition of all other lives to which the powers of the soul have tended, and whose merits open the sacred portals to perfected man, is the life of prayer. Who can make you comprehend the grandeur, the majesty, the might of prayer? Be now here what you may be after cruel trial. There are privileged beings, prophets, seers, messengers, and martyrs, all those who suffer for the word and proclaim it: such souls spring at a bound across the human sphere and rise at once to prayer. So, too, with those souls who receive the fire of faith. . . . God welcomes boldness. He loves to be taken by violence. . . . A single cry uttered under the pressure of faith suffices. God reveals himself unfalteringly to the solitary thoughtful seeker."

Like most men of deep intuitions, Balzac was strongly attracted by the mystical schools of thought. He reveled in the misty philosophies of Swedenborg, the spiritual contemplations of Madame Guyon, and the occult studies of the Orient. Out of these came that unique piece of heavenly fiction, *Seraphita*. She is the final efflorescence of the spiritual principle after its complete triumph over the animalism in which the divine is sown. A corrupt heart could not conceive, or, conceiving, could never execute, so divine a figure.

But while we acknowledge the personal purity of the author of the *Comédie Humaine* the fact remains that in many of its

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stories low vice, passion, intrigue, deception, pass before us in such a way as to disturb our Puritan sense of decency. Some of them, such as *La Physiologie du Mariage* and *La Cousine Bette*, we would put out of the reach of young people. But to be just we must say that these stories were made necessary by the purpose of his work, which was to picture the entire life of the first half of the nineteenth century in France. His work is not in the ordinary sense a novel. It is a profound sociological and ethical study. The story would not be complete without the Marneffes, the Hulots, the Brideaus, whose vile descendants pollute our half of the century as they did the first. Balzac disowns that they are the creatures of his imagination. He merely described what he saw. Nor are his descriptions in any way debasing, excepting it be for those who are already corrupt and who would suck impurity from things most sacred. They do not resemble the offensive brutality of Tolstoi, nor the exaggerated coloring of Zola, nor the reckless *abandon* of George Sand. The story is told with a clearness that conceals nothing, yet is not shocking. Without any moralizing the natural unfolding of events awakens a horror of low vices which wreck fortunes, homes, and character. Virtue glows with a beauty that kindles the admiration even of those who will not follow her. He says: "My blushing critics veil their faces before certain personages in the *Comédie Humaine*, who are, unfortunately, as true as the others and set in strong relief in my vast picture of the morals of the times. But I defy them to cite a single passage in which religion or the family is attacked." His resentment is just. Nowhere does he make vice respectable or virtue degraded in his readers' eyes. Whichever triumphs, the meaning of the book is never left doubtful. It is the scientific and moral purpose which pervades these tales that is their justification. His fiction is a work of ethics which the people can read and understand.

Another thing should be considered. An absolute moral standard has not yet been given. Moral principles, perhaps we should say conventionalisms which are taken for principles, vary with latitude and language. The unveiled faces of our women are, according to Mohammedan thought, a gross indecency. But Christian thought takes the veil to be a badge of a shameful heart, proclaiming, rather than concealing, the

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festering immorality. Suppose that veil to be woven of speech rather than fabric, does the difference affect the principle?

It is not fair to judge Balzac by his English dress. The transference of a French form into our speech does not bear with it the French view-point. That indescribable something we call the life of a tongue does not inhere in its articulation, but in the soul that breathes its thought. Accurate translation will often turn an exquisite work of art into a shocking reality. At once it is corrupt and corrupting. For this reason it were better that much of our great French philosopher should never be rendered in English. As it is, he should never be placed in the hands of children, if, indeed, children could be induced to read a work so mature. He himself said, "I write not for girls, but for men." But for those who can feel the deep, sad life of this sinning and suffering race—ignorant of its meaning, fainting in the pursuit of chimeras, perplexed by its supermundane mysteries, seduced by its vices, miserable in its pleasures, confused by its antagonizing religions, aspiring for the heavens from out of the despair of a deadly animalism —we commend the *Comédie Humaine.*

Among the two or three thousand types that there pass before us every reader will behold himself and his neighbor. He will see the good and the bad mingling together in the diverse complications of actual life. Actions will be traced along the line of varied motive back to their original spring in the deeps of character. The innermost of the human soul with its depravities and its sanctities will come forth from their concealment and exhibit themselves in unrobed truthfulness. The history of passions will be followed on through their self-deceptions and disguises to their natural destiny. It is a sad picture. But such is this quivering social order in which we live, and which we call Christian civilization. Balzac saw it all, and faithfully and accurately reported what he saw. But amid that all but universal ruin this one fact stands forth as unmistakable as truth—it is the good alone that remains erect, itself unharmed and constituting humanity's final hope.

A. H. Tuttle.

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Art. VII.—THE RETURN TO FAITH.

For about a generation past the thought of the English-speaking world has been marked by certain negative tendencies best characterized by the term "agnostic," coined for their description by the late Professor Huxley. On the Continent a similar period of negation began somewhat earlier, and the process of disintegration has covered a wider field. In Britain the agnostic movement was for the most part a development of the empiricism traditional to English philosophy, in alliance with natural science and invigorated with new life by the doctrine of evolution. On the Continent it has been the downfall of the *a priori* systems of speculation; the advance of the scientific, not to say the materialistic, spirit; the development of the historical method in its application to the origin of human institutions, especially to the origins of religion; the criticism of the documentary records of Christianity; and the growth of democracy, not only in its revolutionary but also in its socialistic and anarchistic phases, that have made our time one of uncertainty and travail.

Within a twelvemonth, however, a striking series of deliverances by various leaders of opinion has given rise to the belief that this era of doubt is drawing toward its close. In France M. Brunetière has used his visit to the Vatican as a text from which to preach the bankruptcy of science as a guide for life, and to proclaim a return to the bosom of Mother Church as a present duty, in preference even to the neo-Christianity of M. Melchior de Vogue, and to the other neo-religions so numerous in the Paris of recent years. In England Mr. Huxley's Romanes lecture of May, 1893, on "Evolution and Ethics," which culminated in the thesis that "the cosmical process" and "the ethical process" stand in direct antagonism, had not ceased to be a center of debate, when three notable books appeared, each of which in turn brought evidence of a new movement in the direction of philosophical or religious faith. In his work on *Social Evolution* Mr. Benjamin Kidd brilliantly argues in behalf of the position that the evolutionary process, in its social manifestations, is itself dependent on religion as a motive and a sanction. Mr. Balfour signalized his leisure from the cares of

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state by giving to the world his *Foundations of Belief*, in which, with an echo alike of Hume's skepticism and of Bishop Butler's analogical method, he maintains that the necessary implications of natural science have their parallel in postulates that serve to bulwark the fundamental truths of æsthetic, moral, and religious life. Finally, the posthumous *Thoughts on Religion* of Professor Romanes show that before his death he had returned to the enjoyment of theistic and Christian belief; so that the "Physicus" who twenty years ago wrote *A Candid Examination of Theism*, with its agnostic conclusions, had matured a "candid examination" of religion in a distinctly apologetic spirit.

Not less remarkable than the appearance of these works has been the reception which they have met. The eagerness of the public to hail them as signs of a return to faith has proved how deep the faith still strikes its roots in the heart of the western world, and has revealed the tension under which many earnest minds have suffered; but it has also shown how greatly the age has misconceived the nature of the forces at work in its midst. For, like the man who counts his own burden heavier than that of any other of his kind, we have been so blinded by our doubts and difficulties that it has been easy to fear our age was to be marked by the final dissolution of fixed beliefs. Friends and foes of systematic thinking have combined, the ones to dread, the others to hope, that the perplexities of thought which the last half century has brought were so grave that no way of escape could possibly be discovered. Thus we have overlooked the fact that our troublous time is not unique in the history of the world. Proud of our enlightenment, we have committed the unenlightened blunder of taking our own experiences too seriously, in forgetfulness of the truth that the world has seen several such skeptical periods in the past—the age of the Sophists in Greece, the transition from mediæval to modern times, and the eighteenth century in Europe, to name no others; that these various eras exhibit a family likeness; and that one characteristic point of resemblance among them is the law of action and reaction, under which the skeptical movement works out its own dissolution until the period of doubt gives place at length to one of more positive belief.* In consequence the

* See "Transitional Eras in Thought," by the same writer, in *The New World*, September, 1895.

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struggle with the problems of the time has been severer than it might have proved had the men of the nineteenth century been conscious the while that the conflict in which they are engaged has had its parallels in the past, and that the experience of their fellows gives them the right to look forward with hope to the future.

Moreover, the tokens of a change in the temper of the age have not been confined to the year just ending, or to any one country, or to any single department of thought. Philosophy has revived as men have felt anew the perennial impulse to seek answers for the great questions of existence, so that, if the time is still far from being an age of speculation, there is a marked recovery from the decline of a generation ago. In Germany the progress of science has itself occasioned the study of those principles of method and of knowledge which lie at the basis of scientific investigation. In England speculative thinking has gone farther than the German philosophy of the day, which for the most part remains shy of the deepest metaphysical problems, and in the revived idealism of the neo-Kantian and neo-Hegelian type has advanced the most systematic counter-theory to agnostic evolutionism that the age has known. In the United States there has sprung up a marked interest in the newer psychological researches, and, more notable still, as our civilization progresses and education develops, a vigorous movement toward the consideration of philosophical questions in their most general and principiant aspects.* On the side of practice, also, it is not hard to recognize a deeper note as the age grows older and the principles of its life work out their results in conduct. To mention but one factor in the ethical movement, the social perplexities of the time are forcing thought back to the discussion of ethical principles, for, while naturalism begins to recoil from the practical developments which in part, at least, must be counted its own product, thinkers of various schools are perceiving how large a measure of truth is embodied in the doctrine expressed by the title of a recent German treatise, "The Social Question an Ethical Question." In the matter of religion it may be noted that, like philosophy and morals, theology is not without its tendencies of

*See "Philosophy in the United States," by the same writer, in the *Educational Review*, June, 1895.

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reaction toward more conservative theories, as well as those "advanced" or "liberal" movements which have formed so prominent a feature in recent theological opinion. For, if questions of criticism now stand in the forefront of theological discussions, and if the Old Testament records seem in danger from a disintegrating attack, which must radically alter the view hitherto taken of them by the Christian world, it must be remembered that the New Testament writings, passing through the same fire of criticism, have been found to stand the test much more successfully than appeared possible in the early days of the controversy, and that, in regard to the older book as well, there are evident the beginnings of a movement to reconstruct, on the basis of critical results, more positive theories of the history and religion of Israel. Apart, too, from special questions of theology, there is observable in many quarters a new disposition to estimate religion at some real value. It may be too much to say, as it has recently been said, that there is to-day no scientist who reckons religion a delusion; but it is plain that both science and philosophy have retreated to a not inconsiderable degree from the negative, or even contemptuous, attitude assumed by some of their adherents in times little removed from the present.

More broadly still than by these developments in philosophical, ethical, and religious thought the altered spirit of the times is indicated by a certain temper on the part of many thinkers as they approach ultimate questions, of whatsoever sort these may be. If the problems attacked are philosophical there is a conviction abroad, though a number of schools continue exempt from its influence, that philosophy itself must not be too nice in endeavoring to proceed without assumptions, lest in the end it should find its vaunted completeness a simple repose *in vacuo*. With the sense of the importance of ethical questions has come the belief that, after all, abstract thought must find limitation in the postulates of practical life. In religion there is a movement favored by thinkers of widely divergent forms of belief, advocated, in fact, by some who hold that religion must be reduced to the narrowest limits as well as by the most flourishing school of contemporary theologians in Germany—the reference is to the followers of Ritschl—which finds the ultimate basis of religious conviction in faith. Now, this tendency is a phenome-

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non of great significance to the student of the history of opinion. For it has been characteristic of many skeptical eras since the records of human thought began, and has often marked the beginning of the end, the point at which transition and change have overtaken the transitional era itself. Reappearing, then, at the present juncture, it suggests the query whether our own time has not almost reached its term. May not, there is a temptation to ask—may not the turn of the centuries coincide once more with the turning point of human progress? As, in the long transition from mediævalism to modern times, the German Reformation burst into a glow when the year 1500 was but scarcely past, may not the twentieth Christian century be ushered in by a new birth of positive thought?

The historian of opinion, however, is of necessity a cautious prophet; and when all the elements in the complex problem are taken into account he must be confident indeed who would predict an immediate solution. For there is one aspect of the case in which it may be said that we are contending with the accumulated difficulties of the whole modern period. There are fundamental questions, typical of the modern spirit, which, still awaiting their definitive answers, form not the least among the critical issues that this particular age has to face. The questions of naturalism and materialism, for instance, are no new outgrowth of the half century which has been marked by the discovery of the law of the conservation and correlation of energy and the promulgation of the principle of evolution in its modern forms, however much they may have been emphasized by these epoch-making results; but ever since the replacement of the scholastic metaphysics by the method of inductive inquiry, and since the early triumphs of modern science, the naturalistic view of the universe has been pressing hard upon the defenders of a spiritual philosophy and the Christian faith.

Beyond our inherited difficulties, moreover, there are others special to the age in which we live, or at least special in their present forms; and these have not yet been felt in their full force, or are not fully included in the reaction begun in other departments of thought. One of these is to be found in the extension of the methods of natural science to the study of mental life, and the conclusions to which investigations of this character are leading, especially on the side of the relations of

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consciousness to the body and its physical environment. The present writer, indeed, has no sympathy with the attitude of those who would inconsistently brand such investigation and results as materialistic. In fact, crass materialism is nowadays not much in favor. Almost everyone who is entitled to speak on the subject rejects the identification of consciousness with any physical function whatsoever; and those who talk of the brain as self-sufficient, if scientists at all, are generally scientists of the popular sort. But there are two features of the situation calculated to give rise to critical problems. The first is empirical, the tendency to explain consciousness, though it be admittedly distinct from brain activity, by the laws of the latter. Sense perception, for example, may be analyzed as an integration of nervous stimulations rather than as a synthesis in consciousness; memory is held by the great majority of psychologists to be essentially conditioned by molecular inertia in the brain, while the laws of the association of ideas are interpreted as laws of cerebral, rather than of mental, dynamics; habit is action become organic in the nervous system; personality and character exhibit grave alterations under the influence of disease—in general, conscious phenomena are always dependent on cerebral phenomena, and the causal explanation which science demands, it may be argued, should be sought in the physical rather than in the psychical series. The second factor in the problem is that the newer researches suggest changes in our view of the nature of mind itself, or even doubt of its existence, as well as changes in our interpretation of the facts of mental life. This is particularly marked because the "new psychology" has been projected into, or rather has grown up in, an age already full of philosophical unrest. Great scientific discoveries our time has seen in numbers, and great systems of universal science. But these do not lighten the philosophical problem for the present; the rather do they add to its gravity, so that our psychological results become part of a great body of new truth, to be articulated into our general view of the world and of life at a time when the fundamental principles of such correlation are in flux. It is evident, therefore, that in any consideration of the intellectual forces now at work, and in any hopeful outlook toward the dawn of a new period of faith, the situation in psychology must be taken into account. Happily, so far the

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new science has been fairly free from dogmatic controversies which would have hindered its vigorous development; but the conclusions which it reaches have important bearings, philosophical, ethical, and religious; and these will have to be faced before it will be possible to say that the work of the age is finished.

This view of psychology will meet dissent from some who foresee no such problems in the way. Few, however, will dispute the fact, if it be said that the social and sociological questions of the day constitute a second great issue which awaits its settlement. This is so patent that the atmosphere of our time is filled with the din of those who propound their remedies for the ills of the social organism. Here, therefore, attention need be called only to the truth that the prevailing discontent among the lower orders of society is an effect whose causes complexly intertwine with many of the other forces which have made the age a period of confusion. Thus the social problem becomes, as it were, a summary of the critical questions with which thought finds itself constrained to grapple. It would be unfair, for instance, to charge the scientific spirit, or any given system of philosophy, with the burden of socialistic or anarchistic theories, more unfair than it would have been a hundred years ago to make the philosophers responsible for the discontent among the people of France. Yet socialism has its philosophy, or at least its philosophical alliances, and these for the most part are not of the constructive or spiritual sort. The social unrest is notable, also, because it forms a link between opinion and life. For, although we may not look for a revolution like that which marked the end of the eighteenth century as about to form the close of the present age, no one now is ignorant that one of the sorest points in the body of our time is just this where negation impinges on the questions of the social order and the constitution of the State. And it will scarcely be doubted that the demands of the proletariat, from which these difficulties spring, are themselves a reflex of conditions of life that the age has established or taken over from the past.

The existence, then, of definite critical problems still unsolved is a grave difficulty for those who hold that the present skeptical age is approaching its close. A second objection, and

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one which professed students of opinion must consider formidable, is the absence of any philosophical system showing promise of general acceptance in the near future. Naturalism, often with an agnostic preamble, is held by its adherents to be the legitimate, if not the satisfactory, outcome of the modern movement as a whole. But, to say no more, it is evident that as the forces of recoil gather head at all they tend directly toward the denial of the cogency and the sufficiency of naturalism as a solution of the world problem. The revived idealism, neo-Kantian or neo-Hegelian, which in the last two decades has gone forth from Oxford and Glasgow, and which now spreads itself over the whole English-speaking world, stands at the other extreme to naturalism, and like it claims to hold the key for all the riddles of thought. Or, rather, the new idealism goes far beyond naturalism, for its first principle is to oppose the agnosticism of the former by a defense of the possibility, or even the actuality, of a completed theory of the universe. But, without following Mr. Balfour in the scanty justice he has shown to the idealistic movement, and acknowledging the important service the school has done in withstanding agnostic and naturalistic theories, one still must doubt whether it is destined to furnish such a principiant explanation of the world as will bring our age to a conclusion. The deeper metaphysical issues involved lie outside the scope of this paper. But, apart from these, apart also from the weakness of the movement outside Britain and America, idealism of the revived type is open to the serious practical objection that it is not made "to be understanded of the people;" whereas the systems which it seeks most of all to combat have so entered into the thought of the time that the people at least believe that they quite comprehend them. Again, and less popularly, it has to face some of the same difficulties as those which confronted its prototypes and sources. It offers a spiritual, nay, "the spiritual," philosophy; but the world cannot forget that the movement which began with Kant and culminated in Hegel issued in the materialism of the left wing, as well as in the speculative theology of the conservative right. It offers a religion, "the absolute religion," but it may be said without dogmatic bias, and from the strictly historical standpoint, that the religion which it offers is at best a rationalized interpreta-

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tion of Christianity; so that the common faith finds the new hope of escape conditioned on the necessity of a new transformation. Between these two extremes the desired system is still further to seek. There have been attempts, more than one, to mediate between the results of modern thinking and the demands of the ethical and the religious consciousness, that have exhibited a nobility of spirit on the part of their projectors and distinguished ability in the execution of the work, but there is no theory of this kind which promises a full or permanent answer to the questionings of the time. Outlooks of great value they have not failed to provide. A considerable number of the principles which they have advanced have proved of service in the present emergency, and some seem fitted to take their places in some more adequate synthesis than any yet announced. But it is impossible to believe that any one of them will prove to be the completed system which we need. And, among the philosophical theories which lie outside this classification, there is even less prospect of a successful issue to the search. Schopenhauer and Hartmann, for instance, have their numerous followers, especially in German lands. Yet the pessimistic solution of the universe would, in the opinion of most thinkers, be a remedy little less dolorous than the disease itself; even should it prove the ultimate outcome of our deepest thinking it contains elements sure to provoke many a crisis and many a reaction before the worn-out age could settle to its fate.

Doubt and skepticism, however, do not always require a new constructive system for their replacement. Often undogmatic in themselves, and dependent on practical as well as upon abstract conditions, they yield to forces which include no completed system of principiant thought. The mass, moreover, is incapable of appreciating abstract theory when it is at hand. Those higher in the scale, the so-called intelligent classes, for the most part do not, and cannot, bring their opinions to the test of metaphysical consistency. It is chiefly systematic thinkers by profession who look for systems of principles or try their conclusions by such; and many of these have learned that a perfect solution of the universe is a millennial hope rather than a present expectation. Hence it results that the transition from an age of negation to an age of belief may be

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an organic, rather than a logical, change. It is found that the facts or laws which for a while appeared destructive of all earlier conclusions are susceptible of a different explanation. Revision of old doctrines, it begins to be said, may be necessary, but the essence of the matter remains unaltered. Thus, a few fundamental principles being discovered to continue true, or being believed so to continue, the rest are left to work themselves out while the age goes on its way with diminishing concern about that which before had caused it crucial anxiety. A capital example of this process is at hand in the varying attitude of opinion during the last thirty years with reference to the principle of biological evolution. At first friend and foe greeted it as destructive of religious belief. Theism, much more Christianity, was believed to be destroyed, if species developed, especially if man was descended in any part of his nature from some lower form of life. And there are still those who, on the one side or the other, believe in the incompatibility of the new science and the old faith. On the whole, however, we are far enough removed from the first shock of the controversy to perceive that, even for those who consider that Darwinism has made good its claims, religion may still endure. For before long discerning minds began to recognize and point out the fact that the dilemma was less exhaustive than had been supposed. These made attempts at reconciliation. They asserted and showed that the difficulties, to some extent, concerned processes rather than principles; that the substance of theism, for instance, was not altered, but rather the formulation of it, and of certain of the proofs therefor. We have even heard Christian voices proclaiming that the new scientific theory yields additional support instead of a fresh blow to theistic belief, and that the laws of development join the precepts of Christianity in culminating in the "royal law of love." Now, it is true that the importance of the questions at issue has sometimes in these later days been minimized or ignored; and there are relations of evolution to ethical and religious doctrine which still perplex those who try to hold both and to complete their reconciliation and adjustment. But it may safely be predicted that, in regard to this particular question, the future will not see the doubt and the dismay which so much disturbed the past.

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One perplexing problem having thus lost its sting, remaining difficulties are likely to grow lighter in an analogous way. Men are weary of negative thought. Moreover, some of the outstanding questions of the time include factors which hint at the possibility of their own answers. The troubles of the body social are forcing men to renewed consideration of ethical principles; but it is quite as evident that social questions have their important religious bearings as that they involve moral issues. Shall it be said, then, that the social problem is likely to generate a reaction toward faith? Probably anyone who should to-day maintain the affirmative of this question would encounter much ironical criticism; yet, if all the elements in the situation be taken into account, the suggestion is far from being unfounded. For, while religion in its general aspects is involved in the issue, Christianity stands in a special relation to it. The cures for social ills which have been so loudly heralded by certain parties in the Church may indeed be of doubtful efficacy when tested by sober reason; but there is a striking kinship between the Christianity, doctrinal and applied, which is needed by the closing nineteenth century and that which proved so potent a force when the Christian religion was first fighting its way to recognition. There are few evidences of religion so convincing as religion in action, and so fast as Christianity proves itself able to grapple with the evils which beset society its renewed acceptance will be a direct corollary from the laws under which opinion normally develops.

The question whether this skeptical age is soon to end must receive a hesitant answer. There are signs, both theoretical and practical, that the self-contented negation of a decade or two ago is fast yielding its supremacy. Man's inborn hunger for positive truth is reasserting its power. But critical problems remain with which the age has scarcely begun to grapple. The absence of a dominant philosophical system forbids belief in an immediate complete solution from principle. As M. Brunetière says, philosophy and religion have reconquered part of their prestige; to term their victory complete would be to overstate facts and to offer doubtful aid for their further conflict.

A. C. Armstrong. Jr.

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Art. VIII.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF PRAYER.

In the analysis of prayer the divine "how" is not clearly perceived by the ordinary mind. The Christian world was for a moment prostrated by what the Church was pleased to call the audacity of Professor Tyndall in proposing his remarkable prayer test. But it is due to him to remember that he did not misrepresent the creeds. His declaration was that, if it be true that "God preordained every fact and event of the universe, and these facts and events come to pass as thus arranged without possibility of change, answers to prayer are impossible, in the nature of things." It is a psychological truth that faith and prayer are alike impossible in a system of government where every event is the result of previous arrangement. It matters not whether this arrangement be of theistic or atheistic origin; there can be no place for the existence or exercise of prayer where every event is predetermined.

Prayer is based on the fact that there are alternatives with God and with man, and that in the act of prayer there are alternatives presented to the petitioner. Prayer implies the existence of an indefinite number of possibilities, any one of which may become a fact. As faith and prayer are both voluntary, fatalism and prayer are incompatible and cannot be harmonious parts of the same moral system. Prayer is an act that is only possible between two volitional beings. Therefore, if we assume that God directs every event by a stern decree of law or caprice that has no alternative, we must admit that Christians and materialists occupy the same platform; and it becomes apparent even to the thoughtless that in a system of government whose central idea is necessity there is no legitimate sphere for the exercise of prayer.

In the philosophical adjustment of this subject there are two principles involved. The first relates to the immutability of God. Can there be alternatives with him? Is immutability possible where contingencies exist? It appears to us that divine sovereignty is perfectly harmonious with moral agency. Citizenship and sovereignty are facts of relationship, rather than of strength. God is the sovereign; man is the subject of law which prescribes his relation to his sovereign and his fellow-

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citizen, and determines the fact of his amenability. Mr. Watson says:

> The true immutability of God . . . consists, not in his adherence to his purposes, but in his never changing the principles of his administration; and he may therefore, in perfect accordance with his preordination of things and the immutability of his nature, purpose to do under certain conditions dependent on the free agency of man what he will not do under others; and for this reason, that an immutable adherence to the principles of a wise, just, and gracious government requires it.*

By the law of his own essential being God must always do right. He cannot by his acts violate the rules of his own kingdom nor mar the purity of his own personality. Therefore, when he proposes to execute any purpose on a nation or a man, a change in the conduct of that nation or man necessitates a corresponding change in the actions of God toward the party or a change in his principles and character; and because of the immutability of his character the change is made in his administration. This principle of the divine immutability is illustrated in the case of every penitent sinner who abandons his evil way and receives the pardon of his sins at the hands of a just God.

The second principle involves the scientific fact, so well established, that a natural law cannot be changed, reversed, or suspended in its operation. The laws of God are all irreversible; they are not the product of his will, but are coeternal with him and flow forth from him. We must therefore discover some way in which God can perform a miracle or answer prayer without reversing, suspending, or in any manner interrupting natural laws; or we must yield the case and admit that prayer cannot benefit humanity at all. Prayer and miracles involve the same philosophical principles. So we perceive that if God ever wrought a miracle he can on the same basis answer any prayer that comes within the limit of the divine promise.

A miracle is not wrought by reversing or suspending a law of nature; it is dependent upon the presence of a personal God possessing intelligence and power. The impersonal forces of the universe could not create the universe, nor can they perform miraculous feats. When God performs a miracle he does not act on the law. He operates on the body that is the object of the miraculous effort. He takes the object out of the control

* *Institutes*, vol. ii, p. 492.

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of the law that governs it in its normal condition, and does with it what he will. When the young man of the Scripture let his ax fall into the river and it was miraculously made to swim there was neither reversal nor suspension of law. The water rolled on smoothly, the pebbles at the bottom of the stream remained undisturbed. Everything obeyed the behest of nature, but the invisible power of God brought the ax to the surface as the visible hand of the owner would have done if it had been within his power. The suspension of the law of gravitation, if it had been possible, would not have brought the ax to the surface. Law is helpless of itself. Inertia is a property of matter, and the iron would obey that law. The impersonal forces of nature could not move the ax; these forces always act according to law, but never administer the law, being subject to it. The suspension of a law, could this be accomplished, would precipitate systems and constellations into one general ruin and inaugurate a reign of terror in the physical world. Such a disaster is avoided by the continuous presence of the all-wise God, who is in no way trammeled or embarrassed by the laws of his own kingdom.

The God of Christianity is not an impersonal force, is not the sum total of all forces, but is the Almighty. He possesses intelligence, will, affections, dominion, everything in an infinite sense. When he created man he gave to him as the constituent parts of his being every attribute, quality, and element of the Godhead. Man possesses in a finite degree everything that the Father possesses in an infinite degree. Man is God's child, made in his own likeness and image. Prayer is God's method of communion with his children, the channel of his fellowship with humanity. We are not to think of him simply as a force or influence. If we grant the fact of the divine intelligent personality, and also concede that man is a being of God's own creation, prayer is the easiest and most natural method of communication between this God and his dependent children. But the varied forces of nature never become administrative agencies. In answering prayer God, as the intelligent administrator, takes hold of the object of prayer, whatever it may be, removes it from the control of the forces that govern it in its existing condition, and subjects it to the environment of other laws and the influence of other forces and conditions. Answers to prayer

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therefore imply much more than the reflex action of the petitioner's desires on his own life, much more than the filling up of a space in a program prepared from all eternity. They are the compliance of the compassionate Father with the request of his helpless children. This compliance on the part of the Father may be in the realm of nature or of grace, but is always in harmony with law. It is generally instantaneous, wrought by the going forth of his divine power, as in Christ's healing the leper, giving sight to the blind, raising the widow's son, or giving health to the woman who touched the hem of his garment; or as in the pardon of a penitent sinner, the sanctification of a devout believer, or the bestowment of consolation on a stricken soul.

Because God's immutability and power must remain the same in all ages, and because the answer to prayer involves the same philosophical principle upon which miracles are wrought, it must be apparent that prayer always has been, and must ever remain, one of the most important factors in the government of the world.

William Jones —

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ART. IX.—THAT PSEUDO-JUDICIAL DECLARATION OF 1888—A FRIENDLY APPEAL TO CONSERVATIVE EXPERTS.

IN 1888, as is well known, the "Committee of Seventeen" recommended the General Conference to adopt the resolution quoted below,* together with a resolution that a certain protest was "sustained by the Discipline." An increasing number of persons in the Church—persons occupying very diverse party standpoints—firmly believe that while the adoption of these resolutions, or of the entire original report of the committee, by the General Conference would have been an unqualified and perfectly legitimate and defensible judicial interpretation and declaration of the then existing law touching the eligibility of women, the adoption of the *amended* report, under all the parliamentary circumstances, was not such. Their reasons for this conscientious belief may be presented in barest outline as follows:

1. In order to the giving of a perfectly legitimate and defensible judicial interpretation of the law of a self-governing body in any particular instance at least a majority of the competent court must deliberately, and with definite intent, unite in the interpreting judgment authoritatively rendered.

2. In order that an interpreting judgment thus rendered may be made binding upon all the constituent members and subsequent lawmakers of such an organization it is necessary that they should be afforded the ordinary or else clear extraordinary evidence that in the manner above described a clear majority of the competent court did unite in the interpretation for which authority is claimed.†

3. The total number of General Conference members who voted for or against the undivided amended report was four hundred and thirty-five. It was made up of two classes:

A. Those who, considering the probable intentions of the Church in 1872, conscientiously held that without new legisla-

* "Under the constitution and laws of the Church as they now are women are not eligible as lay delegates in the General Conference."

† The "ordinary evidence" in the case of the General Conference, acting in a judicial capacity, should of course be sought in the official record of the body; what would constitute "clear extraordinary evidence" it is not easy to state in terms that would be applicable to more than a single case.

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tion in the form of a constitutional amendment women could not legally be chosen or admitted as lay delegates, and who by their affirmative vote intended to declare this conscientious judgment.

B. All others, whatever their views of the original report, or of the amendment, which proposed to "consult the Church," or of the desirableness or undesirableness of combining the two.

Of both these classes some voted in the affirmative and some in the negative, but how many on the one side or on the other no man knows or ever knew.

4. Now, if the vote had not been by orders, and *if it were known* that every one of the one hundred and fifty-nine ministers and every one of the seventy-eight laymen who voted for the amended report belonged to Class A, it might be argued, not with absolute but with considerable fairness, that, despite the unfortunate obscuration of the purely judicial question by the introduction of considerations for and against the proposed appeal to the Church, the final action adopted by a total majority of thirty-nine was probably *equivalent* to a valid judicial declaration.

5. On the other hand, *if it were known* that of those who voted for the amended report forty per cent belonged to Class A, while the other sixty per cent voted for it for one or the other of these reasons, to wit: (a) because they felt uninformed as to the intention of past legislation on the subject, and preferred to evade the responsibility of a personal vote by "consulting the Church generally;" or (b) because, while fully believing no new legislation necessary in order to the admission of women, they yet deemed it more conducive to peace and good will in the Church to accept the slower method of constitutional amendment, no reasonable person would claim that the adopted paper met the requirements above formulated as essential to the delivery of a legitimate and defensible judicial decision. Only forty per cent of such an affirmative vote would have a genuinely judicial quality and intent, and could in fairness count toward a binding judicial determination and declaration of the meaning of the existing law. Even if ninety per cent were from Class A they would manifestly fail to create even a probability of a judicial result unless their numerical aggregate exceeded the numerical aggregate of all the negative

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votes added to the number included in the remaining ten per cent of the affirmative votes.

6. Applying, now, this reasonable and only reasonable principle of counting as judicial those votes only that had a judicial quality or intent—that is, those that *by intention of their givers* expressed a distinct and conscientious judgment touching the scope and intended meaning of *the existing law*—it is manifest that if even two of those laymen who voted for the amended report did not belong to Class A, but voted as they did for reasons "a" or "b" above, or for any other similar reason, the due subtraction of their two votes from the lay majority of two in favor of the so-called judicial declaration leaves the declaration itself without enough "judicial" votes for its adoption. The total paper is not defeated; the number voting for it and the number voting against it remain unchanged; but for an unqualified and perfectly legitimate and defensible "*judicial declaration of the existing law*" it has not vote senough that have the judicial quality.

7. Of the total number that actually voted for the amended report a generous proportion no doubt belonged to Class A, and their votes had a proper judicial quality and intent. But that seventy-seven out of the seventy-eight laymen that voted for the paper belonged to Class A is to all persons acquainted with the sentiments of the laity at the time extremely improbable. Even those who are foremost in claiming that a proper and valid judicial decision was given do not claim that all the affirmative votes, or that among the laity all but one, were given by persons belonging to Class A, or, on the other hand, that all the negative votes were given by members of Class B. One prominent defender of the action makes the majority to have consisted of at least two classes of persons, the minority of at least three, so making five classes in all, each class having its own distinct views and motives in voting.* How many

*Compare this statement from the *Christian Advocate* of September 13, 1894 (italics mine): "*Most* of the believers in the eligibility of women under the law voted against it [that is, the amended report]; *some* who did not believe in the eligibility of women under the law, and were wholly opposed to their ever becoming eligible, voted against the report after amendment, *because of the proposition to submit the change of the constitution to the Church*; and *for the same reason* some who could not decide for eligibility *voted for* the amended report." As an eminent judge has repeatedly pointed out, a vote on the wisdom of changing the law is one thing, while a vote on the meaning of the law as it reads is quite another. The result of the hybrid vote of 1888 was neither defensible interpretation nor legitimate legislation.

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of the affirmative votes were expressive of strictly judicial judgment and intent is not known, and can never be known, and the same must be said of the negative votes. By tabling the fair-minded motion for a division of the amended report the General Conference rendered it forever impossible to determine how a vote on the judicial question alone would have fallen out. Under these circumstances, as the laity has neither the ordinary nor any clear extraordinary evidence that a majority of the persons who voted for the amended report indisputably belonged to Class A, and accordingly that they *intended* to unite in a strictly judicial declaration as to the true force and meaning of *the existing law*, it seems to many intelligent and conscientious people, irrespective of party preferences, that no one is legally or morally bound to defend the adopted paper as a regularly obtained and legitimate and binding judicial declaration. It also seems to them that any method of judicially interpreting the existing law of the Church *by the aid of votes given for other than judicial reasons* is self-evidently wrong.*

Calling now the foregoing paragraphs a preamble, let us add to it a form of declaration or subscription, as follows:

Despite the foregoing considerations, and all similar ones, we the undersigned hereby publicly affirm that in our deliberate judgment the peculiar method by which the legislative and the judicial portions of the amended report of 1888 *were made to stand or fall together, according to the issue of one and the same vote, was a legitimate and perfectly defensible method of judicial procedure—one safe, as a precedent, in any future case in which the true meaning of a constitutional provision may be in question.*

The above preamble and declaration were prepared many months ago. In view of the now renewed discussions and votings they are brought forth from the drawer for the purpose of testing the real sentiment of the most conservative of the recognized legal authorities in the Church touching a question of fundamental and abiding importance. The writer questions

* For a fuller consideration of the illegitimacy and of the perils of this method the reader is referred to an article in *Zion's Herald* of January 16, 1895, entitled "Let Us Turn the Case About—What Might Have Happened in 1880." The article also appeared at about the same date in the *Western Christian Advocate*, and in the *Northern*. It showed how, by the Neely amendment process, in a perfectly possible case, a majority of one more than one third of the General Conference with one more than one fourth of the Annual Conference members might overthrow a fundamental safeguard of the Church's constitution.

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no brother's motives or judgment in any past action; he only desires to know whether he himself understands the unprecedented and double-headed action of 1888 aright, and whether others understand it aright. For the sake of ascertaining this the writer, in the most brotherly spirit, here respectfully and earnestly invites those who claim that in the action of 1888 a legitimate and defensible "judicial declaration" was given to find any three of our sixteen general superintendents, or any seven delegates who have ever been selected to serve on the Judiciary Committee of a General Conference—excepting those selected in 1892 *—who are willing to subscribe to the above declaration without qualification, and to permit it, with the preamble, to be printed with their signatures in any of the official periodicals of the Church. If within four weeks of the time of the publication of this communication the called-for subscribers shall be found, the present writer publicly promises to withdraw his teachings on this subject for careful reconsideration, and, if possible, for absolute retraction. If, on the other hand, the subscribers cannot be found, he will feel entitled to take the result as an abundant unpartisan vindication of the view expressed in the first title of the present article.

POSTSCRIPT, THREE MONTHS LATER.

From recent private correspondence with certain of my conservative friends I am led to believe that some of them hold that, while the parliamentary process by which the so-called judicial declaration of 1888 was secured was not defensible or safe, the result was a legally and morally binding interpretation of the law. To test the opinion of conservative experts with respect to this position, I here add a second public declaration, as follows:

The undersigned hereby publicly declare that in their deliberate judgment the General Conference of 1888 *rendered a legally and morally binding judicial decision touching the eligibility of women under the existing law, but by a parlia-*

*The reason for this exception is found in the well-known fact that in their unsuccessful report to the General Conference the members of the Judiciary Committee of 1892 precommitted themselves on the side of the above declaration, recording apparently a vote of fourteen to one against my view. The extraordinary strength of this vote places in a most striking light the superabundant fairness of the above proposals and the great confidence of their author in the soundness of his position.

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mentary process indefensible in principle and unsafe as a precedent.

If any three of the bishops, or any seven of our Judiciary Committeemen who served before 1892, can be found who will sign and appropriately publish this latter declaration with the foregoing preamble I will at once gracefully retire from the arena of this debate and content myself as best I may with praying for the peace of Jerusalem and for the enlightenment of her future rulers.

William F. Warren.

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ART. X.—THE REAL JUDICIAL DECLARATION OF 1888.

IT may seem to be presumption in me to respond to President Warren's "friendly appeal to conservative experts." Moderately conservative I may claim to be, but an expert, by no means. Nevertheless, I may be able to answer the reasoning of the preceding article. I wish to do it in the sweet and kindly spirit which characterizes that. In order to find the right starting point it will be profitable to see, in brief, a little more clearly just what was the action of the General Conference of 1888 pertinent to the subject in hand.

Five women appeared at the bar of the Conference, presenting certificates of election as lay delegates, and claiming seats as such. A protest against their being seated was also presented. The question of their eligibility, with the protest, was referred to a select committee of seventeen, made exceptionally strong by its composition. After due deliberation the committee reported "that under the constitution and laws of the Church as they now are women are not eligible as lay delegates in the General Conference," and as a consequence that the protest "is sustained by the Discipline." During the discussions the report was amended by adding the following: "But since there is great interest in this question, and since the Church generally should be consulted in regard to such an important matter, therefore, *Resolved*, That we submit to the Annual Conferences the proposition to amend the second restrictive rule by adding the words, 'and said delegates may be men or women,' after the words 'two lay delegates for an Annual Conference;' so that it will read, 'nor of more than two lay delegates for an Annual Conference, and said delegates may be men or women.'" When the report, as so amended, came up for action the debate was closed on behalf of the committee by Warner Miller, who was one of its members. Before the final vote a division of the question was moved, but the motion was laid upon the table. The report, as amended, was adopted by a majority of thirty-seven on the ministerial vote and of two on the lay vote.

Now, the substance of Dr. Warren's argument is that this final action was not a "legitimate and defensible" decision of a

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question of law, for the reason that not all of the majority votes had what he calls the judicial quality. He does not put this on the ground that two things were united in the determining vote, one the decision of a constitutional question (which was judicial), and the other a proposition for a submission to the Annual Conferences of a proposed constitutional amendment (which was not judicial); for he admits that if it were known that everyone who voted for the amended report belonged to his Class A (those who conscientiously held that without constitutional amendment women could not be lay delegates), it might be argued with considerable fairness that "the final action adopted by a total majority of thirty-nine was probably equivalent to a valid judicial declaration." Indeed, it needs no admission from anyone to establish the fact that such would be the result.

But Dr. Warren's contention is that some of those who voted for the amended report did not conscientiously believe that women were ineligible "under the constitution and laws of the Church as they now are;" that is, they did not believe all that they voted; therefore their action had not the judicial quality and is not binding. His whole argument rests on this foundation. It is only needful, therefore, to examine this assumption of fact. It is not necessary to take down the superstructure piece by piece if the corner stone gives way.

Dr. Warren divides the majority into two classes: "A," those who hold that the first part of the final action (the original report) was correct, and "B," all others, whatever their views. This is certainly an original way of analyzing the action of either a judicial or a legislative body. I will undertake to say that no judicial decision of any court consisting of two or more members, or any act of any legislative body, could stand the test under such a process if you once give the objector a free hand and the use of an unrestrained imagination. All he need say is that the majority is composed of those who really believed what they voted and "all others," and that "no man knows or ever knew" what was the number of the "all others," and you have the sovereign annihilator of all legislative and judicial obstacles in the way of universal progress.

Logically, it makes no difference that the measure passed was twofold. That was only to the disadvantage of the com-

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bined proposition. It is altogether likely, as Dr. Warren says, that some who believed in the law as declared disapproved of the appeal to the Church, and so voted with the minority. The amended report as adopted thus had a double load to carry, as it had to get votes in favor of both of two distinct propositions instead of one. It is perfectly legitimate to suppose that some voted with the minority on the ground above indicated, because it is in accordance with probabilities and with reason and conscience, and is consistent with their votes; but it is not legitimate to attribute to anyone voting either way an opinion directly contrary to what he expressed by his vote.

Dr. Warren gives us two canons of interpretation (his 1 and 2), apparently constructed for the occasion, but they seem to be fair, and at any rate will serve the present purpose. The reader is referred to them without full repetition here.

We are not at liberty to presume that any of the voters united in the interpreting judgment except deliberately and with definite intent. The occasion was a serious one; the discussion was earnest and exhaustive; every man was conscious that he was charged with a grave responsibility, and that he was acting under the eye of the whole Church. Never were men put more thoroughly upon the very mettle of their judgment and conscience. So much for the first rule.

And then, is not the judgment which was rendered made binding by the very kind of evidence provided by the second rule as sufficient? Is it not supported by "ordinary evidence," which, we are told, should of course be sought in the record of the official body? We have the record, and it shows that a "clear majority" (any majority is a *clear* majority) did unite in the interpretation. What other evidence could there be in the record?

And yet Dr. Warren, without a particle of proof, so far as appears, to support his speculation, proceeds to mystify himself by supposing, for fanciful reasons, that some unknown proportion of the voters were actuated by motives and beliefs at war with the declaration of their votes. He seems to take the case of the lay delegates as presenting the best vantage ground for his argument, probably because there was only a majority of two in the lay vote in favor of the report as adopted. He says: "But that seventy-seven out of the seventy-eight laymen that

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voted for the paper belonged to Class A is to all persons acquainted with the sentiments of the laity at the time extremely improbable." Is a formal and solemn declaration of the General Conference, then, to be impeached by what any number of persons may think as to the sentiments of the laity? It would be as easy to say, and probably nearer the truth, that a vote of seventy-eight to seventy-six fell short of expressing the preponderance of lay sentiment in favor of the decision.

But it is utterly immaterial what the prevalent sentiment of the laity was; the only important thing in this discussion is, How was the lay vote in the Conference cast? Dr. Warren seems to suppose that there were probably at least two of the seventy-eight laymen who either "felt uninformed as to the intention of the past legislation on the subject, and preferred to evade the responsibility of a personal vote," or believed that "no new legislation was necessary in order to the admission of women," and yet for the sake of peace thought best to go through the slow method of constitutional amendment, and so voted that new legislation *was* necessary. Is it not apparent how perfectly gratuitous such an assumption is, besides being ever so uncharitable? Even if it were lawful to impeach the members of the court in this way it would still not disturb the force and verity of the judgment. The record speaks for itself; it is not ambiguous; it cannot be frittered away by gossip or surmise. But it ought to be said that, if any delegate confesses that he voted for a report the main and decisive part of which was against his belief, self-stultification would be the mildest term to apply to such an offense.

Our friend complains bitterly that the question was not divided. We have already seen how its not being divided would be likely to operate against the affirmative; but if those believing in the eligibility of women, as a bare proposition, or if those who favored a constitutional amendment had been in a majority either party could have ordered the division. All parties seem to agree that there were some members of the Conference (it is reasonably certain there was a considerable number of them) who desired to see women admitted to the General Conference but believed they were not eligible as the law stood. These might well desire to see a proposition for a constitutional amendment coupled with the decision, so that

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while in their votes they might be loyal to their intellect, they might at the same time provide for the gratification of their wishes. They would naturally oppose a division of the question, and it would be "legitimate" for them to do so.

Other speculations might be indulged in which would be quite as probable as those of Dr. Warren, as, for instance, that some who desired the admission of women *at that time*, if they could obtain it, but also wished to provide for a change of the law, if necessary for that purpose, opposed the division of the question so as to force all those who supported the original report to also support the amendment. This may have been considered a fair parliamentary device. Whether it was so or not, our better way is to attribute no motives except such as are creditable. Let us believe that all the votes "by intention of their givers expressed a distinct and conscientious judgment touching the scope and intended meaning of the existing law." In that case it is admitted they would have the "judicial quality and intent." And we have no right to believe anything else. Perhaps no question was ever decided in a deliberative assembly with less admixture of unworthy or even doubtful motives. The members must have acted with a solemn sense of their responsibility to the great Head of the Church. What right, then, have objectors to say that any minister, or any layman, had not sufficient information or intelligence to form a well-defined opinion as to the state of the law as it then stood; or that he voted one way, or the other, because he had no such opinion; or that, having an opinion one way, he voted the other for the sake of peace? And yet it is substantially alleged that there were some liable to one or another of these charges. "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth; yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand."

And as an answer to the whole scheme of this attack let it be borne in mind that a decision *is* a decision, whether it be of an ecclesiastical or any other court; and it is none the less so because some subsidiary matter may be coupled with it. How would a party fare in a court of law if he should attempt to evade or overthrow a decision of the Supreme Court previously made, as not having the judicial quality, by showing that the court in connection with it recommended the legislature to con-

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sider the expediency of repealing or amending the law under which the judgment was pronounced? Yet that is precisely the drift of the article which I am essaying to answer.

As a sort of supplement to the discussion Dr. Warren advertises two very remarkable proposals. Seriously as he takes his own arguments, it is hardly possible that he can be serious about these. By the first he declares in effect that unless, within four weeks, either three bishops or seven members among all of the judiciary committees of the General Conferences previous to that of 1892 shall sign a certificate that they consider the manner in which the subject was disposed of by the adoption of the amended report a legitimate and perfectly defensible method of judicial procedure he will take such failure as a vindication of his views. Of course he does not expect any such answer to his challenge, whatever may be the views of any, or all, of the persons included in the designation; but I think I can give him a fact which is equivalent to the statement he calls for. It is necessarily implied by the terms of the offer, that all the men who have been selected for those several judiciary committees would naturally be, and were, men of such weight and character that he will commit his case to any seven of them, as being equal to three bishops. Of course such men would not vote for any action which they did not consider "legitimate and perfectly defensible." Now, I point out the fact, from the record, that not only *seven* but *nine* of the thirteen members of the Judiciary Committee of 1888 voted for the report in question as adopted on its final passage, thus virtually vouching for its fairness.

The persistent efforts that have been made in various ways, and with great versatility of invention, to break the force of the decision of 1888, I must humbly submit, are all pernicious in their tendency. It was attempted to have the Conference of 1892 directly reverse that of 1888. Then we had the now discredited Hamilton plan the most illegitimate and indefensible of all contrivances; we have now, from a high quarter, a forced and artificial classification of votes, upon assumed and unwarrantable distinctions, for the purpose of impugning the record, which the same authority tells us is the ordinary evidence of legislative or judicial transactions.

The bent of these and of all attacks having the same object

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in view is to break down the safeguards of constitutional law and of judicial authority, though by no means so intended by the authors and promoters. It will be found easy to inflict great if not irreparable injury upon the Church by seeking to accomplish results in any but a direct and straightforward way; much easier to inflict than to repair. No enemy from without could do us half the damage that we can do ourselves. A great observer of human events, as well as of human nature, has said:

> O, then beware!
> Those wounds heal ill that men do give themselves.

However our opinions may differ, we can surely all unite with Dr. Warren in the prayer that the Church may be guided to do those things which are wisest and best.

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Art. XI.—REASON AND SENTIMENT AS FACTORS IN SOCIAL PROGRESS.

It is generally held by philologists that the word which in the Teutonic tongues designates the head of the animal kingdom is closely allied to a verbal root whose signification is "to think." Man is, therefore, the thinking being *par excellence* in the realm of animated nature. Whether this derivation be correct or not, and necessarily without reference to it, man is wont to assert for himself the proud preeminence of occupying the highest place among the creatures that inhabit the earth, and to claim that this position has been accorded to him, or that he has won it for himself, because he alone is the possessor of reason. It may be interesting, and it is certainly not without profit, from the practical point of view, to examine to what extent the history of the race, so far as it is fairly well authenticated, bears out the common belief that reason has been the prime factor, the chief motive power, in human progress. Such an examination will prove almost beyond a doubt that ideas, impulses generally irrational, tradition, interests real or imaginary, and national traits have played a far larger part in the records of the past, and are doing so still, than is generally believed. A saying attributed to Franklin, that there would be no advantage in being a reasonable creature if one could not find a reason for doing what he wants to, pointedly expresses the subordination of reason to other motives that impel men to action.

When a man makes up his mind to do a thing he can generally prove by a mental process to his own satisfaction that he ought to do it. Let us take the burning social problem of the day and see how far the influence of reason has been effective in dealing with it. We mean the drink problem. The advocates of temperance have nearly all the reasons on their side; their opponents have everything else, including the appetites of those who drink and the avarice of those who sell. The intelligent class among all European peoples are on the side of temperance. Writers and speakers are warning their countrymen against the dangers of alcoholism. They are demonstrating from day to day that more than one half the evils that afflict

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the body politic are due to drink. They point to the uncontradicted testimony furnished by the records of poverty, crime, and wretchedness as evidence of the reasonableness of their teaching. Yet how little has been accomplished, how few drunkards have been reclaimed, by argument! Often the very men who are firmly convinced of the danger of meddling with strong drink—and who is not?—are unable to resist an appetite when once strengthened by indulgence. The inefficacy of reason to stand against the desire for drink has been so fully demonstrated that it has largely changed the methods by which the demon of alcoholism is to be combated. Instead of arguments addressed to reason, training is applied for the formation of right habits. Prophylactic agencies are brought to bear upon the child while in the plastic state; and, though the reasoning powers are yet weak, this has been found to be the more effective, and indeed the only generally effective, preventive of drunkenness. We have no desire here to enter into a discussion of the temperance question, and have only touched upon it because it illustrates in a striking way, and by examples familiar to all, the subordinate position of reason in directing human affairs.

Among the uncomplimentary remarks made by Schopenhauer about men there is more truth in the following than most of us like to admit:

> Brainless pates are the rule, fairly furnished ones the exception, the brilliantly endowed very rare, genius a *portentum*. How otherwise could we account for the fact that out of upward of eight hundred millions of existing human beings, and after the chronicled experience of six thousand years, so much should still remain to discover, to think out, and to be said? By far the greater part of humanity are wholly inaccessible to purely intellectual enjoyments. They are quite incapable of the delight that exists in ideas as such, everything standing in a certain relation to their own individual will, in other words, to themselves and their own affairs. In order to interest them it is necessary that their wills should be acted upon, no matter in how remote a degree.

The material of which reformers is made is furnished by nature in such small quantities that none of it gets into the great mass of mankind. They are pretty well content with the world as it is, and expend far more thought in making themselves as comfortable in it as may be than in making it better. "We must take the world as it is," or "Why should

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we concern ourselves with the doings of our neighbors so long as they do not directly interfere with our own?" has always been the conscious or unconscious creed of a large majority of the human race. The researches of anthropologists and historians have thus far failed to discover any evidence of the existence of human beings upon earth who were intellectually inferior to those now living. In so far as there has been or is any inferiority it is quantitative rather than qualitative. The most abject races can be civilized in a generation or two when placed under proper conditions. No new faculties need to be created; it is only necessary to develop those already existing. Yet human progress is a comparatively recent thing. But faint traces of it are discoverable until the advent of the Greeks. Egypt and Babylon appear to us, at the other end of the vista of historical perspective, about as we find them two or three thousand years later. This could hardly have been possible if reason had been a force in ancient society. In so far as it was, it can only have been the reason of the modern Turk, who finds the idea of progress utterly repugnant to him and who is content to be what his father was before him. If progress is founded upon reason, and not upon race characteristics, it is impossible to explain the wide differences that exist among the inhabitants of the globe.

There is no question affecting the relation of man to man upon which the civilized world is at present more nearly agreed than that slavery is wrong. So deep-seated has this feeling become that the foremost nations of our time have not only ceased to tolerate it among themselves, but have undertaken to extirpate it from the face of the earth. While we may question to some extent the disinterestedness of the motives of some of those who engage in its suppression, there is no doubt that they have a strong public sentiment back of them. How glaring is the contrast of public opinion to-day upon this question with that of antiquity! No intelligent man will assert that in the power of thought, in the ability to reason, the world has advanced one iota in two thousand years. It is universally conceded that no greater men ever lived than Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. These men, to say nothing of many others, seemed to have divined by a sort of superhuman prescience almost all the lines of human progress for all time to come. Yet how

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little they have to say upon slavery, except to recognize it as an existing institution! Aristotle even enters into an elaborate discussion to show that servitude is the natural state of a part of the human race. Might has always made slaves. Even slaves found nothing reprehensible in the practice and submitted calmly to their condition, though they now and then rebelled against oppression. Those who had themselves been slaves never hesitated to enthrall others when by a turn of fortune they found the power in their hands. Not many years have passed since it was a common thing to defend slavery, and even the pulpit took a share in this defense. We were frequently told that it was ordained by God himself; that its abuse was no reason for its abolition; that it would be just as reasonable to turn all children over to the care of the state because some parents maltreated or neglected their offspring. Dean Alford, writing in 1864, expressed his contempt for the American people for several reasons, and among others for their "reckless and fruitless maintenance of the most cruel and unprincipled war in the history of the world." This dignitary of the Church uttered not only his own sentiments, but that of the entire aristocratic class in England, to which the Anglican Church professes to belong. How delusive the progress of the last score of years has proved the learned dean's reasoning to have been! How few persons can be found to-day who defend slavery! England itself abolished slavery, not because it was more unreasonable in the nineteenth century than in the eighteenth, but because the growth of the altruistic sentiment among the English people would no longer tolerate it.

It is doubtful whether in the last analysis war is ever a reasonable procedure. Under certain conditions a people may be justified in taking up arms. When a government becomes so tyrannical that its subjects can endure its domination no longer there is sometimes no recourse but rebellion. But not many of the wars that have drenched the earth with blood have been of this sort. Generally they are born of the lust of conquest or of the desire to uphold that peculiar sentiment, national honor. Many wars have been undertaken from a religious motive, and these have usually been the most relentless; yet the superiority of one religion over another is the last question that can reasonably be settled with the sword.

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Hardly different is the case when national honor is involved. Take, for instance, the Franco-Prussian war. The French people held that their nation was insulted in the person of their ambassador. All knew that this was a mere pretext for engaging in a conflict that had already been determined upon. Two individuals who happen to have a dispute can usually settle their differences by referring them to a third party, especially if force in the guise of law is behind the arbitrator. It is generally found that one or the other party is in the wrong, or it may be both. In the nature of the case a national dispute might be decided in the same way. But it is rarely done. It must be decided in a way that always proves costly to both parties and terribly costly to one of them. Reason and experience have proclaimed their lessons, for the most part in vain. In spite of our boasted progress there is a painful amount of truth in the recent words of a congressman: "Nineteen hundred years have passed since the advent of the Man of Nazareth, and instead of growing nearer and more near to the universal era of peace all the energies, all the inventive talent, all the genius of the human mind are now devoted to the manufacture and construction and suggestion of implements of war more horrible, more fatal in the power of execution, than any which the world has heretofore seen." The intellectual preeminence of the Athenian people is well known. But how did they use their intelligence? Was it employed to promote the welfare of one another? It was rather used to defend the institution to which they had fallen heir by no effort of their own. Far more thought and labor were expended in trying to injure one another than in the work of promoting their own welfare or that of their neighbors.

There is probably no sentiment that dwells permanently in the human breast, and is hardly ever absent from any member of the race, for which so little can be said on the ground of reason as the love of early scenes. Tacitus failed to see how anyone could endure to live in such a country as Germany, unless it were his native land. But affection for home and familiar surroundings is hardly ever effaced, no matter how unpleasant they may have been, and how far subsequent prosperity has removed one from them. Early habits leave such an abiding impress on us that we review the familiar scenes

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with a certain degree of pleasure, even when this is not untinged with sadness. The Irish peasant never forgets the land of his birth, though his recollections are wholly of abject poverty, of squalor and half-satisfied hunger; and he is ready at all times to take up arms against the government that he holds responsible for his woes. The German seeks to transplant his native customs to every land that hospitably receives him, and to make his new home in many respects as much like the land of his birth as he can. The Scandinavian from the far North, a land almost unendurable to those accustomed to warmer regions, is never so happy as when he is permitted to return to his early haunts and to live over again the familiar scenes of his youth. There is no explanation of this curious psychological fact except that we feel a certain pleasure in doing over again that to which we have been accustomed, though at first it may have been unpleasant and even painful. Men are prone to run in grooves. It is hard to get those who have not been trained for it to do some new thing, to entertain new thoughts, to strike out new paths. Much easier is it to accept a tradition than to examine its trustworthiness. There is no harder work than thinking; and it is a kind of labor to which the common man is much averse. No wonder that he finds pleasure in doing and believing what has become familiar and easy. No wonder that early habits and beliefs have such a powerful hold on most of mankind that they are ready to fight and even lay down their lives to preserve them. And what shall we say of the influence of chivalry upon the history of the world, using the term in an ethical rather than an historical sense? It is almost the sole secular motive that lights up the dark wilderness of mediæval history. "Order, veracity, loyalty, self-sacrifice, and mildness of manners, the protection of the weak and the innocent, and the punishment of wrong" were the motives that gave it birth and nourished it into full-grown maturity.

From the mythical age of Hæmon and Antigone to the day of the contemporary novelist and poet affection between persons of the opposite sex has been a powerful incentive to human action. The fact that it plays so large a part in the literature of fiction is but the proof that the shadow furnishes of a substance not far away. What deeds of prowess and daring has it not inspired and carried to successful issue! It is true

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that its reign has not been one of unmixed good. From the courts of emperors and kings to the home of the peasant it has exerted its baleful or benevolent influence. We are not here concerned with the purity of the motive, but with its strength. No one who takes time to reflect can doubt that the devotion of the lover to his lady, or of the lady to her lord, has been one of the most powerful factors in the development of the race. Whether it has been the ephemeral passion, whose fierce flames burned out the fuel upon which it fed in the brief space of a day, or the conjugal fidelity as abiding as life itself, its potency none will dispute. Often the source of its inspiration, as in the case of Lady Macbeth, was demoniacal rather than divine. Yet it was none the less potent as the arbiter of the destinies of individuals and of nations.

Perhaps no fact in what we may call ethnological psychology is more potent than the constitutional inability of any nation to form a just estimate of itself. And this weakness increases, if such an expression be admissible, with the rank and intelligence of those who exhibit it. No reader, except a native, will rely upon the history of any country written by a native historian. In nine cases out of ten, wherever there is in the narrative an opportunity for the display of national bias we are sure to find it. That France marches at the head of civilization is an assertion one would endeavor in vain to refute in debate with a Frenchman. In their opinion they have never had occasion to go abroad for anything that was desirable. Yet it is an accepted fact that the French people know less of other countries than almost any people of Europe. Another typical case is afforded by recent histories of Germany. The success of the Germans in the Franco-Prussian war has turned the heads of almost the entire people; and the German historians frequently talk of their fellow-countrymen as if they belonged to some higher order of beings and had always so belonged. This, too, in spite of the fact that German literature, from the close of the Reformation almost to the time of the French Revolution, is hardly more than a blank; while for a still longer period the German people, oppressed at home and despised abroad, were of no political consequence whatever. Difficult is it to get material for self-glorification out of German history. But national prejudice has abundantly demonstrated its power

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to accomplish this feat. As few persons have access to original records, the great majority see facts only at long range and through the distorted medium of national vanity or prejudice, or both, with results that may be and often have been painful enough. It is sad indeed that so few persons can be led to see that truth alone makes free. Zeus is represented in a passage of the "Odyssey" as saying: "Lo, how men blame the gods! From us, they say, spring troubles. Yet of their own perversity, beyond what is their due, they meet with sorrow." It is evident that Homer's chief god was a careful observer. His sagacious remarks were not only history, but prophecy also.

In one of his lectures Professor Giesebrecht used the following language: "The sovereignty belongs to Germany because the Germans are an *élite* nation, a noble race; and for the same reason it ought to exercise an influence on its neighbors that it is the right and duty of every man endowed with superior intelligence and force to act upon those individuals less highly endowed about him." How an honest man who knows the history of Germany can give utterance to such sentiments exceeds belief. Sometimes poor mortals who have lost their reason imagine themselves to be God. Such persons are usually confined in asylums, where they can harm neither themselves nor others. But in Germany we find men in professors' chairs, and even wearing titles of nobility, telling their countrymen that they belong to a race of demigods, the speakers included, and are charged with the mission of enlightening their neighbors. This would be amusing if it were not likely to lead to grave consequences. Everyone who has associated with those Prussians who give tone to public opinion knows that they are haughty and overbearing, and are always ready to make their superiority felt by the same methods that won for the lion the title of king of beasts.

In France the case is not greatly otherwise. Their pride has been humiliated in the loss of two provinces to a nation they have been taught to despise. Yet what can it matter to the people of Alsace-Lorraine who governs them, provided they are well governed and permitted to possess their property in peace? Their attachment to France is all the more ridiculous for the reason that they are radically German. Here, again, we see the inability of reason to make progress against a

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mere sentiment. Many a brave Frenchman has laid down his life for the delusive phantom *la gloire*, and to what purpose? Taine, speaking only of the Napoleonic era, says:

> According to him [Napoleon] man is held through his egoistic passions, fear, cupidity, sensuality, self-esteem, and emulation; these are the mainsprings when he is not under excitement, when he reasons. Moreover, it is not difficult to turn the brain of man, for he is imaginative, credulous, and subject to being carried away; stimulate his pride or vanity, provide him with an extreme and false opinion of himself and his fellow-men, and you can start him off head downward whenever you please.

The results of proceeding upon this policy are thus summed up by the learned writer:

> Between 1804 and 1815 he has had slaughtered more than 1,700,000 men born within the ancient boundaries of France, to which must be added probably 2,000,000 of men born out of these limits, and all for him, under the title of allies, or slain on his account, under the title of enemies. All that the poor, enthusiastic, and credulous Gauls have gained by confiding their public welfare to him is two invasions; all that he bequeaths to them as a reward for their devotion, after this prodigious waste of their blood and the blood of others, is a France shorn of fifteen departments acquired by the republic, deprived of Savoy, the left bank of the Rhine, and of Belgium—losing 4,000,000 of new Frenchmen which it had assimilated after many years of life in common, and, worse still, thrown back within the frontiers of 1789, alone diminished in the midst of its aggrandized neighbors, suspected by all Europe, and lastingly surrounded by a threatening circle of distrust and rancor.

A few years before the French people, for an idea which they expressed in the trinitarian formula, "Liberty, equality, fraternity," destroyed every man and every institution that seemed to stand in the way of a practical realization of the creed it embodied. Yet hardly a decade had passed before they were ready to follow implicitly the most uncompromising tyrant that ever deluded a people. The desire to be free from oppression is eminently reasonable; but what can we say of a people who had just broken the yoke of bondage that had so long and heavily lain upon their own necks and yet tried to fasten a new one upon their neighbors as well as upon themselves? No wonder Napoleon had a poor opinion of men when he saw how easily they could be led *en masse* into crime and misery.

During the past few years we have heard much about the so-called Monroe doctrine. In definition it apparently amounts to

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about this: when any government administered in Europe interferes in the affairs of any country on the western hemisphere, except in the case of its own possessions, the people of the United States are to regard such interference as a direct menace against them. Yet the territory virtually owned by Great Britain on the western continent, to say nothing of other European governments, is probably equal in extent to the Union, and England may therefore reasonably be supposed to have an equal interest here with ourselves. Nor is there any doubt that the Spanish American States, if they were administered by an enlightened people like the English, in spite of their shortcomings, would enjoy peace and prosperity such as they have never known. We have assumed that the attitude of a monarchy toward a republic is always that of an oppressor, and without always inquiring into the facts in the case. Again, there is now a strong feeling of sympathy for the Cubans in their struggle to free themselves from the yoke of Spain. This feeling is evidently strongest in those States that fifty years ago led the United States into a most unjust war with Mexico and a few years later plunged the country into civil war to keep the chains of slavery on four millions of human beings—a far worse state than that of the Cubans under the government of Spain.

The fundamental activity of the soldier is expressed by the poet in the lines,

> Theirs not to reason why,
> Theirs but to do or die.

The soldier is not to inquire for a reason; he has but to do what he is ordered to do. He is usually a young man; not so young that his reasoning powers are undeveloped, but yet so young that his energy is prone to find expression in action rather than in deliberation. War needs not only men who are physically strong, but men who can be depended upon to subordinate their reasoning powers to the word of command. Whether the command be a reasonable one does not enter into the problem. The best soldier is not he who looks at war in a large way, and who is capable of understanding the cause for which he is to lay down his life; but it is he who is best able to use the means within his reach to accomplish the ends placed before him by those in authority over him. It is a question whether intelligence is so important a factor as is generally believed. No coun-

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try has been so uniformly successful in war as Russia, because no armies fight more bravely than the Russian. The Russian peasant, crassly ignorant as he has always been and is, never hesitates to lay down his life for his emperor, if the latter wills it. Apparently he has never concerned himself about the reason why. Yet what astonishing results have rewarded his prowess! While he cannot frame into words the Horatian *dictum*, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori," he does more—he is the living exponent of it. Public sentiment finds ten heroes on the battlefield to one in civil life. That foolhardy bravery is often displayed and life lost in unwise and foolish conflict makes little difference. The world is interested directly in the act, and looks no farther. Physical courage is still rated far higher than moral courage; if it were not so the world would to-day present a far different aspect from that which we see.

From the consideration of mere personal bravery the transition is easy to the contemplation of patriotism. Here is a sentiment that is as universal as man himself. Every man, no matter how low in the scale of civilization, feels a certain degree of affection for the land of his birth; it is an affection akin to that which he feels for himself. But patriotism is an idea that, *per se*, will not for a moment stand the test of reason. The patriot is not necessarily better or worse than the man whose motto is, "Ubi bene, ibi patria." The Fuegian loves his country just as fervently as Gladstone or Bismarck. If the former were compelled to change place with either of the latter both would be equally unhappy. The one would protest as loudly against the efforts to elevate him as the latter to degenerate him.

Patriotism is not necessarily unreasonable, but it is always unreasoning. A man may be able to give a good account for the faith that is in him, and he may not. Lessing wrote, "Of love of country I have no conception; it appears to me but a heroic weakness which I am right glad to be without." Goethe was frequently blamed for his lack of patriotism. And, in truth, there is little in his writings that exhibits a distinctive German feeling, and there was equally little in his life. Plato, a coryphæus among philosophers, is singularly free from national bias. When the historian Polybius made a study of the history of Rome he found that its steady growth was not an accident. Though a foreigner he could see that its government was

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stable from the absence of the forces that made the government of his own people unstable. The Romans had instinctively put into effect those principles which the Greek philosophers had for centuries preached in vain to their own countrymen. The Romans were no philosophers, and despised philosophy. But they had the instinct of government, and rarely followed this instinct to their own detriment. Practical wisdom does not come through knowledge, often not even through experience. It may serve men who think, but this class is generally too small to make its impress permanently felt in the growth of States. Frederick the Great is reported to have said that, if he wanted to ruin one of his fairest provinces, he need only place it under the government of the philosophers. Akin to this is his remark that "one pinch of common sense is worth a university full of learning." Perhaps he had in mind the scholastic pedantry of his day that had its seat in the German universities, rather than the wholesome thinking that men may do if they have the proper incentives. It is true Plato thought that unless philosophers became kings, or kings philosophers, there would be no cessation of calamities among men; but he probably found few persons to agree with him. Fortunately or unfortunately, there is hardly any point upon which philosophers, the professed lovers of wisdom, are agreed among themselves. This is specially true where national prejudices come into play. But even among men of the same nationality there are often the bitterest animosities. Truth is not an abstraction. Those who are engaged in search for what they believe to be the truth are men with passions like ordinary mortals, and as likely to be blinded by them. Here, then, we find the same difference as to what is reasonable, sentiment again overmastering reason. Reason is artificial, deliberate, skeptical. Its function in human affairs is to regulate and control, not to supply a motive force. It decides how to do, rather than what to do. Only in a restricted sense can it be said that intelligence rules the world. We believe the author of *Social Evolution* has stated a truth of far wider application than he makes of it when he says:

> It has to be confessed that in England during the nineteenth century the educated classes, in almost all the great political changes that have been effected, have taken the side of the party afterward admitted to have

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been in the wrong—they have almost invariably opposed at the time the measures they have subsequently come to defend and justify. This is to be noticed alike of measures which have extended education, which have emancipated trade, which have extended the franchise. The educated classes have even, it must be confessed, opposed measures which have tended to secure religious freedom and to abolish slavery. The motive force behind the long list of progressive measures carried during this period has in scarcely any appreciable measure come from the educated classes; it has come almost exclusively from the middle and lower classes, who have in turn acted, not under the stimulus of intellectual motives, but under the influence of their altruistic feelings.*

Progress needs a motive force, and this reason does not provide. The most powerful emotion that moves men partakes more or less of a religious character. It is everywhere in the foreground in the Babylonian and Assyrian wars. It played an important part in the struggle of Greek with Greek, or of Greek with barbarian. A Roman army was invincible only when it was confident that it went into battle with the favor of the gods. The religious idea carried the victorious armies of the Saracens over a large portion of the known earth in an incredibly short time. It is not necessary to enumerate any farther; everyone can recall the course of events for himself. Christianity itself does not appeal primarily to the reason. Its Founder taught "as one having authority, and not as the scribes." His precepts are not usually supported by what men call reasons, nor are they arrived at by processes of ratiocination. Their truth is intended to be spiritually apprehended, not to be worked out by the rules of logic. Herein lies their strength and their universal applicability. They are intended for those who can feel, as well as for those who can reason. And how large the preponderance of the former over the latter!

If we have read the history of philosophy aright it takes singularly little interest in the emotional nature of man. The ancients, indeed, make a great account of the passions, but they generally regard them as a sort of disturbing element in the economy of society. Modern philosophy, beginning with Descartes and ending with Kant, seems to regard man's emotional nature as a matter of little consequence; as a sort of penumbra of the reasoning powers. With the advent of Rous-

* *Social Evolution*, p. 253.

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seau a different state of affairs began to prevail. Rousseau himself was not much of a philosopher, because he lacked system in everything he did. But he was full of fruitful ideas, and he came at a time when the world was ready to listen to what he had to say. In his mental make-up the emotional element largely predominated; he was so much a creature of impulse that there is nothing surprising in the extent to which he moved the world. The world had come to recognize that, while reason must not be ignored in the instruction of youth, it cannot be wholly depended on as a guide. Modern pedagogy lays large stress on training, on giving direction to the young citizen or the young Christian before he is old enough to reason much about it. It seeks to cultivate his sympathies for the needs of society before the selfishness that he is destined to find all around him in later life gains the mastery over him. He is taught that the poor and degraded have a claim upon his charity, although this charity is to be kept under the control of reason. He may not let the slave or beggar perish from neglect, even though both are largely responsible for their condition. It is sympathy, not reason, that is the moving force in the philanthropic spirit that we see manifesting itself so powerfully wherever man has any claim to be called civilized. Examples are numerous and ready to hand everywhere. Surely nothing can be more reasonable than the doctrine that every man is inherently as good as another; yet how slow the world has been in recognizing this self-evident truth, even in theory! Christianity first enunciated it, but even Christianity was not able to bear up permanently against the tide of sentiment and tradition that bore down upon it. The early Christians themselves were slow to accept the doctrine, with all the consequences that seemed likely to flow from it. Even to-day it is far more a matter of theory than of actual practice, so slowly does the world outgrow its prejudices.

The spiritual nature of man, that prescience of God's plan in the government of the world, that sublime faith in the ultimate triumph of right which we often see manifested in highly endowed natures, is in no wise amenable to the laws of reason. We see this exhibited in the most marked degree in the Hebrew prophets. Their lofty faith in the coming of a

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Messiah who should rule the world in righteousness was a trait of a highly endowed spiritual nature. The intellect colored its outward expression, and to some extent modified its form, but was not its source. Many of the world's greatest benefactors —in truth, the large majority of them—have not been men of preeminent intellectual endowment. They were men whose emotional nature was stirred by the wickedness, the spiritual darkness, around them, and whose will was aroused to activity by a contemplation of the situation in which they found themselves. Kant said there is but one good thing in the world, and that is a good will. But the emotional nature seems to be more clearly related to the will than to the intellect, and to be more readily influenced by it. The result is that progress, in the best sense of the word, is not primarily intellectual. Its various phases do not, in the main, originate with the intellectual class, though men of large intellectual endowments often identify themselves with it. It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose that by stimulating and cultivating the intellect we can make the world better. Knowledge is not even power, as we are so often told. It is, indeed, an indispensable prerequisite to power; but power is latent unless stimulated into activity by the will. They are sadly mistaken who imagine that nothing is necessary to insure the continuous amelioration of the condition of mankind but a continuous increase of the world's stock of available knowledge.

Chas. W. Super.

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EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

In the "Arena" of this number Dr. James Mudge makes friendly answer to the critics of his book, *Growth in Holiness toward Perfection; or, Progressive Sanctification*, and endeavors to correct certain misapprehensions. He is allowed space equal to that occupied in our last number by Dr. Lowrey's criticism, to which especially he replies. We earnestly invite contributions to our "Arena," but no communication for it should exceed one thousand words.

Without lowering the dignity which has belonged to the *Review* in its best estate, without incurring any risk of having it classified with light literature, without transforming it into a mere family magazine, without neglecting in the least the biblical, theological, or philosophical, we believe we may promote the advantage and the pleasure of our readers by adding to the range and variety of its contents, in lines profitable to ministerial culture, and especially by giving it in every number, if possible, some distinct literary interest and value. For this course, if it were criticised, a very strong defense might easily be made. Some such policy of extension and enrichment must be pursued by the editor, who recognizes his responsibility to continue that progressive development which has marked the seventy-seven years of the *Methodist Review*.

About twenty years ago a book written by Dr. J. T. Crane, of the Newark Conference, was issued by our Book Concern, regarding which Dr. Whedon wrote in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* as follows:

> Had we been privileged to peruse Dr. Crane's *brochure*, *Holiness the Birthright of all God's Children*, before its publication, we should doubtless have endeavored to convince him that there is no such difference in his views as to require him to place them in so frank an antagonism to Mr. Wesley's. . . . Mr. Wesley and Dr. Crane agree that, at justification, there is conferred a degree of "power" over sin and against temptation. Both would agree that according to the degree of that "power" is the degree of sanctification. Indeed, we think one of the best definitions of sanctification is: *The power, through divine grace, more or less com-*

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plete, and more or less permanent, so to resist temptation and avoid sin as to live in the fullness of divine favor. Where the correlation between the inner state of the soul is such that there is no power to avoid sinning, "and that continually," the depravity is entire. Where, *secondly*, there is power through grace, by faith, largely but partially and precariously to avoid sin, with usually but a dim sense of divine approval, then we should by parity infer that the pravity was not entire but partial. If it were the case of one who had been previously in the *entirely* depraved state, we should imagine that it was a trace of that previous entire state. And viewing this to be about the condition of the ordinary justified person, we look upon this deficit of his spiritual power as a remains of his previous entire inability. Where, *thirdly*, the power is such as to enable one, with the exertion of unremittent care and energy, to maintain, with a clear and regular continuity, the avoidance of such sin as diminishes the light of God's smile upon us, we might with trembling trust call that entire sanctification. Where, *fourthly*, such is the correlation between the soul and temptation that the avoidance of sin is a matter of perfect normal and natural ease, and may be rationally predicted as forever and absolutely permanent (even though there is a free power for sin, and though sin be most abnormally the actual result), there is clearly no depravity. And this is Adamic perfection. But it is quite irrelevant to quote Adam and Eve before the fall to illustrate either of the previous cases. *Finally*, where the soul is entirely removed from the sphere of sin, perfectly filled with God, and framed within a body incapable of sin, so that sin becomes impossible, the holiness is finitely absolute. This last stage of complete indefeasible bliss will be at the resurrection. It is that glorious day to which St. Paul, earnestly looking, beholds the whole creation groaning for the manifestation of *the sons of God.* Regeneration is, indeed, truly a specific term in theology, and yet it comes under the grand genus of the final renovation. Then, for the first moment, the impairment we, one and all, have derived from Adam and sin, shall be completely repaired. Hence, our regeneration here, as individuals, is but initial, as part of the entire regeneration completed at the resurrection. Let us not be impatient because God is so slow as to leave an imperfect "residue" within us. "God is patient, because God is eternal." . . .

Sanctification is, perhaps, less the taking away anything from our inward nature than the bestowment of a repressive power over our inward sinward tendencies. . . .

Our definition of entire sanctification being questioned with a challenge to compare it with that of Wesley, we will place them side by side. We are sure the reader will discern their oneness of ultimate essence under a variety of forms:

Our Definition.	*Wesley's Definition.*
Such a measure of Power over sin as holds us with more or less of continuity in that same perfect fullness of divine approbation as rested upon us when justification first pronounced us through Christ perfectly innocent of sin.	Sanctification in the proper sense is an instantaneous deliverance from all sin, and includes an instantaneous Power, then given, always to cleave to God.

Both these definitions make the sanctified state consist of two things: *First*, "deliverance from sin" (by perfect justification at first); *second*, "power," namely, to maintain that perfect "deliverance from sin." Both definitions make the sancti-

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fication proper consist in "POWER." Wesley says, "power always to cleave to God;" ours says, "power to avoid sin, so far as to retain the perfect divine approbation." Both express the same "power;" ours completely and fully, Wesley's briefly, and rather crudely for a definition. Even the merely regenerate man has "power to cleave to God." Nay, an unregenerate Theist does, as against Atheism, exert "power to cleave to God." Wesley's words are, therefore, inexplicit and inadequate, not completely expressing his own meaning. Taking, now, the previous' point: Wesley says "deliverance from sin" (that is, the guilt of sin, by justification); ours, too, makes the justification from sin the starting and measuring points. Both are, in brief, justification for past sin and power over and against future sin. Both imply that the complete justification at first, maintained by the divinely accepted avoidance in the future, is *holiness*.

POE'S "EUREKA" AND ADDENDA.

FOR several years a revival of interest in the singular genius of Edgar Allan Poe and its strange products has been noticeable both in America and Europe, particularly in France. For the purpose of obtaining money to start a monthly magazine which he was ambitious to establish, Poe, who by reason of his irregularities and intemperance was chronically impecunious, delivered at the Society Library in New York city on February 9, 1848, a lecture on the cosmogony of the universe. One who heard it says: "It was a stormy night, and there were not more than sixty persons present. . . . His lecture was a rhapsody of the most intense brilliancy. He appeared inspired, and his inspiration affected the scant audience almost painfully. His eyes seemed to glow like those of his own Raven, and he kept us entranced for two hours and a half." This lecture appears in his published works under the title of "Eureka, a Prose Poem," filling one hundred duodecimo pages. Its brief Preface is:

> To the few who love me and whom I love—to those who feel rather than to those who think—to the dreamers and those who put faith in dreams as in the only realities—I offer this Book of Truths, not in its character of Truth-Teller, but for the Beauty that abounds in its Truth; constituting it true. To these I present the composition as an Art-Product alone:—let us say as a Romance; or, if I be not urging too lofty a claim, as a Poem. What I here propound is true:—therefore it cannot die:—or if by any means it be now trodden down so that it die, it will "rise again to the Life Everlasting." Nevertheless it is as a Poem only that I wish this work to be judged after I am dead.

As to the motive of "Eureka," he says at the beginning of the essay: "I design to speak of the Physical, Metaphysical, and Mathematical—of the Material and Spiritual Universe:—of its Essence, its Origin, its Creation, its Present Condition and its

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Destiny. I shall be so rash, moreover, as to challenge the conclusions, and thus, in effect, to question the sagacity, of many of the greatest and most justly reverenced of men."

Remarking that "whatever the mathematicians may assert, there is, in this world at least, no such thing as demonstration," he states his general proposition thus: "In the Original Unity of the First Thing lies the Secondary Cause of All Things, with the Germ of their Inevitable Annihilation." To illustrate and illuminate this proposition he takes a comprehensive survey of the universe, meaning by "universe" "the utmost conceivable expanse of space, with all things, spiritual and material, that can be imagined to exist within the compass of that expanse." And this makes up his "Eureka," of which Mr. R. W. Griswold, whom Poe appointed his literary executor, writes:

> To the composition of the work he brought his subtlest and highest capacities, in their most perfect development. Denying that the arcana of the universe can be explored by induction, but informing his imagination with the various results of science, he entered with unhesitating boldness, though with no guide but the divinest instinct—that sense of beauty in which our great Edwards recognizes the flowering of all truth—into the sea of speculation, and there built up of according laws and their phenomena, as under the influence of a scientific inspiration, his theory of nature. I will not attempt the difficult task of condensing his propositions; to be apprehended they must be studied in his own terse and simple language; but in this we have a summary of that which he regards as fundamental:
>
> "The law which we call Gravity," he says, "exists on account of matter having been radiated, at its origin, atomically, into a *limited* sphere of space, from one individual, unconditional, irrelative, and absolute Particle Proper, by the sole process in which it was possible to satisfy at the same time the two conditions, radiation and equable distribution throughout the sphere—that is to say, by a force varying in *direct* proportion with the squares of the distances between the radiated atoms, respectively, and the particular center of radiation."
>
> Poe was thoroughly persuaded that he had discovered the great secret; that the propositions of "Eureka" were true; and he was wont to talk of the subject with a sublime and electrical enthusiasm which they cannot have forgotten who were familiar with him at the period of its publication. He felt that an author known solely by his adventures in the lighter literature, throwing down the gauntlet to professors of science, could not expect absolute fairness, and he had no hope but in discussions led by wisdom and candor. Meeting me, he said, "Have you read 'Eureka?'" I answered, "Not yet;" I have just glanced at the notice of it by Willis, who thinks it contains no more fact than fantasy, and I am sorry to see—sorry if it be true—suggests that it corresponds in tone with that gathering of sham and obsolete hypotheses addressed to fanciful tyros, the *Vestiges of Creation;* and our good and really wise friend Bush . . . thinks that, while you may have guessed very shrewdly, it would not be difficult to suggest many difficulties in the way of your doctrine." "It is by no means ingenuous," he replied, "to hint that there are such difficulties, and yet to leave them unsuggested. I challenge the investigation of every point in the book. I deny that there are

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any difficulties which I have not met and overthrown. Injustice is done me by the application of the word 'guess.' I have assumed *nothing*, and proved *all*."

Mr. Griswold's own opinion of "Eureka" is given by him as follows: "I could not help but think it immeasurably superior as an illustration of genius to the *Vestiges of Creation;* and as I admired the poem (except the miserable attempt at humor in what purports to be a letter found in a bottle floating on the *Mare Tenebrarum*) so I regretted its pantheism, which is not necessary to its main design."

To some of the criticisms of objectors Poe made answer in the following characteristic letter to the editor of the *Literary World*, Mr. C. F. Hoffman:

Dear Sir: In your paper of July 29 I find some comments on 'Eureka,' a late book of my own.... I feel that I might safely claim the right, which every author has, of replying to his critic *tone for tone*—that is to say, of answering your correspondent, flippancy by flippancy and sneer by sneer—but, in the first place, I do not wish to disgrace the *World;* and in the second, I feel that I should never be done sneering, in the present instance, were I once to begin. Lamartine blames Voltaire for the use which he made of (*ruse*) misrepresentation, in his attacks on the priesthood; but our young students of Theology do not seem to be aware that in defense, or in what they fancy to be defense, of Christianity, there is anything wrong in such gentlemanly peccadilloes as the deliberate perversion of an author's text—to say nothing of the minor *indecora* of reviewing a book without reading it and without having the faintest suspicion of what it is about.

You will understand that it is merely the *misrepresentations* of the *critique* in question to which I claim the privilege of reply.... The first misrepresentation is contained in this sentence: "This letter is a keen burlesque on the Aristotelian or Baconian method of ascertaining truth, both of which the writer ridicules and despises, and pours forth his rhapsodical ecstasies in a glorification of the third mode—the noble art of guessing." What I *really* say is this: That there is no absolute *certainty* either in the Aristotelian or Baconian process—that, for this reason, neither philosophy is so profound as it fancies itself—and that neither has a right to sneer at that *seemingly* imaginative process called intuition (by which the great Kepler attained his laws); since intuition, after all, is but the conviction arising from those *in*ductions, or *de*ductions, of which the processes are so shadowy as to escape our consciousness, elude our reason, or defy our capacity of expression. The second misrepresentation runs thus: "The developments of electricity and the formation of stars and suns, luminous and nonluminous, moons and planets, with their rings, etc., are deduced, very much according to the nebular theory of Laplace, from the principle propounded above." Now the impression intended to be made here upon the reader's mind, by the "Student of Theology," is evidently that my theory may be all very well in its way, but that it is nothing but Laplace over again with some modifications that he (the "Student of Theology") cannot regard as at all important. I have only to say that no gentleman can accuse me of the disingenuousness here implied; inasmuch as, having proceeded with my theory up to that point at which Laplace's theory *meets* it, I then *give Laplace's theory in full*, with the expression of my firm conviction of its absolute

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truth *at all points*. The *ground* covered by the great French astronomer compares with that covered by my theory, as a bubble compares with the ocean on which it floats; nor has he the slightest allusion to "the principle propounded above," the principle of Unity being the source of all things—the principle of Gravity being merely the Reaction of the Divine Act which irradiated all things from Unity. In fact, *no* point of *my* theory has been even so much as alluded to by Laplace. . . . The third misrepresentation lies in a footnote, where the critic says: "Further than this, Mr. Poe's claim that he can account for the existence of all organized beings—man included—merely from those principles on which the origin and present appearance of suns and worlds are explained, must be set down as mere bold assertion, without a particle of evidence. In other words, we should term it *arrant fudge*." The perversion at this point is involved in a willful misapplication of the word "principles." I say "willful," because, at page 63, I am *particularly* careful to distinguish between the principles proper, Attraction and Repulsion, and those merely resultant *sub*-principles which control the universe in detail. To these sub-principles, swayed by the immediate spiritual influence of Deity, I leave, without examination, *all that* which the "Student of Theology" so roundly asserts I account for on the principles which account for the constitution of suns, etc.

In the third column of his "review" the critic says: "He asserts that each soul is its own God—its own Creator." What I *do* assert is that "each soul is, *in part*, its own God—its own Creator." Just below the critic says: "After all these contradictory propoundings concerning God we would remind him of what he lays down on page 28—'of this Godhead in itself he alone is not imbecile, he alone is not impious who propounds *nothing*'—: a man who thus conclusively convicts himself of imbecility and impiety needs no further refutation." Now the sentence, *as I wrote it*, and as *I find it* printed on that very page which the critic refers to and which *must have been lying before him* while he quoted my words, runs thus: "Of this Godhead, *in itself*, he alone is not imbecile, etc., who propounds nothing." By the italics, as the critic well knew, I design to distinguish between the two possibilities—that of a knowledge of God through his works and that of a knowledge of him in his *essential nature*. The Godhead, *in itself*, is distinguished from the Godhead observed *in its effects*. But our critic is zealous. Moreover, being a divine, he is honest—ingenuous. It is his *duty* to pervert my meaning by omitting my italics—just as, in the sentence previously quoted, it was his Christian duty to falsify my argument by leaving out the two words, "in part," upon which turns the whole force—indeed, the whole intelligibility of my proposition.

Were these "misrepresentations" (*is* that the name for them?) made for any less serious a purpose than that of branding my book as "impious" and myself as a "pantheist," a "polytheist," a Pagan, or a God knows what (and indeed I care very little so it be not a "Student of Theology") I would have permitted their dishonesty to pass unnoticed, through pure contempt for the boyishness—for the *turn-down-shirt-collar-ness* of their tone; but, as it is you, you will pardon me, Mr. Editor, that I have been compelled to expose a "critic," who, courageously preserving his own *anonymosity*, takes advantage of my absence from the city to misrepresent and thus vilify me *by name*. EDGAR A. POE.

Fordham, September 20, 1848.

We have printed thus much concerning Poe's "Eureka" in order that our readers may better understand the first article in

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this number of the *Review* as well as our reason for publishing it; although, of course, no one can fully comprehend that article except by reading it in connection with the "Eureka," of which it is in reality an extension and continuation. That no scientific or practical worth was ever attached to Poe's "Eureka" by anybody but himself hardly requires to be stated. Its only value is as the gravest undertaking of a strange and unnatural genius, the most surprising freak of an acute and brilliant but unbalanced mind. He spent most of the year 1848 perfecting this "last and grandest effort of his genius," expounding it to occasional visitors at his poverty-stricken home in Fordham with feverish intensity, amazing splendor of diction, and entire positiveness of belief. Twenty days after Poe delivered "Eureka" as a lecture in New York city he wrote the letter which is referred to in the first article of our present number and which contained Poe's Addenda —"A PREDICTION"—that constitutes the greater part of that article. The latter portion of the article is made up of comments by the person to whom Poe wrote the letter—comments on Professor Stringham's criticisms upon Poe's Addenda. In the Addenda there is, of course, no value different from, or other than, that which belongs to the "Eureka," to which it is a supplement. The *Review* presents it as a literary curiosity, unpublished until now, *apropos* of the Poe revival and made the more interesting by the near approach of "the beginning of the next century," by which time Poe expected, as he wrote in his "Prediction," that his theory would be accepted by scientists and put into their books.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

OFTEN in the current discussion of various questions we are impressed that a crusade for more general education in American history is needed. The most contradictory statements of historical facts are confidently made, and nobody seems to feel bound to find out what the facts are except a few professors. Take, for example, the money question: Why should the text of the coinage law of 1892 be evidently as little known to thousands who write and talk on the subject as a chapter of the Koran or the Vedas? We refer to these point-blank contradictions, indicating amazing and contented ignorance on one or both sides, not with intention to discuss the merits of a question in which we do not claim to be expert, but because it illustrates one great defect of American education. The American people are too largely ignorant of

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their own past. In Britain public men and the intelligent portion of the population are more thoroughly grounded in and familiar with the history of their own nation. They seem to know their thousand years better than we know our one fifth of a thousand.

All public questions are historical; they have roots in the past; indeed, man himself is every way historical; and all science is mainly concerned to trace out the history of things. Any given state of a public question is a result of a previous course of events and opinions; and in our case all that history is close, clear, and plain. If the text-books omit parts of it, accessible public records contain the whole. One of our forty-page dailies could print the full text of every coinage and currency act without displacing any valuable matter; but because there is no demand for the record it is not published. After long wrangling and fighting in the dark over the subject somebody bethinks him to refer to the record, and it is then produced, with clarifying and quieting effect. The propriety of beginning a controversy by taking a glance over the history and getting the exact facts in hand at the start ought to be obvious, but is often overlooked. Great questions are jumped at on the moment, and treated as if they had no past. It is not remembered that anything has ever been said or settled about them, and men discuss them offhand, glibly and crudely, without availing themselves of the wisdom and light to be found in previous great debates. The Monroe doctrine, of which so much is just now heard in connection with the Venezuelan trouble, is purely a piece of history; but the most wildly contradictory notions are uttered about it, for want of taking time to refer to the historic records which show the nature, scope, and bearing of that doctrine. It is asserted that twenty-five years ago, when we had fewer schools and poorer newspapers, the people knew their history better. The spectacle recently seen of two statesmen first betting about the provisions of an act of Congress and then referring to the record to settle their bet would have seemed absurd then; it is not so regarded now. We have retrograded in this respect mainly through our unhistorical press—a journalism which seldom expounds any subject in the light of what happened day before yesterday. History in the form of incidents, reminiscences, novels interweaving facts with fictions, isolated chapters, and broken fragments we get in abundance; but history in any connected view showing the evolution of dominant principles, the trend and set of great currents, the ebb and flow of strong tides of opinion, the landmarks and boundary stones fixed by past

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struggles and judgments—this is not found in the periodicals from which our people derive their daily instruction. We fail to see questions whole and round in their historical setting, because we are in such a rush that we will not take time to look back, and we pass hasty snap judgments on present events without inquiring whether they have any roots, whether they are plants or pebbles—though, in fact, even a pebble carries its history inside of it and cannot be understood without finding out where it came from and how it migrated hither. We begin life anew with a vengeance every morning, forgetting that we had any yesterday; and as to the fund of wisdom we should have accumulated and carried forward out of our experience, we go into insolvency every night. This is not the whole truth, but there is so much truth in it that we frequently see a great people blundering along with one step forward and the next backward, stumbling and staggering to and fro illogically and sometimes disastrously, not remembering its painfully acquired lessons, not knowing its own mind from one year to the next. Contrast the election of 1888 with that of 1892, and that again with those of 1894 and 1895, and you see the nation reeling back and forth on ground so solidly historical, and so familiar if one looks into the past, that a people ought to know by this time which way it wants to go; instead of which it keeps wandering about, east, west, north, south, like a babe in the woods. Like a creature bereft of memory it recognizes nothing as familiar, and does not seem to know it ever went this way before. No mere animal could do such a thing; it would be sure to detect the scent of its own tracks or recognize something; brute stupidity in man sometimes seems the chief characteristic that distinguishes him from the beast. Questions which previous generations, the makers and preservers of this nation, regarded as defined and decided by history are puzzled over and fumbled with as if they were novel problems which the country had never had any chance to consider; or they are treated as footballs to be kicked about in the air for political amusement rather than as established parts of a structure built upon foundations and braced together to endure as the home and fortress of a nation's life. Often a political party in want of a campaign issue and planks for its platform picks up some question which the nation had for years regarded as decided, and as to which a settled policy had been pursued, and tosses it into the field for a scrimmage; and then it is to the interest of at least one party to keep history out of sight

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and prevent the people from remembering that they or their fathers passed upon that question and settled it a long time ago for reasons eminently sane and satisfactory.

In the course of time the muddled and meandering nation usually gets back to the path. After guessing about the facts for a while and going through a panic of disaster and alarm the groping public mind, in the course of years, two or ten or twenty, gets hold of the essential facts and acts in view of them; which facts, however, it is in danger of forgetting when the bet is settled or the crisis is past. An agile and facile, if not flighty, people we surely are, and no faculty is more conspicuous in us than our facility for forgetting; nevertheless consistency of action, coherency of utterance, stability of mind, and steadiness of progress are elements which make for national strength and growth and dignity; and these elements cannot be possessed and preserved except by knowing our history, keeping hold of its lessons, and instructing each new generation therein. There is really no way of steadying a nation in its course without keeping its history before its eyes and making the record dear to its heart by marking thereon in distinct figures the tremendous cost-price paid for that history. And no man is a statesman unless he habitually views every question in its wholeness from its beginning to the present hour, its genesis, its gist, its recorded course, and its ascertainable bearings.

Nine tenths of the news which our present-tense press pours forth does not concern us except as a momentary curiosity, yet the very flood of it washes away the records we need to remember. The average man has no interest in and little respect for the study of history. The laudable efforts of some schools and lecture courses to bring historical studies to the front are a dead pull against the current taste of the time; which is why they advance so slowly. And historical study by a few college men, useful as it must be, does not meet our need in its wide extent. The importance of such study must somehow be impressed upon the people at large. The dwellers in a certain ancient city were ever on the alert to hear some new thing. That was less harmful than our itching desire to do some new thing, but even this might not endanger our welfare if we read history enough to know why existing things exist, and how all our institutions have grown, and that they are a harvest from the plantings and labors of long-gone years, and that all harvests have their growing time of "four months" or four centuries or four millenniums. It is not

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merely holding the facts of history as knowledge that is essential, but rather the sense of history as a development. Every act of Congress has some past and goes into some future. The reasons for its adoption and the probable consequences thereof can only be visible by the light of yesterday. A people ought to know its common past as each man knows his individual past, and to determine its future, as he decides his, by an intelligence which holds on to the acquirements of time. It is not respectable to despise our predecessors in this great heritage of free institutions. Worship of ancestors is the Chinese extreme; contempt for ancestors is the American extreme. There is a safer middle way, to study the deeds of the fathers and, without being in bondage to any errors of theirs, consider and vote upon all questions in conference with them, listening respectfully while they "tell their experience."

It seems important to the stability of our institutions that historical instruction be given to, and the historical feeling created in, the mass of our people. For the schools to do this alone, against the sweeping flood of perishable news, is impossible. A daily paper making a specialty of the historical treatment of all current discussion and presenting the data for a comprehensive view of all questions might command a certain patronage which would grow as the interest in and taste for such scientific and philosophic elucidation increased and spread. In time the practice of reviewing the previous vicissitudes, the evolutionary progress of whatever question assumes public importance, would extend generally through journalism. The daily is the average man's working library, affecting his ideas and sentiments more than his occasionally read books. The consequence is that, as things now are, he usually sees things out of their relations and without historical perspective, because that is the way the newspapers give them. Hence it comes that his voting is so often zigzag and self-contradictory, and the ship of state is knocked about, now this way and now that. That stately craft, the British empire, steers a steadier course, through all successive administrations, because the statesmen who man her keep one eye on that great past of which they are so proud, and feel bound to preserve essential consistency therewith. The safety of the French republic—which may God protect!—depends on not forgetting the lessons of the past. Only men with memories, men "of large discourse looking before and after," are fit to be trusted with the guidance of nations.

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THE EPISTEMOLOGY OF THE SAINTS.

CORRECT epistemology—the philosophy or theory of knowledge—is necessarily conducive to sound reasoning and safe conclusion. The philosophy of religion is the theoretic justification of theological belief. Especially is this true of saintly knowledge—the highest and most precious of all knowledges—understanding and knowing the Lord; the knowledge of which the Great Teacher spoke in his high-priestly prayer, "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent;" of which Peter wrote, "According as his divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and virtue;" of which Paul the aged, from the depth of his Mamertine prison, wrote to Timothy, "I know whom I have believed [trusted], and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day;" a knowledge that is the common endowment of God's spiritual Israel, of whom he says, "All shall know me, from the least to the greatest," and of which the Spirit of prophecy affirms that "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

This is a knowledge of God as an infinite and eternal spirit, present in all things and yet distinct from all things; perfectly intelligent, wise, truthful, just, good, and beneficent; the causator of all phenomena and reality, the governor of all agents, the source of all blessing, and the judge of all moral being. This is a knowledge induced by the consciousness of interblending fellowship of the unseen human with the unseen divine Spirit, of communicated truth, of unerring guidance to best issues, of felicitating love, abiding comfort, increasing strength, and inspiring hope; of an operative, persistent force that changes nature and character into the likeness of God in "knowledge," "righteousness, and true holiness;" and that, concurrently with free will, prepares the whole man for fuller revelations of the Father, and for entire bliss in his heavenly presence, where is "fullness of joy," and where are "pleasures for evermore." This consciousness voices itself in all its subjects in the grateful utterances of the saints, as exemplified by those of the old and new dispensations. Each and all speak of personal knowledge and experience—a knowledge to which they were once strangers, but which clarified and waxed more influential with advancing years and closer

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communion. Their testimony is of the best class of credible witnesses.

Associated with saintly knowledge of God is that of Jesus Christ, whom he has sent into the world. Human nature longs for the definite, the visible, the tangible, the focusing of divine attributes and perfections in personality that shall convey knowledge to the spirit through the five pinholes of the senses. This inextinguishable longing is the explanation, in part, of the world's idolatries. It is gratified by the incarnation of the Logos, who is God, "the brightness of" the Father's "glory, and the express image of his person," "full of grace and truth." For more than thirty years, and most impressively and unforgetably in the three years of his public ministry, men "beheld his glory." They spoke and wrote of what they saw, of the glory of divine ideal manhood. true, tender, inflexibly just, yet supremely merciful, that "went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil;" that loved even the evil and unthankful, and by his teaching, example, suffering with and for them, strove to elevate them to the light, love, and life of communion with the Father. The evangelists tell us of those who knew him to be not only the best and greatest man of all time, but also "the Christ, the Son of the living God"—"God manifest in the flesh." Since his ascension millions uncounted of men have known him, not only as Americans historically and politically know George Washington and Abraham Lincoln—patriots, lovers of the human race, sages, exemplars, but as spirit knows spirit and soul knows soul, drawing from him wisdom, grace, and power of love that casteth out fear. The number of those who critically "know him and the power of his resurrection" is vastly larger in this than in any previous era. This knowledge is deep, distinct, felicitous; is "eternal life"—the lower depth in earthly conditions of that well of water springing up into the refulgent splendors of eternal bliss, the growing germ of the beauteous and fragrant flower that will expand into changeless perfection in presence of the Christ's unveiled glory and majesty.

What is the philosophy of this knowledge? How is it obtained? It begins in belief of what we are told is true. Here faith has its genesis. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." Belief of religious truth rests primarily upon authority. It is unquestioning when the believer knows the goodness of the teacher's character. Questioning usually follows the rude shocks received from hypocrisy. It inquires into the reason of beliefs

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and seeks for their proofs. When proof is adequate the formerly unquestioned or questioned passes into the category of reasoned belief. Trust, with expectancy of desired benefit, follows. It brings the whole being into touch with the divine. Mysterious force enters the trustful, calming, gladdening, invigorating, expanding, uplifting, so that the man is a "new creature," creation renewed. This he knows, and in the knowing knows also the true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he has sent.

It is with this latter knowledge, as possessed by the percipient spirit, that we are more immediately concerned. "What shall I do to be saved?"—from sin and ill—is the deepest and most urgent inquiry of a soul awake to its spiritual relations. "Place yourself, so far as you can, in concord with the Lord's will. Believe that Jesus Christ is the divinely appointed Saviour of men—of yourself. Then shall you receive the Holy Spirit, the peace of God which passeth understanding, an assurance of forgiveness, of adoption, of renewal in righteousness," is, in substance, the evangelical reply. These instructions assume belief in God, Christ, the Holy Spirit—a belief that may fall far short of the truth, and yet be instrumentally saving. Essentially this belief is of the same nature as belief in material things with which the individual is in sensible proximity. Any one of these—a locomotive, for example—produces certain sensations of the nervous system, which sensations are perceived by the mind or spirit. Our knowledge of the fabric is determined by the nature, number, and order of these sense-perceptions. Definition is limited by them. Of the inner nature of the materials composing the structure we know nothing. So true is this that philosophers like Berkeley have plausibly argued, contrary to experience, that matter is a creature of the imagination, and that the whole universe of sense consists in perception of an order of sensations. Either Mill or Berkeley being judge, our consciousness or knowledge of the objective not-self is the certainty corresponding with the reality; which certainty is obtained immediately by spirit-perception of what invisibly passes in the system of nature.

So also with the spirit, the *ego*, the recipient and percipient of sensations, thoughts, emotions, and volitions. This feels and thinks and wills. Of its inmost nature we are as much in the dark as of the inmost nature of matter. Yet of it, as of matter, we know that it is, and that it excites thoughts and emotions as body excites sensations. Our knowledge of mind, as of body, in its last analysis is determined by self-perception of the influence

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or force it exerts upon us. So saintly knowledge of God is determined by the influence of his attributes and perfections upon our material and moral being, *plus* the influence bearing upon us through and by our Lord Jesus Christ, whom—like Paul—we have trusted; and who, we are persuaded, is able to keep the precious soul treasure we have committed to him until that day. Knowing God and Jesus Christ, knowing that we are passed from death unto life, knowing that we have received of his Spirit, lays the foundation, in the full assurance of faith, of that knowing that if the "earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

Saintly knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ is not, however, exclusively, and perhaps not chiefly, through reason. This is not the sole course of legitimate beliefs. "Theology would be unnecessary if all we are capable of learning about God could be inferred from the study of nature." "From the world as presented to us by science we might conjecture a God of power and a God of reason [the ordered system of phenomena compels us to postulate a rational Author. 'That he created it, that he sustains it, we are driven to believe']; but we never could infer a God who was wholly loving and wholly just. So that what religion proclaims aloud to be his most essential attributes are precisely those respecting which the oracles of science are doubtful or are dumb." Knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ is not only through reason, but is also through intuition, or the power of immediate knowing, in which the mind stands face to face with reality, in the absence of distorting *media*. This power is not confined to axioms and pure intellections. Reason is powerless when unserved by simple cognitions or intuitions. Bishop R. S. Foster truly remarks that "all knowledge is, in the last resort, intuition;" and that the mind intuits itself, the external world, and ethical distinctions when rightly related to them. Intuition and reason are complemental. Intuitive reason cognizes realities not given in sensation; also "universal, necessary, conditioning truths and laws"—the reality of force in the universe, the great law of cause and effect, the existence of an agent competent to the production of any effect or change, and the underived existence of the Being anterior to all change. It cognizes supersensible beings who conduct commerce of thought and love between themselves while eluding the powers of sense. Spencer admits that "reason cannot take even a first step toward discrediting the in-

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tuitions which yield the consciousness of external existence without tacitly positing these intuitions as data, and connoting the existence of subject and object by all the words it uses." Reason is based on sense-perception, which in itself is spiritual. But sense-perception is not more clear, fundamental, and universal than intuition, or pure, nonmediated, spiritual perception. The latter testifies as positively and trustworthily to the reality of beauty in nature, art, music, and moral life as the former to external phenomena. The child sees something in the mother, the friend something in the friend, that cannot be detected by ocular vision. Moral qualities, transcending sense-perception, are clearly distinguished by spiritual perception. The revelation of God in nature, and in direct communication, has from the beginning been, more or less, the heritage of our race. In the blending lights devout souls have always believed in him and sought fellowship with him. They believe in his love, wisdom, and beneficence. "We must believe that somewhere, and for some being, there shines an unchanging splendor of beauty, of which in nature and in art we see, each of us from our own standpoint, only passing gleams and stray reflections, whose different aspects we cannot now coordinate, whose import we cannot fully comprehend, but which at least is something other than the chance play of subjective sensibility or the far-off echo of ancestral lusts."

Men understand God and Jesus Christ infinitely better through the inspired writings than through the testimony of nature. These, addressed to the reason, are accepted on evidence as divinely true on all questions of faith and morals. They bring Jesus Christ within the field of spiritual perception. The soul, yearning to be right and to do right, intuits or knows him, as thus represented, to be of purity immaculate, knowledge exhaustive, wisdom infallible, love transcendent, power omnipotent; knows him as having resources infinite, which supply desire for all good, while they develop capacity for its enjoyment, both in this life and in the life which is to come. It perceives and knows that "in him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily."

Thus in intuition and in reason are the changeless grounds of belief, and in triformed unity of the individual believer is the consciousness, the reasoned knowledge, that corresponds with the divine and Christly realities. All—sustained, empowered, and illustrated by example and testimony—justify and explain the γινώσκω and γνῶσις of believers singly, and of the Church of God as a whole. Such is the epistemology of the saints.

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THE ARENA.

A FRIENDLY WORD WITH MY CRITICS.

AMID the general approval which *Growth in Holiness* has called forth from all parts of the country some discordant voices have been heard, which, considering its departure in some respects from previous volumes on this theme, was to be expected. As some have misconceived the purpose of the book and its principal positions, I write to correct these misconceptions.

With the main lines of Wesleyan theology on this subject I have no quarrel whatsoever; I am entirely orthodox, so far as I know what orthodoxy is. I firmly believe, as readers of the book can see, that all men are born in an abnormal or depraved condition, which condition, at conversion, is greatly altered but not entirely made right. I also believe that all these who are thus constituted by the new birth children of God, holy because he is holy, as they go forward in the discharge of Christian duty receive greater illumination as to their inward state, and by deeper consecration, with its accompanying faith, receive correspondingly increased purification, which purification may, and should, become so far complete that they will lead a thoroughly loyal and every way consistent Christian life, without conscious condemnation, not doing at any time what they know to be wrong, and yet perpetually pressing on toward that goal of entire Christlikeness, that destruction of "the whole work of the devil in man," which John Wesley says (Sermon 67) the Son of God does not effect so long as we remain in this life.

That this glorious doctrine of Methodism is substantially correct, and that its blessed experience should everywhere be promoted, I heartily believe. But the terms in which it has generally been described I have long felt to be objectionable. Those who find the old-fashioned phrases satisfactory and helpful I have no desire to disturb. By all means let them cling to the ancient nomenclature, if it conveys to them scriptural truth and feeds their souls. But it had come to my knowledge that there was a large class of people in the Church who were not satisfied with, nor helped by, the established statements; who found Wesley's *Plain Account* anything but plain; and who were greatly stumbled by what seemed to them palpable inconsistencies, clear contradictions, and unscriptural positions in the current teaching. It was for them I wrote, deeming it a manifest duty to let shine for their benefit the light which God had given me, and in which I had long been walking with great freedom and much spiritual joy. I have so far seen no reason to suppose that I mistook the divine voice. The large sale which the book has had, and the large pile of letters on my desk testifying to the good it has done, amply confirm my impression that such a book might be helpful to some in the present condition of the Church.

One of my critics has seen fit to say of the volume that "it is needless

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to many, hurtful to more, helpful to none." That it is needless to many I have no hesitancy in admitting; the same could be said of a large proportion of the good books that are published and the good sermons that are spoken. As to how many it may hurt I cannot say; nor do I hold myself responsible for such harm as may incidentally come to some, remembering what the apostle Peter said concerning the epistles of his "beloved brother Paul," "wherein are some things hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unsteadfast wrest, as they do also in other scriptures, unto their own destruction." But when this excellent brother goes so far as to declare my effort "helpful to none," I submit that he goes further than any facts in his possession can possibly warrant. His ignorance, however extensive, concerning the good accomplished cannot nullify my knowledge, however limited. I take the liberty to append a few quotations bearing on this point culled from letters received by me, some of them from persons in high position in the Church:

"What a blessing your book has been to me! It has helped me very much; I know I shall have a better Christian experience because of it in the years to come." "I have read it with great pleasure and profit." "It has been a great blessing to me." "The best work on this subject that I have ever read; a book greatly needed in the Methodist Church, and one that will help thousands of Christians." "It cannot be answered, I think; and will do a world of good." "I am under great obligation to you for your *Growth in Holiness*; it is an era in Methodism. It is from the standpoint of the New Testament, and not Methodist tradition. Thank God that you have such courage." "Your book is the best ever written upon that subject." "It has been beautifully done." "Your book must do great good; it is to me the best I have ever read, considered from the standpoint of psychology, exegesis, and experience." "The Church has long needed just such a restatement of our attitude on sanctification."

In the same line should be noted the following published declarations, mostly from editors of our Church periodicals:

"A most timely, useful, and inspiring book; it will speedily take rank as a standard with those who are most capable of influencing the mind of the Church." "It cannot fail to aid those interested in the progress of the religious life." "This well-reasoned book proves Dr. Mudge to be a singularly sane and sympathetic advocate of the doctrine of sanctification." "A book worth reading from a man entitled to be heard." "A valuable and scholarly book; its spirit is above criticism. It will mark an era in the discussion of this subject; it will do good and only good." "The most remarkable book that has dropped from our denominational press in a generation." "I regard its publication as an epoch in Methodism; a theory of holiness consistent with the latest developments of the science of the human soul." "A much-needed and valuable discussion of the great theme. We venture the judgment that there are but few positions taken in this book which can be overthrown. The volume will command attention by the keen, penetrating knowledge of the human heart which it reveals, by its psychological analysis, by its manly search for the truth, and by its courteous spirit." "Taken in all and all, Dr. Mudge has written, we do not hesitate to say, the best book on sanctification that has yet appeared in any branch of the Methodist Church. The distribution of ten thousand copies of it in every part of our Church would be an untold blessing."

That *Growth in Holiness* has been greatly helpful to very many must be perfectly clear from the above quotations, which could be greatly extended were space allowed me. Why, then, should there have been aroused in any quarter such violent animosity against it? The head and front of my offending seems to be that I have dared to become, as Dr. Lowrey puts it, "a critic of Wesley." Again and again this

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unheard-of enormity is dilated on by various persons, with uplifted hands and bated breath, as though it was scarcely to be believed that a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church could really have fallen so low. But the fact is beyond question, and the culprit freely admits it. In sincere regard for Wesley, as one of the noblest men this world has seen, I yield to no one. But if it is required that he be set upon a pinnacle of infallibility and worshiped I beg to be excused. He was unquestionably a very great man, but that he was outside the pale of criticism in all the multitudinous things he wrote is certainly a very large claim, and one which I, at least, find it impossible to concede. My opponents, some of them, strangely enough insist over and over that in differing with Wesley on some points of nomenclature I set myself up to be a greater man than he, and than all the Wesleyan writers who, in unbroken succession, have scrupulously avoided any intimation that their chief might possibly have blundered. Against this uncalled-for inference I must strenuously protest. I hasten to declare—yet how can it be necessary?—that I am far inferior to Wesley in every particular save only in this, that God has placed my life more than a century after his death. But this particular seems to me a very momentous one. It implies an entirely different standpoint as to many things. So great have been the changes in philosophic and theologic thought in the century and a half since Wesley's statements were largely formulated that it is simply inconceivable that any man of his caliber would, if he were writing now, write just as he wrote then. Humboldt was a very great man, but the student of to-day who chooses to state scientific truth in quite a different manner from his does not thereby assume to be greater than Humboldt. Luther and Calvin and Augustine were great men. Did Wesley in differing from them challenge a comparison between their intellectual stature and his own? Such assumptions would make the progress of doctrine or of science very difficult indeed. The question at issue is not at all one of comparative bigness of brains between Wesley and somebody else. Nor is reverence for the "fathers of Methodism," for "ancestral ideas," for "standard authors," the thing most carefully to be considered. The question simply is, What is true? They who can trace a process of argument, comparing Scripture with Scripture and following the guidance of reason, are the ones to decide. My appeal is to those Methodists who are sufficiently set free from the terror of great names to use their own minds, and who are accustomed by scholarly training to measure the force of words. I have entire confidence as to what their verdict will be.

The next most serious charge against me is that I have made an effort to "unsettle the faith of the Church in its long-cherished doctrine of Christian perfection," and to "stay the growing tide of holiness;" that I "antagonize the Wesleyan doctrine of entire sanctification." This is at the utmost possible distance from the facts in the case. My effort has been to settle this doctrine, dearer to me than life, on better foundations. I have striven to make it much more effective by altering somewhat its outward garb while in no way disturbing its inward essence. This point

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my critics seem to have great difficulty in comprehending. If the *names* are in any way varied, they take it that the *things* themselves are changed. A little closer examination would show them that this is not so. For example, I am accused of "repudiating the doctrine of original sin," which is about the same as to say that I am a Pelagian or a Unitarian. There is no foundation whatever for this charge; I have simply suggested that, as a working term to express the state into which all the descendants of that original sinner, Adam, are born, "depravity"—the commonly accepted modern name—is very far better than "inbred sin" because much less likely to carry with it Calvinistic implications. Everything which a thoroughgoing Arminian can consistently believe about our fallen condition I firmly hold. It seems to me of the utmost importance that the ideas of demerit and blameworthiness be not dissociated from sin. And since no Arminian can admit that any blame attaches to us merely for what we inherit from Adam or our other ancestors it is very awkward for him to call that inherited condition sin. I change the name for very good reasons, without at all changing the thing.

It is the same with other matters. I am accused of Zinzendorfianism. One writer quotes against me a long array of deliverances from our bishops, wherein they declare, in answer to a specific question, that "regeneration and entire sanctification are separate and distinct." It is to me quite inconceivable that one who had read my book with any sort of attention could suppose that I did not make regeneration and entire sanctification, properly explained, "separate and distinct." My contention is that the sanctification which every child of God at the new birth obtains is the only sanctification necessary *at that time* to his seeing the Lord, and is *entire up to the light* at that time vouchsafed to him. But that it is absolutely entire, or entire in the sense in which it will come to be in his subsequent progressive experience, I strenuously deny. I am in full accord with Wesley and universal Methodism at this point.

I am accused of writing a book to "dissipate the idea of the second blessing," of being "thrown into convulsions" by it as by a horrible "specter." This is so far from being the case that I took special pains to defend the important truth there is in the term (pages 165–167); and in a volume called *Forty Witnesses*, published by our Book Concern a few years ago, it appeared that I was the only one of the forty who had approvingly used that term in describing his own experience. I believed in it then; I believe in it now. Only I insist that it shall be rationally and scripturally explained, so that the important *things* which are undoubtedly comprised in it shall not be given improper and misleading names.

Again, it is alleged that I have no business, in describing the operations of grace, to use other figures of speech than those which are employed in the Bible—to say, for instance, "empowered against all temptation," rather than "cleansed from all sin." But, as I look at it, the Bible is not a stereotyped theological text-book wherein we are to find written down for all times and all lands the only possible, or allowable, formulas of doctrine. Such a theory would be a worshiping of the letter that killeth

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rather than of the spirit that giveth life. The men of each generation and of each country desire to hear the good news in the particular tongue in which they were born; and they must, so far as possible, be gratified. If we can give that news greater effectiveness by translating it, not with literal exactitude, but with free adaptation to the habits of mind and forms of speech of the people among whom we live, surely it is our duty so to do. It is for this purpose only, and to this extent only, that I have substituted some more modern words for those which did such good service in ancient Judea and Asia Minor and Greece.

Very gladly would I take up other allegations and accusations, were it proper for me to use more of the valuable space of this *Review*. But it is scarcely necessary. They deal with utterly unimportant matters. And the answers to them are obvious to those who read the book with any fair degree of intelligence. One thing stands out very distinctly, after all the criticisms of my little volume. No important position taken in it has been even assailed, much less overthrown. No serious attack has been made upon its main argument. It has been called by one aged "holiness" writer "damnable stuff;" but, surely, that proves nothing, except that the assailant lost his temper. I have been publicly invited to retire from the Methodist Church as one no longer wanted, who has violated his ordination vows and is a proper subject of discipline. But until the New England Conference, a humble member of which I have the honor still to be, intimates that it feels disgraced by my continuance therein, I shall not withdraw. When the overthrow of my arguments is attempted I shall be quite ready to defend them. Meantime let it be noted that mere assertion that Wesley could not blunder or contradict himself, because he was such a very great man, are worth but little in face of the fact that I have *proved* he did. I will add just here, what every one familiar with his writings knows, that he was so great a man that again and again he freely admits that he had blundered, corrects himself, and improves upon his own statements. Let it also be noted that charges of inconsistency cannot fairly be made out against me when my words are taken in senses which throughout the book I expressly repudiate, and for the correction of which very largely the volume is written. If my critics do not apprehend the distinctions I have made, see neither sense in them nor call for them, no one can be less surprised at it than the author. I expressly pointed out in the preliminary chapter for what class of people the book was written. If some of those for whom it was not intended have chosen to read it and been stumbled by it or made angry with it, I disclaim all responsibility. They who are more anxious to have what will seem to them a well-reasoned, self-consistent, wholly scriptural theory of Christian perfection than they are to have one which in every smallest particular accords with the phraseology of John Wesley; they whose desire is first, last, and all the time for the truth of Methodism, will welcome this brief treatise. Let those who would really know what I have taught read the book itself rather than garbled quotations from it. The Nashville *Christian Advocate* says: "While it pays strict attention to

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the accurate and scientific use of words it is still in the best sense a popular work, and can easily be understood by any intelligent man." From the intelligent men of Methodism I shall suffer no injustice.

Lowell, Mass. JAMES MUDGE.

"OF WHAT USE IS IT?"

A WRITER in the last issue of the *Review* asks this question about the Song of Songs. But why does he limit his inquiry to that exquisite little drama? We would like to ask the same question about a very much larger portion of the Bible. What is the Bible, anyhow? "What it is intended to be seems one of the things no one can find out." One of the best of our learned men tells us that the first chapter of Genesis is a poem; another says that the first twelve chapters are not historical; another, that they are all literal fact. And what is the use of the dry tables of names and numbers in the fifth, tenth, eleventh, and forty-sixth chapters of Genesis, and in the first nine chapters of First Chronicles? These and other tedious lists occupy more space than the Canticles. How much "supernatural revelation" or "divine inspiration" is there in any of them? Almost half the contents of the last four books of the Pentateuch consists of minute details of Levitical rites and ceremonies, of no practical value for us. As a conundrum, not only the Song of Songs, but Ecclesiastes, and Job, and Jonah, and the prophecies of Daniel, the last nine chapters of Ezekiel, half the Book of Zechariah, and the entire Apocalypse of John have been a great success; but as a supernatural and infallible revelation they are all "a failure." Wherein are these Scriptures more to be desired than Plato's *Dialogues*, or Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or Butler's *Analogy*? If it is "nonsense" to include the Song of Songs among the Scriptures, must we not multiply the same nonsense twentyfold and apply the same reasoning to all these other parts of the Bible which are equally open to question?

Perhaps these questions ought not to pass without a few additional sentences, by way of suggestion. An analysis of fundamental positions, apparently taken for granted by the writer of the inquiry in the last *Review*, discloses the following assumptions:

1. Every book of the Bible must needs be a disclosure of saving truth.
2. Every book of the Bible must needs be a supernatural revelation.
3. A book that has for ages failed to secure uniformity of interpretation cannot be an inspired Scripture.
4. When such men as Dr. Strong, Dr. Terry, and the Rev. W. W. Martin disagree in an exposition they are all alike to be discarded.

Here are several far-reaching propositions, most of them of the nature of *a priori* assumptions. But on what authority are such assumptions made? It may be that a large proportion of the difficulties some people find in the Scriptures arises from unwarranted assumptions of what they imagine the Bible ought to be. Would it not be wiser to ascertain first what the Bible is, and afterward adopt a theory, both of revelation and of inspiration, which is in harmony with the facts? INQUIRER.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

HOW SHALL THE CHURCH UTILIZE THE REVISED VERSION?

ALTHOUGH the Revised Version of the English Bible has now been in the hands of the people for several years the question of its probable substitution for the King James Bible is still an open one. Little progress in this direction has been made, either in England or America. So far as we are aware, no considerable body of Christians has thus far adopted it for formal use in the public congregation, nor does there seem to be any tendency to do this. It was to be expected that readers would need a long time to become so accustomed to its changes as to feel at home with it in their public religious services, although they might find instruction and edification from its use in their private studies and meditations. This natural expectation has been realized, and the New Version has been employed as a commentary on the former translation by multitudes who would not be willing to have it read in the public worship of the congregation. The very language of the King James Bible has interpenetrated our thinking; it has become familiar to our ears; it has so often expressed our sense of need before the throne of God, and our hopes for the life to come, that any deviation from its exact phraseology jars upon our hearts as well as upon our ears.

Then, too, it is complained that the revisers, while critically accurate in their renderings, have not availed themselves as fully as they should of the wonderful resources of the English tongue. We propose no discussion, however, of the work itself, which the Church has acknowledged to have been well done. The important question is, What shall we do with the New Version? How shall we utilize these last results of the best biblical scholarship of England and America? It is not necessary to assume that the Revised Version will never come into general use. We are told that the King James Bible, which we now hold so dear, was under suspicion for a long time, and was not introduced generally for half a century. The Latin Vulgate of Jerome was a century in reaching general recognition. Until the time of its adoption shall come, however, something should be done to utilize the more accurate renderings which are found in the New Version. The Rev. Dr. Huntington, of New York, in a recent sermon on the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church for 1895, gives the following statement of its work in this direction:

> Of the things actually done by far the most important was the appointment of a commission of competent scholars to consider which and how many of the new readings, recommended in what is known as the Revised Version of the Holy Scriptures, it may be well to introduce into the margin of our standard Bible. It has now become tolerably evident that in the Anglican portion of Christendom, at least, there is a rooted unwillingness, a strong disinclination, to accept the Revised Version as a substitute for the long-established translation known as King James's Bible. Time enough would seem to have elapsed since the New Version made its appearance to allow of our reaching definite conclusions upon this point, and

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the popular verdict is (again I say, I am speaking for the Anglican portion of Christendom) that for the general purposes of edification the old is better. The revisers were, no doubt, famous Grecians, but there seems to have been lacking among them that quick ear for melodious English which was so evidently the endowment of those masters of our tongue who, three hundred years ago, gave us the Bible as we have it. At the same time it is not to be denied that among the many emendations put forth by the revisers there are not a few that wonderfully elucidate the true meaning of the sacred text, which for purposes of public reading would be an immense gain. How to make these choice renderings available for us, without disturbing the integrity of the printed text of the Bible as it lies upon the lecterns of our churches, is the question. A happy solution of this difficulty offers itself in the shape of a scheme of marginal or alternative readings. This is no new device, as all students of the Bible are aware. King James's Version, and the versions antecedent to it, have all had their marginal readings, and it has always been open to the minister in reading the daily lessons to avail himself of these alternative phrases, where to do so would more clearly bring out the writer's purpose and intent. What is now proposed is simply to substitute for the marginal readings new ones gathered from the Revised Version. It is a most creditable effort, for the success of it would mean the clearing up of many obscurities which perplex those who listen to Holy Scriptures, as they hear it read to them in public worship, and would go far toward determining the final status of the Revised Version to be rather that of a commentary upon, than that of a substitute for, the English Bible of the last three centuries.

The preacher distinctly states that he is speaking only for "the Anglican portion of Christendom." It is a subject, however, that should interest all English-speaking Christendom. One of the dangers of our time is the multiplication of versions which are each known as the Bible, and the consequent confusion in the minds of those who, from knowing little of the intricacies of translation, cannot understand the necessity for so many variants in the renderings of the word of God. The unconscious influence of environment and early training in molding even our conceptions of the meaning of language is well known; and hence it is necessary that the work of revision should be done by scholars who come from varied environments, who are accustomed to different methods of procedure, and who stand for different schools of Christian thought. This is an element of great value in the late revision. Christian scholars, representing many sides of scholarship and various modes of thinking, joined in the work. The late critical scholar, Professor Ezra Abbot, with the natural liberalistic tendencies of the school of thought in which he had been reared, was in close communion with such a champion of orthodoxy as Dr. Timothy Dwight, and had ample time to compare notes with him on the punctuation of Rom. ix, 5, and other controverted passages of Scripture.

The suggestion we offer, in connection with this recent action of the Protestant Episcopal Convention, is that the subject shall be taken up afresh by the different Churches, and, if the various denominations regard the action as desirable, that a commission of Christian scholars shall be appointed to cooperate with those selected by the Protestant Episcopal Church in deciding what marginal changes are necessary or desirable. Time enough has elapsed since the publication of the recent revision to scrutinize the passages on which criticisms have been made, and the united action of such a committee would be regarded by the English-speaking Church as final for many years to come. A Bible in any sense denominational in its bearings would, in this age of harmonization, become an injury rather than a blessing to the kingdom of God. On the other hand,

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our King James Bible, with marginal readings approved by the whole Church, would receive general approval, and would prove of great value in the edification of the body of Christ. If such a universal consensus in securing the desired result is not possible we would suggest as an alternative that a complete edition of the present Bible be prepared with marginal notes containing such changes only as have been accepted by both the English and American committees of the late revision. This would include every change on which absolute unanimity has been reached, and would constitute a basis for universal acceptance. It would seem impossible for any scholar, however eminent, to dispute with any hope of a successful following the unanimous expression of so many representatives of the choicest biblical scholarship both of England and America.

HOW TO WIN CONGREGATIONS.

(*Continued.*)

In a preceding number of the *Review* we considered the wrong methods of securing congregations. We now inquire, What are some of the elements of success in securing congregations to be employed by one who proposes to adhere closely to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ?

He may win them by extraordinary preaching power. This, however, is so rare an endowment that it is not to be taken into account as one of the necessary factors. A study of the history of the Church will show that there have been comparatively few great preachers. It is sometimes said by people in other professions, "Where are your great preachers?" We might ask, "Where are your great lawyers? Where are your great physicians? Where are your great scholars?" Eminently successful men in any department of life are comparatively few; and in the great capitals of the world, where the talents of the world are supposed to be concentrated, they may be counted by tens, not by hundreds. As a matter of fact, the great work of the world is done by ordinary men; but it does not necessarily follow that it is ordinary work which they do. Great genius and great oratorical power are special gifts and belong to few. When, however, there are men, such as are found here and there, who possess this extraordinary power of proclaiming the Gospel, it cannot fail to win great congregations and, under the divine blessing, to lead them to Christ.

Personal friendship with people is another element in winning congregations to the house of God. This is especially the case in small communities—in villages and rural districts. In such places it is possible for preachers to be acquainted, not only with their own people, but also with those of other denominations and with those who attend no church at all. Oratory and the services of the church do not seem to draw them; but one whom they respect and one whom they have learned to esteem as a personal friend may always win them to the house of God when all other means have failed. There is special power in a man who inspires such friendships. In large cities and great congregations this

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contact with people is, perhaps, impossible; but whenever it is possible it is a most effective instrument in spreading the Gospel.

Executive capacity in a minister is of great service in this regard. A large church is like a great institution or a great railroad enterprise, with many departments, many workers, and many leaders. It has its various organizations, such as the Epworth League, the Sunday school, and the multiplied agencies which have been brought into existence by the Christian Church. In the management of these executive capacity of a high order is very important. One who can have his eye and hand upon every movement of his church, who knows when to speak and when to be silent, when to control and when to leave control to others, has a power for efficiency such as cannot fail to make him eminently useful. A prominent layman told the writer that he believed the lack of executive capacity was a great deficiency in city pastors. He said that many could preach eloquent and even powerful sermons, but had no capacity to direct the various departments of the church; and so the practical administration was feeble in the extreme. It is not uncommon to find a man who, with moderate abilities as a preacher, is successful, through his administrative ability and tact, in holding and influencing large congregations.

A minister may win congregations also by hard work in all departments of church life. Personal effort, to which allusion has already been made, is the greatest factor in securing success. The capacity for hard work is itself a genius of a high order, and it may safely be said that one who has this capacity rarely fails to accomplish great results. A few hours every day, after the studies of the day are over, given to personal effort in inviting people to the church of God will accomplish results such as can be secured in no other way. Blessed is the man who has this gift of hard work, and blessed is the congregation who has a pastor thus endowed.

After all that has been said, there are always invisible influences that secure large audiences of which no analysis can be made. There are men who draw large congregations who are not great preachers, in the strict sense of the word, nor great pastors; but they have a unique personality which serves to attract people around them, who listen to their words and who come again and again. There is a preacher now in the mind of the writer who holds one of the largest congregations in a great city, and hundreds of ministers have attempted to analyze the source of his power. His sermons are simple, unaffected, plain. He is not a great orator, and in no sense a genius; and yet the people come Sunday after Sunday, always feeling that in doing so they have been greatly blessed. It is the power of a grand personality. It is the man back of the services. It is the truth which fills his heart and dominates his life. It is that invisible something which cannot be measured, but which, after all, constitutes an element of highest usefulness.

After all, the greatest power to win congregations, so far as the personality of the minister is concerned, is that which comes from close union with Christ by faith; from the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit; and from thorough consecration to God, through his Son, Jesus Christ.

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PROGRESS IN CONFERENCE COURSE OF STUDY DURING 1895.

THE readers of the "Itinerants' Club" during the past year have noticed the frequent mention made of the examinations in our Conference Course of Study. We have invited correspondence on this subject, regarding it as a matter of great importance at the present time. The enlargement of the course by the Board of Bishops, resulting in greater comprehensiveness and more difficulty in mastering the books selected without thorough preliminary training, has seemed to require special attention. The examining committees of the Conferences have been considering these matters, and some of them have reported the results of the work to this department of the *Review*. The word that comes to us from every quarter indicates progress. The summer schools have been utilized for this purpose. In one of these schools almost every member of the four classes of one of the Annual Conferences was present, with such members of their committees as had been appointed to conduct the examination on the books which had been previously assigned. In these assemblies are secured two advantages, the completion of a part of the Conference Course at an early period of the year, and also the holding of examinations in connection with special opportunities for improvement in studies bearing on ministerial work.

While the work of the committees is carried forward with much zeal and wisdom, we might inquire whether anything can be done, by changes in the order of study, to render their service more effective. The completeness of the Conference Course needs no eulogy. The books assigned to be studied during the four years are more than sufficient to tax the brain and the opportunities of a young man who is charged with the responsibilities of the Christian pastorate. The course should not be lightened, but it is worthy of consideration whether a larger part of it should not be placed among the studies required for admission on trial. If our bishops were to arrange it somewhat differently, transferring the first year's course to the requirements for admission on probation and then dividing the studies of the remaining three years into four parts, they would secure a more thorough preparation by our young ministers, and would also enable them to perform their preaching and pastoral labors with more efficiency. An examination of the course as now constituted will reveal the fact that a knowledge of the studies required to enter the Conference on trial is scarcely a sufficient foundation for a full comprehension of some of the books required in the later period of the course. It would also be helpful if the books should be arranged for study in the order of their difficulty, so as to make the earlier studies a preparation for those requiring more knowledge and greater mental application. A readjustment in the manner suggested would, we think, give added value to the excellent course which has been provided.

These and other means of promoting interest and accuracy in the Conference studies are being developed, alike in the East and in the West, and we congratulate our readers upon the progress in this direction.

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ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

TWENTY-FIVE years have produced a remarkable change in the attitude and tactics of the destructive school of biblical critics. During the past decade a complete revolution has taken place, and the old positions have been altogether abandoned. Formerly great stress was placed upon the linguistic argument, upon style, diction, and vocabulary. But "phraseological statistics" no longer play an important rôle in determining the age of a book. The development theory has almost displaced the literary or linguistic, and consequently the critics put less stress upon the words used than upon the subject-matter. The books of the Bible, as we have them, it is said, are not from the pens of Moses, David, Isaiah, or other authors whose names they chance to bear, but are rather compilations, masses of ill-arranged data, often put together by an unskilled editor centuries after the events recorded took place. Our critics rewrite, or rather rearrange, these ancient writings and reproduce them in their original form. To do this in a scientific manner they have to picture the real state of civilization among the Hebrews in all the centuries down to our era. The critic throws the history of the chosen people upon a huge canvas; and, in panoramic style, the varied scenes from Moses to the close of the canon are made to pass before our eyes, and thus we obtain a clear view of the development of ideas and the progress of thought from age to age, as well as of the ruling ideas in any period. It goes without saying that some old-fashioned people cannot help believing that these fine pictures are mere reflections, based upon theories evolved from the brains of those hostile to evangelical truth and of unbelievers in supernatural revelation. This is not strange, since their conclusions are for the most part purely subjective, and not based upon historical data, sound reasoning, or even probabilities.

The method of this school is nowhere better illustrated than in the writings of Canon Cheyne. His recent article in the *Contemporary Review*, entitled "The Archæological Stage of Old Testament Criticism," is therefore interesting. This learned Oxford professor, the high priest of higher criticism in Great Britain, is a man who has thrown away all ecclesiastical fetters, and who prides himself on a profound knowledge of the science of biblical criticism from the standpoint of those not in bondage to the traditions of orthodoxy. This article, like almost everything from this author's pen, is profusely apologetic. He protests against being regarded as one who has changed his views on the subject of Assyriology; indeed, he assures us that he "has been preserved from that generally exaggerated distrust into which, quite excusably, men like Wellhausen and Robertson Smith fell." It is refreshing to see with what tenacity he tries to cling to his utterances of former days, while at the same time he is

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gracefully getting ready to abandon theories already exploded and all at once to become the champion of "criticism and exegesis in an archæological direction." His language is very temperate, almost pathetic, but patronizing withal; it is that of a tender-hearted father to a wayward child. Both parties are cautioned against too hasty conclusions, and the hostile schools are exhorted to take their stand upon a common platform. Though Assyriology and archæology have made egregious blunders in the past, and thereby have rightly aroused our suspicions, we must not turn the cold shoulder upon these two inexperienced sisters—errors are expected of the young—but we must rather attempt to use them for the furtherance of biblical criticism. We, however, want not only a more archæological criticism, but also a more critical archæology.

The learned canon defines his position by a reference to the opening chapters of the Book of Genesis, where we may compare "the mythic and semimythic narratives of the Israelites and the Babylonians." Dillmann, whom Professor Cheyne very justly calls the most learned of modern critics, as is well known, wisely maintained that the story of creation, the deluge, and some others recorded in Genesis had their origin in an old tradition common to the Semitic peoples. Such a view, however, according to our learned reviewer, cannot hold its ground even provisionally. It is surprising with what facility Canon Cheyne, by a single stroke of his pen, can sweep away the objections of all those who happen to differ with him. Thus, when Riehm, Kittel, Sayce, Dillmann, McCurdy, or Gunkel does not agree with him he concludes that they are in the wrong.

But, to return to the origin of these myths. We are assured that "the glaringness of those mythic features in their original form has no doubt been toned down in Gen. i, and they have been harmonized fairly well with the higher Israelitish religion; but they are still, for all that, Babylonian, and not Israelitish." The object of this remark is clear. It is a determination to depress the date of Genesis, to bring it down to post-Mosaic times, so as to preclude the possibility of Mosaic authorship. Though the professor is willing to concede that myths concerning the creation of the world had made their way from Babylonia to Canaan previous to the fifteenth century before Christ, or as early as the time of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and that the Israelites on their first settlement in Palestine might have received some of these legendary accounts from the Canaanites, yet he insists that the story as told in the first chapter of Genesis bears unmistakable evidence of Babylonian origin. This is the more evident, we are informed, since the Babylonian myths show greater originality. Though the story of creation might have been known to Moses, we must, after all, not lose sight of the fact that there were "three other periods when either an introduction of new or a revival of old myths is historically conceivable." It will be difficult for most readers to see why three periods are named any more than ten; for, were there not constant communications all through the ages, and not simply at intervals of several hundred years, between Babylonia, Canaan, southern Arabia, and Egypt? Babylonian myths would be more

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likely to influence Hebrew literature centuries before than during, much less than after, the captivity. Professor Gunkel, the latest writer on this subject, says in *Schöpfung und Chaos* (p. 144, *f.*) that the dates usually given to these myths are mere "compromises and must be abandoned, since 'most of the legends are very old.'"

The principal value of Canon Cheyne's article is the fact that it has called forth a rejoinder from Professor Sayce, whom the canon had charged with desertion from the ranks of the critics. The professor disclaims any change in his article toward real criticism, but admits that he no longer sympathizes with self-styled critics whose criticism starts with preconceived ideas and groundless assumptions, who treat imperfect evidence as if perfect, or who base opinion upon unproved theories; or, in other words, Professor Sayce, having been led to the edge of a dangerous precipice, and having realized the tendencies and results of the criticism advocated by his Oxford colleague and his friends, deemed it wise and necessary to change front.

The following are in brief some of the reasons which influenced Professor Sayce in rejecting the teachings of the more advanced higher critics:

1. He can no longer regard the Pentateuch as a kind of a literary hodgepodge, mostly compiled during the monarchy, though much of it is postexilic. He cannot believe that the story of Israel in the wilderness is legendary or mythical and that Israel had no history previous to the exodus. He has no sympathy with the analysis of the nineteenth century which slices up the Pentateuch into minute fragments and tickets them with a kind of algebraic symbols, finding no less than three or four distinct writers in even one short verse. He challenges the critics to analyze modern stories known to have a dual authorship, that are written in good English in our own times, as one of the novels of Besant and Rice. He justly characterizes such guesswork—done by students now living, at so distant a date and possessing comparatively little Hebrew literature, and "compiled from the imperfect literature of an imperfectly known language"—as a rope of sand ingeniously woven. Any method condemned by common sense must be unsound and unsafe.

2. Archæology has clearly demonstrated that Moses could have written the books bearing his name. The art of writing was practiced extensively in Egypt, Babylonia, and other countries centuries before the birth of Moses. The universality of writing in the fifteenth century B. C. is established beyond controversy by the Tel-el-Amarna tablets. The center of the literary activity, as revealed on these tablets, was Canaan. No wonder, therefore, that Professor Sayce asserts that "Canaan in the Mosaic age, like the countries which surrounded it, was fully as literary as was Europe in the time of the *Renaissance.*" This being true, it requires less faith to believe in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch than to believe, as some critics did a few years ago, that the art of writing was unknown to the great legislator, or that there was no writing or Israelitish history previous to the age of Samuel.

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3. The Semitic literature found in Babylon and Assyria is not a patchwork of compilations such as Cheyne would have us believe the Pentateuch to be. The slicing and patching process is practically unknown in the works discovered in the buried clay libraries of Babylonia and Assyria. No wonder, therefore, that so distinguished an authority as Professor Hommel, though admitting the possibility of older documents in the composition of Genesis, says that "it passes the wit of man to separate and distinguish them."

4. Many of the narratives, once characterized by the higher critics as "unhistorical figments of popular tradition," are now by the help of archæology proved to be genuine history. We need no longer relegate Melchizedek, Chedorlaomer, and Tidal to the realm of myth.

Let us ask, in conclusion, would it not be well for some American critics to follow the example of Professor Sayce and, in the words of Dr. Green, "revise their own ill-judged alliance with the enemies of evangelical truth, and inquire whether Christ's view of the Old Testament may not, after all, be the true view?"

WRITING IN HOMER.

THE question of writing in the Homeric times has once more been reopened. This time, by a mere accident, Professor William Ridgeway, of Cambridge, England, in a most interesting article in the *Academy*, entitled "What People Produced the Works called Mycenæan?" incidentally referred to two words in that well-known passage in the *Iliad*—the only one, we believe, in the entire work where there is reference to writing of any kind—which relates the story of Bellerophon, the Joseph of the *Iliad*, who, being falsely accused by Anteia, the wife of Prœtus, was sent by the monarch to the court of his father-in-law, Iobates, King of Lycia, with a sealed message containing a request to have Bellerophon put to death. The passage in question has been variously translated, and all translators are agreed that it contains a reference to a document of some kind. The two words are *σήματα λυγρά* (book vi, line 168), which Professor Ridgeway renders "baleful pictographs." The learned professor assumes that this message, written in Argos, but sent to distant Lycia, was pictographic rather than alphabetic.

Mr. Samuel Butler calls the Cambridge professor to account, and demands some further proof in confirmation of his rendering. Professor Ridgeway has a difficult task before him, and probably he will never be able to satisfy intelligent readers that his assumption is well founded. His rendering of the two words was suggested by that of Mr. A. J. Evans, who, by the way, has made valuable discoveries within a year or two, especially in Crete, and who has written a very learned paper, called "Primitive Pictographs." Mr. Butler maintains that *σήματα*, though plural in form, simply means a document, just as the word "letters" is used for alphabetic symbols, or a document; and, while he is not able to present conclusive evidence that the double, or folding, tablet sent by

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Prœtus to his wife's father was written in alphabetic symbols, he has the argument on his side. His translation of the passage, though not quite literal, may convey the correct idea. It is thus: "He gave him treacherous *letters of introduction*, to which end he wrote much damaging matter upon a folding tablet."

Professor Monro, of Oriel College, Oxford, in his article on Homer, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, translated the same passage: "Prœtus . . . gave him 'baneful tokens, scratching on a folded tablet many spirit-destroying things.'" And he adds: "There is no difficulty, therefore, in understanding the message of Prœtus without alphabetical writing. But, on the other hand, there is no reason for so understanding it."

Professor Ridgeway argues that σῆμα, the singular of σήματα, always means a mark or a picture, and that γράμμα would have been used were the writing in alphabetic characters. This is disproved by Mr. Butler, who cites several passages in which σῆμα has not this meaning. It makes but little difference whether Mr. Butler or Professor Ridgeway is correct. The great fact is the same, namely, that communication by letter or tablets, in legible characters of some form, was known in Iliadic times, and that one king thus corresponded with another. An art thus mentioned by the poet might have been practiced by himself or by some one for him. Whether the writing was pictographic, hieroglyphic, or alphabetic is of no importance any more than whether Chinese books are written in script peculiar to these people or in that commonly known as Roman.

But we should not neglect to mention that the most interesting part of Professor Ridgeway's article is that in which he refers to the ancient Pelasgians, who at one time occupied large portions of Greece, the surrounding islands, and much of Asia Minor. He thinks that the works commonly known as Mycenæan, including gems, ornaments, shields, different kinds of implements, and pottery, were produced by the Pelasgians. These objects have been discovered in widely separated places, not only in Greece, but in Thessaly, Crete, many localities in Asia Minor, and even in Italy and Egypt; this, if not a proof of the vastness of the Pelasgian empire, is certainly evidence of the extensiveness of their commerce. Ever since Dr. Schliemann made such wonderful discoveries in Mycenæ the efforts of the excavator have been rewarded by Mycenæan articles almost every year, at great distances from that ancient Pelasgian stronghold. Some of the most important finds of Mr. Evans in Crete were of this same class. On engraved gems and other objects are "what appear to be a series of pictographic symbols not allied to Egyptian hieroglyphs, but showing many points of resemblance to the symbols found on seals and other objects commonly known as Hittite." Is it possible that those people, so powerful in pre-Hellenic times, called by Homer and other classic writers Pelasgians, but of which so little is positively known, were the same as the Hittites of Egyptian, Assyrian, and biblical records? Strange indeed that Greek history knows nothing of the powerful Hittites, at least under that name. It would be wonderful if the archæologist should prove that the Pelasgians and the Hittites were one people.

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MISSIONARY REVIEW.

METHODIST POLITY IN FOREIGN FIELDS.

THE missionary extension of the period has put to a test the economy of the several Churches. A close study of their adaptations to the needs of the work discloses many points of interest and profit. The Methodist Episcopal economy has required considerable modification in the initial stage of some of its foreign fields.

1. A special modification of the itinerancy has often been found necessary. In Liberia, the feeble churches being unable to support their pastors except in part, the preachers have been obliged to enter into secular engagements as farmers, merchants, or civil officers, thus precluding their transfer from point to point on the recurrence of the Annual Conference sessions. Hence practically the pastors of the Liberia Conference were local preachers holding Annual Conference relationship. In other countries other causes have interfered with the operation of the itinerant plan. Local dialects were to be acquired, as in China, where one meets a new form of speech with every hundred miles, and it requires much time to become acquainted with foreign communities, win confidence, and establish educational and other interests. Hence there has been, as a rule, little application of the itinerant principle on foreign missions by reason of the time limit.

2. In India another modification or expansion of the usual economy appears in the uses made of the District Conference. This antedated the provision of the General Conference recognizing the District Conference as a part of the Church's economy. It was in practical operation in India before it was formulated at all in America. This District Conference takes the forms of procedure of an Annual Conference. From a thousand to fifteen hundred workers in North India Conference alone are "appointed" annually at the last session of the District Conferences to their fields of labor. There are in India some twenty-five presiding elders' districts, in which all the workers not connected with Annual Conferences hold membership in the District Conference, graduating from a course of study extending over eight years, and being elected by the District Conference. It is virtually the Annual Conference of all the workers not appointed by the bishop at the regular Annual Conference.

3. Another modification is the erection of an incipient General Conference, fully operative in India, and sought to be brought into existence in Europe and China. The General Conference ultimately sanctioned—what had already come into existence—a Central Conference in India, to preside over the publishing, educational, and other connectional interests of the Church at large throughout the country. This gives a quasi-autonomy, subject to a few "restrictive rules," to the work; and a similar plan might prove of advantage in other foreign fields.

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4. There has been a modification, also, of the exercise of episcopal functions. The "missionary rule" provided for the ordination of men to both deacons' and elders' orders when going beyond the easy reach of episcopal offices. This has become less necessary than formerly because of the frequent personal presence of the bishops on the foreign mission fields, and is perhaps applied in more cases than actually demand it. But there are still fields where it is needful. A missionary to West China goes to a field which has never been visited by a bishop. It would require as much time to reach Chungking from Shanghai as to reach Shanghai from New York. Some bishops have doubted whether any mission ought to be established where distance precluded personal episcopal supervision. The Liberia Conference was for many years unable to graduate its younger ministers to full exercise of their ministerial functions, owing to the prolonged absence of the bishops from the field. The Church suffered by contrast with other Churches which more readily gave full powers to the accredited applicant for orders. For many years there were not ordained men enough to meet the demands of the Churches in Liberia. The same must become true of any field beyond the reach of the episcopacy. The West China Mission has not a solitary ordained native minister, nor can there be a fully developed native Church in West China under present usage. When by riot or sickness the foreign missionaries are driven from the field there is not a Methodist preacher in West China Mission to administer any ordinance of the Church. Foreign missionaries may be fully empowered by ordination under the "missionary rule," but the native preacher cannot be brought to the bishop any more than the bishop can be carried to him.

In order to obviate the dangers of the climate, which made episcopal visits to Liberia more or less perilous to health, the General Conference ordained that there should be a bishop for Africa, with local jurisdiction. To secure this constitutionally the requisite favorable vote of the General and the Annual Conferences was obtained. Later it was assumed that this vote justified the application of the principle to other fields, and a bishop was chosen for India and Malaysia, with local jurisdiction. There were a few persons who held that this last election should also have had the indorsement of a vote necessary to set aside the restrictive rule, but this formality was not observed.

That the election of a missionary bishop for India might not meet all the exigencies of the case was anticipated at the time. The India Conferences had asked for a general superintendent to reside in India, and only accepted a missionary bishop as the best possible compromise. It was felt by them to be desirable that the local bishop should visit America at intervals to secure men adapted to the field, to represent the work before the churches, and to consult with the other bishops on questions of law and general administration. It was necessary that the incumbent should be familiar with the field, the people and their customs, and with at least one of the vernacular languages of the land. Failing to secure a general superintendent to reside in India, the next best that could be

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done was to let the India bishop return to America at intervals for the purposes just named. But the rapid growth of the work developed the necessity for the constant presence of the bishop on the field. The three Annual Conferences have expanded into five, besides the Malaysia Mission; the communicants have increased from seven thousand to over fifty-four thousand, and the two hundred native preachers have multiplied almost fourfold. New problems hourly present themselves, and the constant authoritative leadership of the bishop is required in the direction of a great Church scattered over a continent. It would seem, in the nature of the case, that his absence in America for the objects for which it is held to be desirable he shall visit it must seriously handicap the work. It is not easy to combine the advantages of the necessary local supervision with those of the general superintendency, nor is it easy to say how the missionary bishop shall be spared from a field like India for repeated and prolonged visits to America. There are those who see partial relief in the election of another missionary bishop for India, but even they feel that they would still lack some advantages to be derived from the visits of general superintendents not to be had by an increase in the number of missionary bishops. The probabilities are that the fuller evolution of this problem must come gradually and after experiment, but it is so imminent as to demand the most earnest and instant consideration of those best qualified to determine what is the wisest course to be pursued.

THE SITUATION IN MADAGASCAR.

The story of the relations subsisting between France and Madagascar is a very old one, dating back to the seventeenth century. In 1868 a treaty of friendship, recognizing on the part of the French the sovereignty of the Queen of Madagascar, seemed to end French ambition there. In 1883 the French made new demands resulting in a war. In 1886 a treaty of peace was signed placing the French in a privileged position as regarded the foreign affairs of Madagascar. The treaty contained ambiguous phrases, and the Hova government never agreed to the French interpretation. An annex, or explanatory document, was signed by the French plenipotentiaries, which was suppressed when the treaty was presented to the French chambers. The French have enforced their own interpretation and advanced their claims to a "protectorate," and have secured their end. Thus France takes Madagascar into her "sphere of influence" in Africa. She did not colonize that island; she did not carry civilization to it; she has not developed great trade relations there which have become strained; she has not so much as a French population on the island in conflict with the native social order. She wishes to control the political balance of power; and so she assumes to dominate, not a heathen country, where the basest passions run riot, whose suppression would afford some excuse for the proceeding, but the Christian queen of a Christian government. Politically speaking, we have slight interest in the event. Religiously speaking, we have the profoundest concern for the

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native Church of the Malagasy, the martyr Church of an island which, laid on our coast, would reach in length from Maine to South Carolina. The London Missionary Society has expended some thirty millions of dollars, of which two millions have been spent on Madagascar in the last third of a century, while the native churches have contributed half a million dollars more. The London Society at this moment sustains thirty-nine missionaries in Madagascar. All this has been wrought out by British Christians, not by the French. Two things console the friends of Protestant missions at this juncture: first, the London Missionary Society is protected in its operations in Madagascar by a treaty with Madagascar and a convention with France; secondly, the Christian Church in Madagascar is built on an open Bible, and the civilization is of a strong Protestant type. These people know the foundations on which they have builded, and have a history behind them which will inspire them to heroic defense of their principles.

The whole island of Madagascar is, however, not Christianized or even nearly evangelized. The population may be placed at four millions, of whom four hundred thousand only, or one tenth, are Christians. The London Missionary Society had there, in 1894, 1,328 congregations and 280,000 adherents, of whom 63,000 were church members, and 1,061 native pastors and 5,879 preachers, the churches contributing $35,000 per annum. Besides this there are the missions of the Church of England Missionary Society, the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, the Norwegian Missionary Society, and the Society of Friends. Altogether they sustain 107 foreign Protestant missionaries in the island. The Roman Catholic and Protestant adherents number each about the same. While the government has exerted a strong influence for education it has not established schools, the only ones opened being mission schools.

What will be the influence of the French protectorate on Protestant missions? In Tahiti and other South Sea islands French influence was adverse to morality and to evangelical Christianity. French influence on the west coast of Africa has been seriously obstructive of Protestant missions in the Gaboon and in every other territory acquired from previously Protestant occupancy.

AMERICAN MISSIONS IN TURKEY.

A BODY of the most cultivated, wise, and otherwise able Americans has for years been engaged in Turkey as missionaries of the American Board. It would be difficult to name a corps of men at home or abroad of whom America might more justly be proud. The luster of their scholarship has been equaled by that of their statesmanship and by the rich fragrance of their humble devotion to the greatly benevolent work of elevating ancient Churches which had departed from the faith, had become sunken in idolatry and superstition, and were suffering oppression and cruelty at the hands of Mohammedans. The missions were accurately planned. That to the Armenians was assigned to Drs. Dwight and Goodell, in June,

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1882. The Armenians in Constantinople were estimated at a hundred thousand. Other missions were established. These now number five, with perhaps fifty thousand adherents to the churches. Their influence has reached to the whole Armenian Church. When the late Rev. George Knapp, missionary at Biblis, died a few months since, three Armenian priests asked to participate at his obsequies, and the Armenians closed their shops to do him honor. These Armenian missions have been eminently successful. They have six colleges, forty seminaries, and in these and their common schools some twenty thousand scholars. For every mission school the people have established a dozen others themselves, and have become far more intelligent than the Turks. The sultan has become alarmed at their progress and at the changed aspect of Turkey superinduced by these missions. This, in brief, is the cause of the increased repression of literature, and of liberty in general, which the Turkish government brought to bear on Christians of the empire, and which has culminated in the massacre of possibly ten thousand Armenians at the hands of the Kurds and others, instigated by the central government at Constantinople. This all found its check in massed European fleets in the Dardanelles, but with what result will scarcely be known for a long time to come. Meanwhile all Americans must be interested that justice be meted out for all damage that shall come to this most splendid corps of Americans, whose lives are consecrated to the succor and purification of the ancient churches of Bible lands.

Some people assume to criticise our missionaries in India for receiving into the Church, by baptism, converted natives who cannot give an account of their theology. An instance is afforded just now, in a mission of another Church in Bengal of a poor shy Bengalese who was very nervous at the thought of being questioned by the missionary, and said, "Sahib, do not examine me; I cannot answer any questions." "What must I do, then?" asked the missionary. "Let me pray, sahib," said the man; "I believe I can do that." All knelt, and he who was embarrassed before man poured out his heart freely to God, in a way that convinced all that he knew God and his Christ. He was so earnest and pious that none could doubt where he ought to be counted and recorded.

It is an interesting fact that far more applications have been received from Li Hung Chang for students for the Anglo-Chinese missionary colleges than can be possibly met. They are in demand for the telegraph system, for the army and navy, and for General Li's medical school. His agents had instructions to procure them from the missionary colleges, because of the value of the moral training received there. This fact acquires additional significance from the constantly reiterated statements from all parts of China concerning the dishonest and peculating officials of the government. Ironclads and revolving rifles cannot make an empire strong.

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FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Max Krenkel. He has recently attracted attention by the attempt to show that Luke employed Josephus as an important source of information for his writings. Among other arguments in support of this position he mentions the similarity of the introductions to the works of the two authors. That there is such a similarity no attentive reader will deny. But instances might be named of even greater similarity between the introduction of Luke and others, in which, however, the supposition of literary dependence would be excluded. Krenkel thinks he sees in the sameness of the topics treated by Luke and Josephus, and in the general similarity of style, the indubitable proofs of Luke's dependence upon Josephus. As to the similarity of style, it is sufficient to say that similar subjects must be treated in a somewhat similar manner. Besides, both lived in the same general period and were alike influenced by the style of writing then prevalent. As to the topics treated, Luke's dependence could only be demonstrated if it were proved that he had no other source of information than Josephus. Luke was an intelligent, not to say an educated, man, who had good opportunities to know the facts, by hearsay and observation, concerning which he wrote. Krenkel admits that Luke employed a number of sources for certain parts of his writings. If such be the case, how can there be any good proof that he was dependent upon Josephus for any part of his work? The attempt from this standpoint to show the lateness, and thus the untrustworthiness, of the history contained in the Acts and gospel is, like all other attempts in the same direction, a failure. Krenkel, however, undertakes to show that Luke's vocabulary is so closely related to that of Josephus as to indicate the dependence of the former upon the latter. It is not necessary to deny that there is a similarity in the vocabulary of the two. It is most natural that there should be. Both wrote in Greek, and nearly at the same time, on related subjects; but there is a much greater similarity between the vocabulary of Luke and the Septuagint; so that from this argument also no evidence of the lateness of the books attributed to Luke can be drawn.

Theodore Elsenhans. In relation to the conscience, its nature and origin, he has become an authority. He does not think that the conscience is an independent faculty of the mind, coordinate with the intellect, sensibility, and will, but that in all phenomena of the conscience these three work together. Nevertheless, the fundamental original element of the conscience is feeling—feeling aroused by the perception of conduct in connection with motive. Thought and will appropriate to themselves these feelings, so that a judgment is passed as

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to the commendability or condemnability of each act, and a purpose to assist or hinder, to participate in or avoid, the act in the future. So far as the purpose is concerned it is the result of the claim on the part of these feelings to unconditional obedience. Elsenhans thinks that the ordinary theories of the conscience are insufficient to explain its phenomena. He believes that it is necessary to assume the germ of conscience to be a natural endowment. Otherwise, he cannot explain the peculiarity of the phenomena in individuals and the uniformity of these phenomena in history. This natural endowment is like the instinct in animals in the immediateness with which it makes itself felt as a motive in particular instances. But it is limited to such actions as have to do with the weal or woe of the individual or of society. He is of the opinion that this endowment becomes more and more powerful and fine with each advance in culture of one generation after another, and that it is transmitted, like other endowments, from parent to child. It is questionable, however, whether there is anything more transmitted than an increased development of ethical knowledge and judgment, and this cannot be transmitted from parent to child, but only from one generation to another. Elsenhans thinks that without this transmitted, cultivated endowment we could not explain how the individual could rise in a few decades to the highest point of moral development. But this can be explained better on the supposition that each generation begins with a more correct estimate of right and wrong than that which preceded it. Yet it must be confessed that in many instances the usual laws of heredity seem to apply to the conscience as to other traits.

Arnold E. Berger. The study of Luther and the German Reformation has occupied many minds in recent years, especially Köstlin and Kolde. And now Berger has won a place alongside of these greatest names by his works on Luther. He boldly asserts that the biographers of Luther have failed hitherto to avoid the influence of the confessional standpoint of the writer, and to present the reformer in his relation to the culture of the period. Berger regards Luther as a religious genius, and at the same time a special product of the culture of the Middle Ages, at the close of which he appeared. These aspects of Luther's life are not new, but Berger has given them a new emphasis. Perhaps he has not altogether succeeded in giving a purely unbiased and objective representation of Luther's life. Even if he has escaped the influence of religious prejudice he has certainly not been free from the bias of his purpose to present Luther in relation to the culture of the Middle Ages. For he has by this attempt given us a one-sided view of the reformer and the Reformation. There are some men who cannot be fitted into their times, but who alter the times in which they live to conform to their personality. Luther was one of these men. To deny this is to deny him the vocation of the reformer, and by implication, therefore, to deny altogether the existence of personal reformers, and to make all reforms the unavoidable result of general historical movement. In the case of Luther, at least, it is not difficult to see

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how his personal endowment contradicted the conditions of the times which existed previous to and contemporary with him. He was rather a genius who produced than himself a product. There were thousands of men who were the product of their age and the preceding ages. It was Luther's distinctive recoil from the entire culture of the period which adapted him to the work which he did. He was too original and independent for a product. In these things he stood alone. He had many followers and imitators, but no peers. The elements of character which he drew from the past and from his environments were those which he had in common with his contemporaries. We suspect that the explanation which may be given of Luther's personality and work must be, either that he was, as to his mentality, almost a freak of nature, or else that he was the appointed and sent of God. We choose the latter view.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"La philosophie d' Ernest Renan." By Raoul Allier. (Paris, Germer Baillière et Cie., 1895.) Although Renan has been thought of only as an historian and a critic, yet he is here considered as having held and taught certain distinct philosophical opinions. A profound philosopher he certainly never was, as he was not a profound historian. Allier shows that Renan's philosophical opinions were controlled entirely by his views of history. To him history was merely an endless change in the development of mankind. As an historian he approached the works of the great philosophers, but failed to consider their fundamental-critical and speculative views. He found nothing in their writings except what he had already believed, namely, that there is nothing fixed or certain, and that therefore everyone is at liberty to take whatever view of the world he may please. Allier sets forth Renan's view as an evolutionary pantheism, the materials for which he gathered from all sources, without any attempt to test their worth. As to his ethical opinions, Allier says that they were at first not without a certain elevation, but that he gradually fell into the consequences of his own view, that the only thing permanent and universal is change, and hence everyone is free to find his highest good where he can: in art, if he is capable of it; in drunkenness, if he can do nothing else. Politically he held that the average man is not an end in himself, because his personality is of too little account. He is only a means to another end, namely, the State. Hence his preférence for the aristocratic form of government. Religiously he never was able to see the connection between religion and morals, and hence it was possible for him to caricature the life of Jesus, and yet to bow in reverence before him. To him religion meant nothing else than a refined sort of mystical revelry. When one considers that Renan was brought up to reverence authority as understood by the Roman Catholic Church it is scarcely a wonder that his opinions reacted to the other extreme when he broke away from his original destination for the Church. Had the revolt from

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Roman Catholic authority been prompted by his religious needs instead of by his taste for historical studies, however, he would not have adopted such false and pessimistic views. With all his brilliancy of intellect one can scarcely refrain from the question whether there was not in him a tinge of insanity.

"Das Verhältnis der menschlichen Willensfreiheit zur Gotteslehre bei Martin Luther und Huldreich Zwingli" (The Relation of the Freedom of the Human Will to the Doctrine of God according to Martin Luther and Ulric Zwingli). By **Max Staub.** (Zurich, Leemann, 1894.) Luther and Zwingli occupy the thought of the civilized world but little less to-day than they did in the sixteenth century. Gradually, however, Zwingli is rising in the estimation of the majority of theologians. Staub finds Luther's doctrine of the bondage of the will and predestination to be the result of his desire to maintain the absolute want of merit of all human activity, and partly of his nominalistic scholasticism, from which he never became wholly free. Not only, according to Luther, was man not free, but God chose or predestinated some to salvation and left others to perish. Luther did not hold that God chose men to pious lives and so to salvation, or to impious lives and thus to damnation, but that in his eternal councils God chose some to heavenly bliss and left others to future misery. This, Staub thinks, is destructive of the foundations of evangelical faith, and is not Christianity, but materialism, a severe judgment, certainly, though perhaps justifiable. Zwingli sought to reconcile two irreconcilable views of God—the antique-panthcistic and the biblical-personal. This he reached by the illogical and unethical mixture of the two gods by means of the doctrine of a particular providence, which, however, in the case of Zwingli was not unethical, since it did not make salvation dependent upon the eternal council of God, but upon an appropriate ethical condition of life, which was conditioned by predestination. Staub regards this view as unscriptural, but because it is ethically acceptable it saved Zwingli from falling into the materialism of Luther. Perhaps our author should have taken somewhat into account the fact that Zwingli approached the subject with a view to its systematic treatment, while Luther's purpose, especially as exhibited in his "*de servo arbitrio*," was to counteract the lax Roman doctrines as represented by Erasmus's attack upon Luther. Zwingli's views could hardly be accepted by any thoughtful philosopher or theologian of to-day, although they are apparently much more mild than Luther's.

"La Vue future d'apres Saint Paul" (Eschatology of Saint Paul). By **C. Bruston.** (Paris, Fischbacher, 1895.) As a study of the possible modification of Saint Paul's eschatological views this little book is of high interest. It was elicited by an article of Sabatier in the *Revue Chrétienne* and its answer by Godet in the same magazine. Sabatier saw in 2 Cor. v, 1–10, a change from the views of Saint Paul as expressed in First Corinthians. In the first letter he connected the resurrection with the im-

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pending second advent of Christ. In the second letter he holds that the believer enters immediately upon the pneumatic life at death. The thought of the sleep of the soul had been held in check by the expectation of the early *parusia*. Now, when Paul was looking death in the face, that danger confronted him in all its terror. He could not believe that his Lord would allow him to be more perfectly separated from him, even for a brief space of time after death, than he had been in this life. Nor could Paul believe that the forces which were at work preparing the believer for the heavenly body would cease after death, as they must, on the supposition of the sleep of the soul. But this doctrine of the immediate entrance of the believer upon his heavenly communion with Christ destroyed the doctrine of a common judgment day and resurrection. In reply Godet asserts that there was no such change in the belief of Paul, since in his later letters he was still expecting the coming of the Lord. When Paul, in 2 Cor. v, 1, says, "We have a building of God," he is thinking of something not realized, but to be realized. Bruston holds that Paul did not change his views, although there were certain variations of expression. But he sees in 2 Cor. v the doctrine that the soul is clothed immediately after death with its spiritual body, and reconciles the apparent divergence of Paul's expressions by the supposition that the resurrection of the dead which Paul taught in connection with the *parusia* was only the public revelation of the fact that the souls of the believers had from the moment of death been clothed upon with the house which is from heaven. To one who holds that Paul's eschatological views were the product of his own reflection Sabatier's idea would not be offensive. Bruston's explanation is artificial; nevertheless Godet's attempt at harmonization does not seem satisfactory.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

A New Method of Treating the Old and New Testament Writings. It has long been felt that the ordinary method of treating biblical literature was unscientific and unsatisfactory. Each "introduction" has contented itself with laying before its readers the books of the Bible one by one and giving a history of their criticism, and each author has felt it necessary to do a little criticising on his own account, in order to show that he was an independent and original investigator. For the purpose of exercising the student in criticism such a method is excellent in the class room. It cultivates a critical and analytical habit of mind, without which there can be no clear thinking on any subject. But when the work is ended there is nothing to show for it except a mass of material which lacks all the elements of history. It is the rough stone just from the quarry; it is not even dressed and fitted to be placed in the edifice to be erected. In fact, it is this erection of the edifice instead of the never-ending accumulation of material which constitutes the latest novelty in the treatment of the books of the Bible. It is now proposed to write histories of

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biblical literature just as we have histories of any other literature. It is by no means the intention to do away with criticism, but it is the plan to make criticism subsidiary to the writing of literary history. Perhaps the name which this new "discipline" will take may be "Critical-Biblical Literary History." It certainly must prove a relief from the monotonous thud of the "introduction" as it falls from the press. Something is gained when the advance is made from analysis to construction. Greater interest will be felt by the reader, and he will be able to gain a clearer idea of the sum total of critical results and to judge better of the effects of criticism upon faith. It is natural that the history of the Old Testament literature should begin to be written in the light of the newer investigation, for the same has been several times done for the secular and ethical-religious history of the Jews. On the supposition, too, that many will accept the results of the higher criticism in their public teaching and private thinking, the change from the appearance of criticism, which is always more or less destructive and negative, to history, which is of necessity constructive, and at least in some degree positive, will be beneficial. Instead of a constant controversy with past ideas there will be the presentation of the supposed truth as it is now discovered to be. Edward Reuss, as early as 1881, undertook to write the Old Testament literary history in connection with Jewish political history; and from 1892 to 1894 repeated the attempt, together with a translation into German of the books of the Old Testament. It was done in elegant style, but it reflected rather Reuss's own impressions of the literature than the facts concerning the literature itself. In 1893 a Dutch theologian, Dr. G. Wildebaer, published a work entitled *The Books of the Old Testament in the Order of their Origin.* The title promises nothing more than a list of the Old Testament books in chronological order; but for this a book of 539 pages is not necessary, and so we find much more than the title causes us to anticipate. He begins with the Old Testament fragments of the wandering and settlement in Canaan. Then follow the literary remains of the time of Judges, David and Solomon; the historical traditions, and oldest written notices of historical events and earliest books of the law. From this he passes on to the supposed earliest of the biblical books, namely, Amos and Hosea. Then come Micah and Isaiah, Deuteronomy, Zephaniah, Nahum, Jeremiah, and Habakkuk; then Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, Haggai, and Zechariah i–viii, Lamentations and Obadiah, the Priests' Codex and the Hexateuch, Malachi, Jonah, Ruth, Joel, Isaiah xxiv–xxvii, Zechariah ix–xiv, Proverbs, Job, the Psalter, Chronicles, Solomon's Song, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, and Esther. Even so brief a mention of the new order of the chronological arrangement of the books of the Old Testament as that just given shows what an immense gain in clearness follows from the employment of the historical as distinguished from the critical-introduction method. That a history of the Old Testament literature can be written is also a clear evidence that criticism has reached what it regards as practically final and generally (that is, among critics) accepted conclusions. We may assure ourselves that for a time at least

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"advances" will not be forthcoming. The method will have a restraining effect upon critics of individual books, whose works must fit henceforth into the scheme of history, and not stand alone, as heretofore.

The Newly Discovered Syriac Codex and the Virgin Birth. Just what effect the famous discovery by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson will have on the reading of many New Testament passages cannot now be known. At the present time an interesting, not to say important, discussion is in progress which we shall give in brief. This Sinaitic Syriac gives the three times fourteen generations of the first chapter of Matthew, including the statement that "Jacob begat Joseph." In this the new Syriac differs from the Diatessaron of Tatian, who omits the register both of Matthew and Luke, probably as unworthy of the divine origin of our Lord. But instead of the words, "Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ," in Matt. i, 16, the Syriac says, "Joseph, to whom Mary the virgin was betrothed, begat Jesus, who is called Christ." This reading, which appears to exclude the virgin birth of our Lord, corresponds to variations in chap. i, 21, where the reading is, "She shall bear *thee* a son," and in i, 25, where the words, "And knew her not till," are entirely omitted, and instead we read, "And he married his betrothed wife, and she bear him a son, and he called his name Jesus." These modifications seem to be the offspring of an effort to construct the history of Christ's birth according to Ebionitic anti-Catholic notions, and to represent our Lord as the physical son of Joseph. The negative critics hail these variations with delight, and would gladly regard them as the original and only authentic text of that portion of Matthew. Even Conybeare adopts this view, together with other English and continental critics. It is a question which cannot be settled by an appeal to preferences or preconceptions. That the copies of the gospels were sometimes violently tampered with in those early days in the interest of dogma no one acquainted with the facts will deny. The question, "In the interest of what dogma was the alteration made?" must be settled by purely objective critical means and methods. More study of the new codex than the time since its discovery has admitted will be required before any important changes in our faith can be safely based upon its peculiar readings. For this reason, if for no other, it would be extremely unwise to depend too much upon its utterances concerning the origin of Jesus. It would need to be proved a very early and most trustworthy codex to overturn in this particular, or in any other, the harmonious testimony of other codices. But in the codex itself, when examined a little more closely, are evidences that the version in question purposely varied from the original from which it was translated or copied. In Luke iii, 23, the new codex coincides essentially with our text, reading, "But Jesus, being about thirty years old, called, as he was, a son of Joseph," showing that the original copy held Jesus to be not the real but the reputed son of Joseph, contrary to its own language in Matt. i, 16. Again, in Matt. i, 16–25, there are utterances which have been allowed to stand which

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appear as confirmatory of the canonical and contradictory of the Syriac text. For example, in verse 18 the reading is, "The birth of Jesus took place as follows: As Mary, his mother, to whom Joseph was betrothed, before he married her, discovered that she was with child of the Holy Ghost." Even in verse 16, where these Ebionitic alterations begin, Mary is not called Joseph's wife, but the "virgin who was betrothed to him." It is perfectly evident that the readings of this codex contradict one another in this matter. There is enough variation to show the tendency of the copyist; but there is too little to obliterate the evidence that the copyist did violence to the text before him. If one were to study every expression concerning the birth of Jesus found in the new codex it would be difficult to tell whether it teaches the supernatural or the natural conception. Very certain it is that, whatever anyone may dogmatically hold, the words "conceived by the Holy Ghost" cannot be rejected as primitively Christian and unapostolic on the ground of anything in the Sinaitic Syriac. Furthermore, it is clear that so far as the evidence from the manuscripts, versions, and fathers is concerned the preponderance is in favor of the virgin birth of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Latest Congress of Socialists. Breslau, Germany, was recently the scene of one of the tamest socialistic congresses ever held in the Fatherland. The leaders of the party of moderation were detained by sickness, but the radical leaders did not take advantage of their absence to carry through their ideas. Perhaps it was on account of the fear that a division in the socialistic ranks would ensue. There was a good deal of extravagant talk, but the police authorities of the city took care that nothing should occur of a treasonable character, and nothing which could unduly excite the populace. The meeting of the congress revealed the fact that the attempt to win the peasantry had proved a failure. Every peasant who owns a little spot of land is thereby held at a distance from the socialists, for if he is to be a pure social democrat he dare not own any real estate whatever. This builds an inseparable barrier between the peasants and the socialists.

The Hospital in Jerusalem. For forty years the deaconesses of Kaiserwerth have been at work in the Holy City. In the orphanage about one hundred and twenty Arabian girls are daily instructed and educated, who later go out as housekeepers, teachers, deaconesses, or servants. The hospital is situated on Mount Zion, where, during the last ten years, 5,840 patients of all confessions of faith have been treated, while treatment in some form has been given to 77,165 persons. The people are so poor that all this service has to be entirely free. The city is very unhealthy, and the hospital has for years proved too small. Hence it is proposed to locate the new hospital in a more healthy portion of the city, and to provide more commodious buildings. About $10,000 has been collected for this purpose. The old hospital is estimated to be worth about $12,000, and $15,000 more will be needed to finish the work.

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SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE *Edinburgh Review* for October has as its table of contents: 1. "A History of Spain," by Ulick Burke; 2. "The House of Annandale;" 3. "Crimean Letters;" 4. "Shells and Molluscs;" 5. "Memoirs of Barras;" 6. "Argon and Helium;" 7. "Life of Sir Fitzjames Stephen;" 8. "Mediæval Cyprus;" 9. "Recent Musical Criticism;" 10. "The French in Madagascar;" 11. "Politics, Parties, and Imperial Defense." Of the first book under notice the reviewer says: "We have followed Mr. Burke's interesting volumes mainly as a guide to the political history of the country, with a view to trace the growth of Spain from very small beginnings into a mighty kingdom. But Mr. Burke has set forth much besides this. He has passed in review the history of Spanish literature, music, art, architecture, and much more, which our space permits us only thus briefly to refer to. It is all most interesting; it is all admirably told." In "Crimean Letters" the reader finds a grouping of the thrilling reminiscences of some of the participants in the great struggle before Sebastopol. The criticism of the reviewer on the "Memoirs of Barras" is keen and severe. With reasons for his judgment which there is not space to quote in full, the writer says: "As in the case of Talleyrand's *Memoirs*, the true student of history, if we mistake not, will be much disappointed with these volumes. . . . As a narrative it is meager, shallow, and poor; it is almost wholly devoid of description; it swarms with misstatements and downright falsehoods; it is a tissue of misrepresentation in at least a dozen chapters." Two new gases of "exceptional properties" are introduced to the reader in the sixth article. That the period of decadence in an art "is always the period at which criticism and discussion as to its conditions are most rife" is the claim made in "Recent Musical Criticism." And "at this point we seem now to have arrived in the art of music." Following this is a notice of recent musical discussions by C. Hubert H. Parry, Richard Wallaschek, H. Ellis Wooldridge, W. H. Hadow, J. A. Fuller Maitland, and Arthur Hervey; also reminiscences of Wagner by H. T. Finck, Ferdinand Praeger, and J. S. Shedlock.

ANYONE less deserving than the late Edward A. Freeman would stagger under such a eulogy as that pronounced by the *Yale Review* for November in its article on "Freeman, the Scholar and Professor." The subject of its memorial notice is ranked among the encyclopedic scholars of the times, as follows: "He was an historical geographer, a humanist, a philologist, an archæologist, a specialist in architecture, an accomplished journalist, a literary critic, an historian, and a politician in the best Greek sense." H. B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins, is the author of the paper. The other articles are: "An Interoceanic Canal in the Light of Precedent,"

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by Theodore S. Woolsey; "The Early Political Organization of Mexico," by Bernard Moses; "The Economic Reforms of the Late English Liberal Administration," by Edward Porritt; "The Referendum, and other Forms of Direct Democracy in Switzerland," by E. V. Raynolds; and "The French Revolution—The Work of the Committees of Legislation and Public Instruction in the Convention," by H. M. Stephens.

THE table of contents in the December number of the *North American* is most attractive. "The Work of the Next Congress" is discussed by M. W. Hazeltine, and Representatives Catchings, Southwick, and Bell. The Venezuela controversy and the monetary situation are suggested by these experts in national affairs as some of the pressing questions for consideration. Mrs. Lynn Linton follows with a running comment on some of the present "Cranks and Crazes." In "The Last Gift of the Century" N. S. Shaler would have Congress invite the first-class powers of the world to send delegates to a conference at Washington, in January, 1897, in the interest of international arbitration and the suppression of warfare. "How London Deals with Beggars," by Lord Norton, shows a growth in the wise administration of charity in that great metropolis which should be an instructive lesson to every city perplexed with the problem of pauperism. The Hon. J. W. Foster follows with "Results of the Behring Sea Arbitration." At the recent Church Congress in Norwich, England, says Goldwin Smith, "a bold and honorable attempt" was made by Professor Bonney "to cast a millstone off the neck of Christianity by frankly renouncing belief in the historical character of the earlier books of the Bible." Entitling his article "Christianity's Millstone," Professor Smith, from this initial utterance, proceeds to a notice of some of the difficulties of Old Testament historical interpretation which is both able and liberal. In settling the many theological questions which still wait decision, "thought," he declares, "must be entirely free." A. S. White next shows "Our Benefits from the Nicaragua Canal;" A. D. Vandam writes "Personal History of the Second Empire—XII. The End of the Empire;" and Dr. Louis Robinson contributes his fourth paper on "Wild Traits in Tame Animals." The concluding article, by Sir Reginald F. D. Palgrave, on "The House of Representatives and the House of Commons," continues the comparison between these bodies which has been begun by Mr. Herbert and Mr. Taylor in previous numbers of the *North American Review*. Its writer is himself the present clerk of the House of Commons.

THE November (1895) number of the *Methodist Review* (Nashville, Tenn.) has an excellent table of contents. Professor Morgan Calloway, Jr., has a discriminating article on "The Poetry of Sidney Lanier;" Professor John S. Bassett a "Study of Frederick W. Robertson;" Chaplain W. H. Milburn an interesting sketch and just tribute to the life and character of Bishop Enoch Mather Marvin; Dr. H. M. Du Bose a paper on "Authority in Art

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and Religion;" Dr. J. E. Godbey a discussion of the question whether fasting as a religious exercise is enjoined by the Bible. There is also an installment of the editor's historical studies in the making of Methodism. The ability and enterprise of Dr. Tigert's editorship are increasingly manifest in each succeeding number. The editor comments at length upon Bishop Thoburn's article on "Methodist Episcopacy in Transition." Some of its criticisms, coming from an outside source, suggest the propriety of sober reflection inside. We quote: "The disregard of the constitution of the Church, so frequently and strikingly characteristic of the attitude of the Methodist Episcopal Church in measures connected with the episcopacy is rather startlingly illustrated by the bishop's proposal to change the 'plan of our itinerant general superintendency' by General Conference action alone. Should the General Conference see fit to act on his advice it would but afford an illustration of the power of that body to ride roughshod over the Annual Conferences and the bishops, the constitution, and the Church. It is not strange that some in the Methodist Episcopal Church, 'who stand high enough to give their words a wide range of influence,' have said that 'the General Conference will become more and more an unsettling and disturbing element in the Church.' Many thoughtful men in our sister Church breathe easier when the quadrennial sessions are over. . . . The good missionary bishop concludes that the General Conference of 1896 ought to relieve the bishops of the task of making out their annual plan and to make out a quadrennial one for them—that is, to 'district' the general superintendents quadrennially by a majority vote of the General Conference! Shades of Asbury and McKendree! Has it come to this? We say not a word now as to the wisdom of the scheme. But here is no suggestion of referring the proposed modification of the 'plan' to the Annual Conference. The General Conference, in case the question of its power in the premises is raised, has only by a majority vote to decide that the new plan does not infringe the third restrictive rule, and presto! change! In a moment Joshua Soule's 'itinerant general superintendency' is transformed into a 'quadrennial diocesan episcopacy,' and the omnipotent General Conference moves on with no further attention to the matter. Seriously, with all our love and admiration for our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it is the *sang-froid* with which just such proposals for revolutionary changes emanate from the most respectable sources that makes us draw back from any suggestion of organic union. As matters now stand, such union is simply impossible. . . . We might differ materially with Bishop Thoburn as to the best method of putting up all the working machinery of Methodism, including the episcopacy, on our foreign missionary fields. Evidently this 'missionary bishop' is not wholly satisfied with the plan adopted in his and Bishop Taylor's case. The missionary episcopate is too 'diocesan;' the itinerant general superintendency is not enough 'diocesan;' and so each must be moved toward the other until they meet in a quadrennial diocesan episcopacy, thus leaving (and here seems to be the milk in Bishop Thoburn's cocoanut) the mis-

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sionary bishops and the general superintendents on exactly the same level." This is how the matter looks to a disinterested outsider.

THE *New World* for December contains the following table of contents: "Tendencies of Thought in Modern Judaism," by David Philipson; "The Miracles of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels," by Albert Réville; "The Anabaptists," by W. E. Griffis; "The Pseudo-Athanasian Augustinianism," by Levi L. Paine; "Tito Melema," by Julia H. Gulliver; "Popular Protestant Controversy," by C. C. Starbuck; "Local Cults in Homer," by Arthur Fairbanks; "The Nomadic Ideal in the Old Testament," by Karl Budde; and the usual list of book reviews.

THE changed form of *Christian Literature* is in the line of improvement. The December number of the publication has among other quoted articles: "Bishop Butler and his Censors. I," by W. E. Gladstone; "Why Be Religious?" by Marcus Dods; "The Pulpit and Social Reform," by Washington Gladden; "Theology in the University and in the Seminary," by A. M. Fairbairn; and "The Rigidity of Rome," by Wilfrid Ward.——The October number of the *American Catholic Quarterly* opens with "The Evolution of Evolution," by St. George Mivart, F.R.S. "The School Question in Manitoba" is written by J. S. Ewart; and "The Outlook for Ireland," by B. J. Clinche.——The *Methodist Magazine* for December has, among an attractive list of articles, "Petra, the Rock City of Edom," compiled by Dr. Withrow; "Britain's Keys of Empire—Gibraltar;" and "Footprints of Luther," by John Stoughton, D.D. All are illustrated. There are also short papers included by Bishop Foster on "Rum's Arraignment," and on "Time," by Bishop Warren. ——The *Treasury* for December has as its leading sermon a discourse by J. T. Wightman, D.D., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and pastor in Baltimore, Md.——In the *Preachers' Magazine* for December are sermons by Dr. C. A. A. Berry and Mark Guy Pearse. The various departments of the issue are well sustained. Dr. W. E. Ketcham is the editor.——The *Catholic World* for December has "Armenia, Past and Present," by Henry Hyvernat, D.D.——The *Chautauquan* for December opens with an attractive illustrated article by Ruth Shaffner on "Iceland and its People." Another illustrated article of unusual interest is by Fred Grundy on "Student Life at Oxford, England." In short, the magazine is crowded with good things.——*Our Day* has among its papers a character sketch of Dr. Albert Shaw, showing how a man of force has early come to leadership.——The *Homiletic Review* for December includes among its "Representative Sermons" a discourse by Dean Farrar on "An Ideal Rule of Life;" one by Dr. James Stalker on "The State of the Unsaved;" and one by Andrew Murray, of South Africa, on "Christ and Abundance of Life."——The *American Kitchen Magazine* is a superior publication of its class. Housewives will find much of importance in its attractive pages for December.

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BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Religious Doubt. Its Nature, Treatment, Causes, Difficulties, Consequences, and Dissolution. By Rev. JOHN W. DIGGLE, M.A., Vicar of Moseley Hill, etc. 12mo, pp. 371. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

In his preface the author, who reasons largely from his own experience of religious doubt, states his purpose thus: "On the one hand I have sought to persuade believers to treat religious doubt with large-mindedness and in a Christian temper; and on the other, to persuade doubters not to be content with doubting, but to examine vigorously into the causes of their doubts, to confront steadily the great difficulties besetting doubt—difficulties often greater than those of belief—and to consider fairly the methods suggested for dissolving their doubts, and for attaining that degree of spiritual health and strength which is essential to clear and constant faith." This purpose he closely pursues and ably fulfills. He begins by appealing for charity toward honest doubt, much of it being involuntary and distressing; and supports this appeal by the example set by Christ. He points out that the differences among Christians, even on very important matters, are often greater than those between believers and many doubters. The timid and fretful intolerance of some Christians toward doubt is attributed in part to three causes: the fact that these Christians are not sure of their ground, do not really know whom they have believed, and are not able to give reasons for the hope that is in them; the failure to distinguish what is essential to Christianity from what is nonessential, the greater part of doubt being directed, not against the essential teachings of Christ but against the traditions and opinions of men, the theories and interpretations which dogmatists, with more bravery than truth, declare to be essential; and, thirdly, the bitter, contemptuous, flippant, or belligerent temper of some classes of skeptics. As to the general causes of modern doubt the author names, first, the great growth of full assurance in matters not distinctively religious, the application of scientific methods in various departments having extended the range of positive knowledge and multiplied the certainties possessed by the mind, this progress creating a desire and a demand for proof experimental and positive in all things, including religion. He names, second, the failure of many persons to remember to what extent practical human life in all its ramifications proceeds on faith, is an unending series of actions on trust, and the consequent failure to see that it is quite unreasonable to refuse to proceed in part on trust in matters of religion. He names, third, an apparent personal incapacity to believe. There are doubters by disposition, not toward religion alone, but of things in general—Thomases who will not believe unless they see and handle; distrust is instinctive with them; they see difficulties, are fertile in objections, want everything explained,

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proved, reasoned out. He names, fourth, the natural indifference felt by many persons toward religion. He names, fifth, indulgence in sin as lying unconfessed at the root of a considerable part of religious doubt and real or pretended disbelief; and this may be even when the individual is not definitely conscious that his unbelief is the consequence of his sins. He names, sixth, the bitter perplexity into which many are thrown by the ordinary course of events, and the bewildering problems of human life; by the seeming cruelties of nature, the inequalities of fortune, the calamities of life, the burdens of the heavy-laden, and the tears of the broken-hearted. He names, seventh, the undiscriminating sternness and severity of over-dogmatic and intolerant Christians toward all doubt and doubters; honest questionings are treated as tantamount to sin. This harshness of spirit is illustrated in the minatory sentences of the Athanasian Creed, which denounce all who do not accept certain highly metaphysical propositions concerning the unsearchable nature of the mystery of the Trinity. This same spirit breathes in the decrees of the Council of Trent, the Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland, and the tone and temper of some modern pulpits. He names, eighth, the common confusing of the very essence of Christianity with its mere traditions and accidents, of the kernel with the husk, of Christ's simple Gospel with scholastic accretions, of the revelation of God with the traditions of men; in consequence of which in time of assault many imagine that the citadel of the faith has been destroyed by the enemy when only some humanly constructed outwork has been carried. When the geocentric theory of the solar system was overthrown the planets were not proved unreal nor the science of astronomy invalidated. There is urgent need of a broad and clear demarcation between essentials and nonessentials. This will diminish the number of sects and speed the unification of Christendom. Theories of inspiration should not be put on a level with the substance of the inspired teachings, nor the form of a sacrament with the meaning and effect thereof, nor metaphysical subtleties with the clear, practical teachings of our Saviour's lips or the plain facts of his life, nor the logic of theologians with the direct and unmistakable commands of God, nor the dogmas of the schools with the fundamental and undeniable doctrines of the Scriptures. Nobody has ever made much headway in doubting, or secured many listeners in denying, the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, or the Lord's Prayer, nor other things of similar self-evidencing character in which Christianity is rich and strong. He names, ninth, as a producing cause of doubt, the unworthy lives of many professing Christians; the lack of pure and elevated character; meanness, avariciousness, frivolousness, uncharitableness, enviousness, grossness, untrustworthiness, selfishness, inveracity. These things are stumbling-blocks to many notwithstanding it is clearly unjust as well as stupid to judge Christianity by these exceedingly unchristian professors. He names, tenth, the neglect of doubters to make any effort to prune their doubts or cultivate their faith, or to put themselves in an atmosphere favorable to belief. They read the wrong books and magazines; they hear attacks upon

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the Bible but do not study it; they do not frequent the places, nor seek the associations, in which doubt might be dispelled and faith fostered; they patronize schools, seminaries, and universities exclusively secular, where no religious influence is in the atmosphere and attention is never directed to the realities known to faith, the result being a godless education and the spread of apathy and disbelief. Among subsidiary causes of doubt he mentions the growth of the critical spirit which chills fervor, checks emotion, and paralyzes the sentiments of reverence and worship; shallow and bumptious self-conceit and silly ambition to appear smart and independent; the false notion that we can or ought to understand everything; the supposition that, if the doctrines of Christianity are essential to salvation, they ought to be of such a nature that we could not resist or doubt them; worldliness, luxury, and self-indulgence. But the greatest cause of doubt, or lack of belief, according to this author, is what he calls the Law of the Limitation of Force, by which he means that there is in every man a certain fixed amount of force, a limited capacity of absorption; a limited power of taking interest in things. If a man's whole force is spent upon things outside religion, even though many of those things may be innocent or important in themselves, there is no force left to be bestowed on spiritual things, and the result is either total irreligion or a very feeble hold on religious things and a lack of convictions or definite beliefs. The lack of religious interest in individuals and communities is often explicable by the absorption in other affairs which consume the whole time, attention, and force; and this condition of things breeds ignorance, indifference, and unbelief toward spiritual realities. After a chapter on the difficulties attending religious doubt, and another on the consequences of it, the author proceeds to his most congenial task and his most successful effort in the long and useful chapter on "The Victory over Doubt." For conquering doubt the first thing he emphasizes is the importance of not growing morbid over doubts. These cond is the realization that our doubts are neither new nor original. The third is an enlightened perception of the inconceivable vastness of created things. The fourth is the cultivation of simple conceptions of religion. The fifth is the pursuit of goodness. Mrs. Stowe said, "The best way to get rid of doubts in religion is to go and practice what we don't doubt." Alexander Dumas said, "Genius cannot explain God, but goodness proves him." Reverent obedience to conscience is a most effectual means for promoting and strengthening faith. The determination to do right prayerfully will lead to the peace of God and the light of clear convictions. The best way of understanding religion is to practice it. It cannot be wholly proved by argument; the way to grasp its reality is to take it into our hearts and test it and prove it by living it. The author's sixth prescription for removing doubt is the confession by intelligent Christians of the many difficulties left unsolved even by faith. Christianity does not pretend to solve all the riddles of the human mind and heart. Christ left many questions unilluminated and unnoticed. Darkness and mystery are about our lot and path, and to a large degree God hides himself. Attempts

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to demonstrate the indemonstrable, or explain the inexplicable, fail and only intensify the doubts of the thoughtful. It is better frankly to confess our ignorance of many things than to pretend to a knowledge we have not. The seventh aid for overcoming doubt in the world is the manifestation of spirituality, zeal, power, and all evidences of strong conviction on the part of the Christian Church. [If the Church is too much identified with, and controlled by, the State it is likely to be secularized and unspiritualized. If religion appears as nothing more than a selfish desire for personal salvation, a prudential insurance against hell, it will not command respect.] The eighth method by which the Church may diminish doubt is by that liberality of spirit and largeness of heart which naturally goes with true spirituality. Ninth, the learning of the truth in religion, as in everything else, requires effort on the part of the learner. Tenth, the exercise of the will is necessary to put ourselves among the associations and under the influences and in reach of the teachings best adapted to develop and encourage faith. Eleventh, the refusal to be so completely absorbed and consumed by other things as to have no time or attention to give to the affairs of the soul. Twelfth, the most important of all requisites for winning the victory over doubt is the assiduous cultivation of the spiritual faculties. For this cultivation three things are primarily necessary: first, the distinct acknowledgment of God as the primal source of man's spiritual nature; second, remembrance of the fact that spiritual air, spiritual nourishment, and spiritual exercise are necessary for the life and growth of the spiritual nature of man; and, third, patient and painstaking attention to spiritual truths and facts. "Hardly any faculty is more important," said Bishop Butler, "for the intellectual progress of man, than attention." It is equally necessary for spiritual progress and a clear knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ. A good index finishes the book, which will be seen, from our meager analysis of parts of it, to be an intelligent and effective treatment of its subject.

Literature of Theology. A Classified Bibliography of Theological and General Religious Literature. By JOHN FLETCHER HURST. 8vo, pp. 757. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $4.

It is only the broadest and most experienced scholarship that can survey the whole field of existing literature in any department of knowledge, perceive the one thing which is lacking to complete that literature, or to make the huge mass thereof quickly accessible and available, and confer a new and original benefit upon mankind by supplying the thing which has been lacking. This is what Bishop Hurst has done in the volume before us. It is a classified and exhaustive list of the best and most desirable books in theology and general religious literature, published up to date in Great Britain, the United States, and the Dominion of Canada, giving the size of each book, when, where, and by whom published, and the price. Bishop Hurst's *Bibliotheca Theologica*, issued in 1882, is out of print. The present work, similar in character, is altogether superior in scope and magnitude, in accuracy, fullness, and practical convenience.

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Some of the considerations which have impelled the author to undertake the great labor involved in the preparation of this book are indicated by him in the Preface: "That the average library of the Christian layman and of the minister of the Gospel is poor beyond words is a lamentable fact. Many of the books are of such inferior authorship as to unfit them for even storage in any home of people either intelligent or hoping to be intelligent. Such books have drifted in because they are radiant with glaring and realistic pictures, or are bound in captivating sheep or calf, or are presented by well-meaning friends, or have been bought in lots at auction under the hallucination of cheapness, or because of some other apology for the existence of the trash. If two thirds of the shelves of the typical domestic library were emptied of their burden, and choice books put in their stead, there would be a reformation in intelligence and thought throughout the civilized world. A poor book is dear, and a good one cheap, at any cost. One's best book is that which treats best the subject on which one most needs light, and which one can get only by planning, by seeking, and often by sacrificing. One such book is worth more than all the diamonds of Golconda or the pearls of Tuticorin, and sweeter than all the perfumes of Araby the Blest. It is a friend for all seasons, and remains true to the eighties and beyond, if they come. Better one shelf of such treasures than a shipload of literary driftings from the dead pyramids of publishers who sell slowly and of authors who fail quickly. The author of the *Literature of Theology* dares not flatter himself that he can persuade many possessors of poor collections of books to reform them; but if he can lead some of those who are forming their libraries, who are looking into the future for the possession of treasures in books, to select well, to buy only the best, and to make a wise search for special information in general libraries, the disappointments and agonies of at least one friend of books, and friend of all who find friends in books, will not have been in vain." Bishop Hurst has rendered, not now by any means for the first time, a great service to the cause of learning and to all students of theological or religious literature. If his book shall be properly brought to the attention of the large and ever-multiplying class who need and would eagerly welcome it, it will be assured a long, large, and general sale, north and south, east and west, in this and in other countries, and among Christians of all denominations. Especially, no young minister of any Church can afford to set out upon the work of gathering a library without the wise guidance of this practical cyclopedia of religious literature. If he goes on without it he will almost certainly waste, in a very short time, double, treble, quadruple, the cost of this book. A word to the wise is sufficient, and we make no special charge for it.

Half-Hours with St. Paul, and Other Bible Readings. By DANIEL STEELE, S.T.D. 12mo, pp. xii, 328. Boston: The Christian Witness Co. Price, cloth, $1.

Dr. Daniel Steele, who has been called our American Fletcher, is one of the most widely known and highly valued writers of modern times on the theme of scriptural holiness, which forms the topic of the present volume,

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as of several others from his pen. So it scarcely needs to be said that this book is thoroughly orthodox, highly spiritual, and written out of much fullness of knowledge both of the Bible and of Christian experience. It contains many pages from which it would be pleasant and profitable to quote at length. We must content ourselves with a few sentences: "There are two ways of professing holiness—the wise and the proper way, and the ostentatious and distasteful way. Christ did not say in a bold and offensive style, 'I am perfectly holy.' He might with truth have used these words, but he would have been needlessly beclouding his own humility and laying stumbling-blocks in the way of his hearers. At this point some modern advocates of Christian perfection are at fault. In set phrase they profess more holiness in half an hour than Jesus Christ did in all his life." "Professors of heart purity, especially those who associate themselves together almost exclusively, are in danger of taking on some of these unamiable qualities [tartness, sourness, envy, censoriousness, self-conceit, headstrongness], and of cherishing uncharitable feelings toward those Christians whose weaker wings of faith have not borne them up to the Pisgah tops of grace. As a safeguard against this peril we recommend a frequent and searching self-examination, with this chapter [1 Cor. xiii] as a touchstone." "This sorting of Christians into two kinds, the self-crucified and those in whom self lives, the wholly and the partially sanctified, is a delicate business, for which only an inspired apostle is competent." "Ever-increasing love is ever-increasing spiritual discernment of the true nature, good or bad, of each circumstance, case, or object which experience may present. A sensitively correct moral perception cannot be too highly prized. It is the gift of the Holy Spirit improved and intensified by use. . . . If there is a moral element at the bottom of all these apparently trivial choices it is evident that it is the design of God that we should acquire a spiritual perspicuity sharp enough to discern it." "It is perilous to read more into the divine promises than the spirit of inspiration intended." These cautions are good and greatly needed.

This book is by no means one for the unthinking, who wish only warm exhortation. It is in many respects a very learned volume; Greek words, and quotations from Greek grammars, abound, and a great deal is made of Greek tenses and compounds, of aorists and perfects and prepositions. Dr. Steele's scholarship flourishes luxuriantly in the paths of Greek. As to what that perfection is which can be realized in this life, he says: "I do not think it is an ideal perfection." He calls it "perfect love," and defines that phrase by saying it is to love God with all the heart, mind, and strength. He tells us that love "may be perfect in kind, that is, free from all impurities, but it can never be perfect in degree." "By perfect love we mean pure love. It is perfect in kind, but is capable of infinite increase." The difference in the love, or faith, or holiness of the babe in Christ and the mature Christian is in quantity, not in quality—in degree, not in kind. Wesley states this matter very clearly in his sermon on "Patience," which, being published in 1784, near the close of his life, may be taken to represent his ripest views. He says: "Many persons . . . have

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not spoken warily upon this head, not according to the oracles of God. They have spoken of the work of sanctification, taking the word in its full sense, as if it were quite of another kind—as if it differed entirely from that which is wrought in justification. But this is a great and dangerous mistake, and has a natural tendency to make us undervalue that glorious work of God which was wrought in us when we were justified. . . . There is, in that hour, a general change from inward sinfulness to inward holiness. The love of the creature is changed to the love of the Creator; the love of the world into the love of God. Earthly desires . . . are in that instant changed, by the mighty power of God, into heavenly desires. . . . It [entire sanctification] does not imply any new *kind* of holiness—let no man imagine this. Love is the sum of Christian sanctification; it is the one *kind* of holiness which is found, only in various *degrees*, in the believers who are distinguished by St. John into 'little children, young men, and fathers.' . . . In the same proportion as he [the babe in Christ] grows in faith, he grows in holiness; he increases in love, loveliness, meekness, in every part of the image of God." This statement, we think, must commend itself to the sober common sense of most. Divine love is always perfect in kind. The degrees of holiness possessed by a believer, depending on a number of conditions, will vary greatly according to the stage of his progress. But the capacity, as Dr. Steele clearly intimates, is to go on increasing forever. The reputation of the author as a writer upon such topics has secured for this book already a large sale. The fifth thousand in now out.

Why I am Not an Agnostic. By E. D. SMITH, Ph.D. 12mo, pp. 55. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society. Price, paper, 20 cents.

Dr. Smith is a member of the North Ohio Conference, having come to us from the ministry of the Lutheran Church, in which he was known as a man of mind and scholarship. His little book is a trenchant and forcible reply to a certain peripatetic platform blasphemer's lecture on "Why I am an Agnostic." These five chapters prove the author to be thoroughly familiar with the ground he traverses. His five reasons for not being an agnostic are: First, because the agnostic theory of the origin of life is, according to his experimental method, utterly without any observed facts or experimental results to warrant it; second, because the agnostic's theory of the origin of man is as baseless as his theory of the origin of life; third, because the agnostic will not admit all the conclusions to which he is led on the supposition that his hypothesis is demonstrated or demonstrable; fourth, because the history of the world for sixty centuries has been unfolding under the controlling influence of three great Christian ideas—Freedom, Immortality, and God; fifth, because the orthodox creed is the aggregate of the great truths of the Scriptures, and because the Scriptures themselves set forth their truth on scientific principles. In the five chapters these reasons are amplified and their propositions solidly substantiated with vigor and skill. A more incisive and cogent argument against agnosticism we do not remember to have seen in so small a compass. We heartily commend it.

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PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Unguarded Gates, and Other Poems. By THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH. 12mo, pp. 121. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

W. D. Howells, in *Harper's Monthly* last November, wrote of "Literary Boston Thirty Years Ago." Aldrich was there then, with a ripe literary reputation in prose and verse, as editor of *Every Saturday*. How far it is back to "Baby Bell" and "Marjorie Daw" we do not know; but the years are so many that in the prelude to this latest bundle of verse the poet writes as if he were in sight of the time when the voices, visions, and dreams which came to him in youth and middle life from the sea and the woods, the flowers and the winds, and amid the city's din, may fly and die in the dull and heavy days of age, empty of such music and light and gladness. The little volume before us gives lovely proof that "the flight of the Muse" is yet some way off in the future. Aldrich is a dainty and exquisite artist; not one of those who paint with a broom and think success measured by the amount of acreage one can besmear with violent and vociferous colors, but an artist so deft and delicate that he could "paint, fold for fold, on the limbs of Titania, the woven air of Cashmere." "Unguarded Gates" is a warning against the dangers arising from unrestricted immigration:

> O Liberty, white Goddess! is it well
> To leave the gates unguarded? On thy breast
> Fold Sorrow's children, soothe the hurts of fate,
> Lift the downtrodden, but with hand of steel
> Stay those who to thy sacred portals come
> To waste the gifts of freedom. Have a care
> Lest from thy brow the clustered stars be torn
> And trampled in the dust. For so of old
> The thronging Goth and Vandal trampled Rome,
> And where the temples of the Cæsars stood
> The lean wolf unmolested made her lair.

Here and there in this volume are signs that our poet has not forgotten the Orient, that region of dreams where all things are possible, natural, and permissible, whose charms, mostly imaginary, have fascinated the poets from time immemorial. Aldrich has painted many a rich and dainty picture of the East, among which one always comes back to us when we think of Aldrich or the Orient—that "Prelude" in which he told how Hassan Ben Abdul sat and discoursed at the Ivory Gate of Bagdad, while all manner of persons stopped and drew near to listen—four Arab boys, a water-seller, a jet-black eunuch, a merchandising Jew, a glittering jeweler, and two blind mendicants:

> And if the Khaleef had been riding near,
> He would have stopped to listen like the rest,
> For Hassan's fame was ripe in all the East.
> From white-walled Cairo to far Ispahan,
> From Mecca to Damascus he was known,

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Hassan, the Arab with the singing heart.
His songs were sung by boatmen on the Nile,
By Beddowee maidens and in Tartar camps,
While all men loved him as they loved their eyes;
And when he spake, the wisest, next to him,
Was he who listened.

It were easy to show by a hundred quotations from this latest volume of his verse that Aldrich is still Aldrich. Take this about the fire on the hearth:

Along the still damp apple wood
A little flame ran that chirped like a bird—
Some wren's ghost haunting the familiar bough.

Take this picture:

The bleak New England road; the level boughs
Like bars of iron across the setting sun;
The gray, ribbed clouds piled up against the west;
The windows splashed with frost; the firelit room,
And in the antique chair that slight girl-shape,
The auburn braid about the saintly brows
Making a nimbus, and she white as snow.

Take from "White Edith" this about the fate of a young queen who long ago, "in the savage childhood of this world," reigned but for one single day, and then

Ere yet the dawn its gleaming edge lay bare
Like to the burnished ax's subtle edge,
She, from her sleep's caresses roughly torn,
The meek eyes blinking in the torches' glare,
Upon a scaffold for her glory paid
Her cheeks' two roses. For it so befell
That from the Northland there was come a prince,
With a great clash of shields and trailing spears
Through the black portals of the breathless night,
To claim the scepter. He no less would take
Than those same roses for his usury.
What less, in faith! The throne was rightly his
Of that sea-girdled isle; so to the block
Needs go the ringlets and the white swan throat.
A touch of steel, a sudden darkness, then
Blue heaven and all the hymning angel choir.

Saying that Grecian myths and other classic fictions do not beguile him as they did in youth, he writes:

Andromeda, in fetters by the sea,
Star-pale with anguish till young Perseus came,
Less moves me with her suffering than she,
The slim girl figure fettered to dark shame,
That nightly haunts the park, there, like a shade,

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Trailing her wretchedness from street to street.
See where she passes—neither wife nor maid.
How all mere fiction crumbles at her feet!
Here is woe's self, and not the mask of woe.

Having been born by the sea in the quaint old town of Portsmouth, N. H., where the scene of his "Story of a Bad Boy" is laid, Aldrich says:

The first world, sound that fell upon my ear
Was that of the great winds along the coast
Crushing the deep-sea beryl on the rocks—
The distant breakers' sullen cannonade.

And he thinks it would be fit if the last earthly sound to reach his ears should be "some message blown over the dim salt lands that fringe the coast," just when "the dawn, illumining the purple waves, turns the gray pools and willow stems to gold." What the sea always does to a man whose boyhood was familiar with it is manifest in the sonnet, "Outward Bound:"

I leave behind me the elm-shadowed square
And carven portals of the silent street,
And wander on with listless, vagrant feet
Through seaward-leading alleys, till the air
Smells of the sea, and straightway then the care
Slips from my heart, and life is once more sweet.
At the lane's ending lie the white-winged fleet.
O restless Fancy, whither wouldst thou fare?
Here are brave pinions that shall take thee far—
Gaunt hulks of Norway; ships of red Ceylon;
Slim-masted lovers of the blue Azores!
'Tis but an instant hence to Zanzibar,
Or to the regions of the midnight sun:
Ionian isles are thine, and all the fairy shores.

Aldrich has the purely artistic temperament; he is a poet and no preacher. Truth requires us to say that in his always delectable verse we have the free play of an exquisitely cultivated æsthetic sense, trained to facile and elegant expression, but unpledged to moral industries. He has given much pure and refined pleasure to his fellow-men, and in his poetry there is nothing harmful or depressing. He has no liking for those pessimistic poets who have

Trained their Pegasus to draw a hearse
Through endless avenues of drooping verse.

Our Industrial Utopia, and its Unhappy Citizens. By DAVID HILTON WHEELER. 12mo, pp. 341. Chicago: A. C. McCLURG & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This book will serve several good purposes; it will operate as a corrective of many erroneous notions widely prevalent; it will help to restore a healthy tone to a depressed and demoralized public feeling respecting the social situation; and it will put its readers in possession of much really valuable information. Yet it will fail to do all the good

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it ought to do. The class to whom it would be the most beneficial will not largely read it, as they are apt to scrupulously avoid the light on certain subjects. Some of this class who do read it will use portions of it, we fear, to "point a moral," if not to "adorn a tale," by quoting its "atrocious sentiments" to disapproving audiences. Some of our pessimistic teachers would have us believe that present social conditions are as bad as they can be and are daily growing worse! Dr. Wheeler does not go to the other extreme of showing that all things are perfect and steadily getting better, but he does give us good reason for believing that there is a general upward tendency with still ample opportunity for both further advance and accelerated rate of progress. The author is hardly as clear as he might be as to the precise limits and character of "Our Utopia," but if we rightly apprehend him it is the stage of civilization we have now reached and which is characterized by an abundance of superfluities for all classes of society. If not the exact realization of Sir Thomas More's ideal it is such an approach toward it as to suggest its possibility, if not its practicability—in neither of which did More himself have any positive faith, as his term Utopia, meaning *nowhere*, indicates. In successive chapters the author discourses with great effectiveness on such subjects as superfluity and unhappiness in Utopia, competition, capital, labor, and wages, government, ethics of industry, etc. His position is decidedly conservative, yet he is frankly open to fresh lines of thought developed in recent discussions, and his views are so forcibly set forth as to challenge consideration. The term "superfluities" appears with a meaning somewhat out of range of its ordinary acceptation. With him it is whatever pertains to the common welfare and yet is above the actual necessities of life. Most people regard it as covering those things not only that we could do without, but that we could spare about as well as not. We have, however, no one word to substitute as standing for such utilities as lie between necessaries and luxuries. "Comforts" and "conveniences" are frequently used to fill their space; but there is a vagueness about them which makes them unsatisfactory. Necessity is itself a rather elastic term, and there are very few people who realize how little is absolutely essential to the keeping of life and health in good condition. The author holds that it is not so much the necessaries of life for which the great majority of men are struggling, but the superfluities, and that, too, properly enough. Nevertheless, many readers will feel that he has fixed too low the line where necessaries end and superfluities begin. The strictures on the clamor against competition are very strong and not altogether untimely. There is no doubt about the waste and harshness and the frequent cruelty attendant upon rivalry in business. There is scarcely any field in which human selfishness has so large room and such great inducements for its operation as here. So obvious is this that even among men of only moderately advanced views it has seemed that it must wholly cease to be an operative principle in any wholesome industrial system. Yet so deeply is it implanted in the whole nature of things that reason seems to demand its

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retention in some form. Nor in all the assaults made upon it has there yet appeared any efficient substitute for it. It is not inconceivable that it may be retained and yet so modified in its operation as to be freed from all its vicious effects. Still, we suspect that our author may have failed to recognize all the evils that belong to competition as it now presents itself in the industrial world. There is, however, food for thought in the suggestion of the moral superiority of the communities in which competition largely prevails over those in which it is feeble. There is very much valuable truth in what is said concerning the relation of the government to industrial affairs. Paternalism symbolizes not a very reasonable principle in the state of any people. This is sometimes carried or sought to be carried to a preposterous extent. But legislative interference may be legitimate and yet stop far short of that. It may and unquestionably often does restrict and suppress certain crying evils in the relations of employers and workmen. The long series of factory acts in Great Britain and similar action by our own State legislators testify to this end, though there is yet much to be desired in this line. We do not understand Dr. Wheeler to deny this, and yet it is possible that here, as in the question of competition, he is inclined to leave too much to the operation of natural law. A considerable class of readers will dissent from some of the author's views on the subject of trusts. He describes with clearness and force the great gain to the community that is possible to flow from the formation of these large combinations. These cannot be gainsaid, though they are very liable to be overlooked by superficial thinkers. So, too, he speaks wisely on the natural barriers against many of the evil liabilities involved. Yet the peril to society of putting such vast power in the hands of irresponsible men is not so fully indicated as seems desirable. The opportunity for oppressing the weak and working the ruin of honorable competitors, and that, too, otherwise than within legitimate economic limits, is exceedingly great, and it is not conceivable that some will not take this sinister advantage. It is, moreover, evident, after discounting to a reasonable extent such testimony as may be inspired by partisan and prejudiced motives, that there have been some appalling rascalities perpetrated in the operation of the great trusts. The author deals trenchantly with the false social and economic views so widely prevalent, and deftly punctures many a bubble popularly presumed to contain solid instead of gaseous matter. The functions of capital are ably set forth. We are made to see that it is not, as it is fabled to be, the employer of labor, and therefore the cause of all the woes experienced by the latter, but rather that both it and labor are employed by the manager or *entrepreneur*. Notable, too, is his approval of the theory concerning land that it has no value except what has been put into it by labor, which of itself is a refutation of Henry George's doctrine of government ownership and the single tax. The great advantages to industrial society of accumulated wealth by individuals, so abhorrent in the socialistic mind, are made very obvious. The distinction between moral and economic disorders, a source of perpetual confusion to

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many minds, is well drawn. Another subject about which much obfuscation exists, and that, too, in minds otherwise well informed, is that of self-interest and selfishness. It does not follow, as Dr. Wheeler aptly reminds us, that because self-interest is one of the chief springs of action in industrial enterprise, therefore this is the same as selfishness, or that any form of pure selfishness is to be approved. The book as a whole is suggestive and stimulating. Dr. Wheeler's style is not only clear, it is also attractive. There is pleasure as well as profit in reading him. He has poise and range, and the faculty of looking at his subject from many sides. He is no mere pedant or book-student, but also sufficiently a man of affairs to perceive the practical bearing of theories and things.

The Principles of Rhetoric. By ADAMS SHERMAN HILL, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard College. New edition, revised and enlarged. 12mo, pp. 431. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.20.

This work, intended for "advanced students of English composition," may well be brought to the attention of the clerical readers of our *Review*. First published in 1878, it was even then accepted as a compacted, comprehensive, and wholly modern statement of the principles underlying the proper use of our English tongue. In this new edition it has probably no superior as a convenient and practical manual for rhetorical study. Some elementary matter has been omitted; one or two new chapters have been added; the book has been in part rewritten and rearranged; the illustrative quotations have been made more numerous; and altogether there are one hundred and twenty-eight more pages in this edition than in that of 1878; while the index at the end is a model of completeness, filling thirty-one pages. But the distinctive feature of the work, and that which renders it more interesting and readable, as well as more instructive, than any treatise of the kind which we remember to have read, is the free and skillful use of practical illustrations. Most of them are taken from the writings of acknowledged masters of English; and a footnote gives the name of the particular work from which each quotation is drawn. These illustrations occupy at least one half of the book and emphasize the various principles which the author advances. Several of them fill more than a page of small type; most of them are of interest in themselves, independent of their utility as examples of correct or careless writing; and many will revive pleasant memories and rekindle old literary friendships. That the book has been revised up to date is attested by the fact that it contains no less than six such quotations from Mrs. Ward's *Marcella*. We have called the attention of our clerical readers to this work with a purpose. The author defines rhetoric as "the art of efficient communication by language," and adds, "It is not one of several arts out of which a choice may be made; it is *the* art to the principles of which, consciously or unconsciously, a good writer or speaker must conform." Now here lies the point. The truth is that few writers or speakers do "unconsciously" make the most of their opportunities; and preachers are no exception to this statement. Language is their one means of communication with their congregations, their

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one vehicle for the expression of the truth committed to them, their one instrument for the persuasion of men and the uplifting of humanity; and it is their solemn duty to use it with all the force and effectiveness which they can bring to bear. One may be a successful merchant, a skillful surgeon, an eminent artist, a famous general, or even a great statesman, without a facile and forceful use of his mother tongue; but it becomes the minister of Jesus Christ to deliver his message in simple, direct, vigorous language, and with all the convincing power of orderly arrangement and of proper emphasis upon vital points. We especially recommend the chapters in this book on "Exposition" and "Argument." Incidentally, and without any intention of revealing editorial secrets, we suggest that the study of this or some similar work might often add considerably to the interest and value of the contributed portion of the *Review*.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. By HENRY M. BAIRD, Professor in the University of the City of New York; Author of *The History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France*, and of *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*. With Maps. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. xxviii, 566, xix, 604. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $7.50.

These volumes, as is shown by the above transcription from the title-page, form a sequel to two previous works by the same author, the one published in 1879, the other in 1886. Together, they constitute a connected history of the Protestants of France "down to the full recognition of Protestantism by Napoleon Bonaparte, as First Consul, in the second year of the nineteenth century," and represent "the conclusion of historical studies that were begun more than thirty years ago." Many of our readers will recognize Dr. Baird at once as an old-time friend. Though a Presbyterian, he has frequently contributed to the *Review*, induced, initially, thereto by the close friendship existing between him and Dr. Whedon. In the number for October, 1857, soon after Dr. Whedon's accession to the editorship, we find his first article; in that for September, 1894, we find his last; and, in all, nineteen articles from his pen have appeared in its pages. About half of these are on classical themes, upon which the author, a veteran Greek professor, is easily at home. But just thirty years ago, in the *Review* for January, 1866, almost at the beginning of the researches which have culminated in his historical trilogy, appeared an article on "Bossuet as a Persecutor;" and, at intervals since, he has contributed other articles suggested by materials that had accumulated in his study of ancient documents and records bearing upon the Huguenots. Nor did he hit upon the subject for his great work by accident. His calling and election to it, indeed, seem clearly an instance of predestination, reinforced by all the laws of heredity and early association; for Dr. Baird, as is indicated by his name, is of Huguenot ancestry himself, and his father, the Rev. Robert Baird, D.D., was the author, among other works, of a *History of the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Vau-*

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dois, while his brother, the late Rev. Dr. Charles Washington Baird, published in 1885 a valuable *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*. The present volumes, while essentially a continuation of the author's preceding works, may still be read as an independent history. They begin with the accession of the boy Louis XIII in 1610, twelve years after the signing of the Edict of Nantes by Henry IV. When that edict had been obtained the Huguenots, says Dr. Baird, "felt themselves warranted in looking forward with some degree of confidence to a long period of quiet and prosperity, under the protection of a law expressly declared to be perpetual and irrevocable. . . . The edict was not, however, a proclamation of equal rights to the professors of all Christian creeds: this was its weak point. The Reformed religion was not recognized as entitled to the same consideration as the Roman Catholic. The latter was tacitly accepted as the religion of the State as a whole, the traditional and better religion, into conformity with which it was desired and it was hoped that all the king's subjects would ultimately be brought. By the side of this State religion and in its shadow the Protestant religion might stand, and for its security many equitable provisions were enacted. Yet it stood an inferior and with inferior rights. . . . But the exercises of the Protestant worship were 'lawful' within certain limits, and for the peaceful maintenance of these exercises all the authority of the crown was solemnly pledged." This assumed superiority of the Catholic faith and the tacit understanding of the Catholic leaders that Protestantism was to be "tolerated" only until its adherents could be brought, by fair means or foul, within the fold of the Church constitute the keynote of the religious history of France during the succeeding two centuries. So long as Henry of Navarre still lived little, indeed, could be accomplished. But with the accession of Louis XIII began a period of ever-increasing intrigue, treachery, cruelty, and persecution, culminating in the revocation of the edict by Louis XIV in 1685. That this consummation was so long delayed is due largely to the fact that the Huguenots, while constituting "but a small minority of the entire population of France," were "so massed in certain parts of the country as to exert an influence which could not be overlooked or misunderstood." Under Louis XIII occurred the suppression of the Protestants of the province of Béarn and the three Huguenot wars ending with the fall of La Rochelle, the Huguenot stronghold. The two great aims of Richelieu's policy were the extinction of the Protestants in France and the overthrow of the power of Austria. Of the two, however, the latter was far the stronger and more imperative, and necessitated at times the subordination and postponement of the other, as well as half-hearted alliances with Gustavus Adolphus and the Protestants of Germany; so that, under his rule, as well as under that of Louis XIV and Cardinal Mazarin, the Huguenots enjoyed, on the whole, in spite of much persecution and oppression, a comparative repose and prosperity. But with the death of Mazarin in 1661 commences a period of accelerated misfortune and disaster. Little by little the privileges of the Huguenots are invaded, their rights disregarded, and their liberties

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infringed. Protestant communities are robbed of their civic prerogatives, Protestant churches are closed and destroyed, Protestant pastors maltreated and murdered. Isaac Homel, an "old man of seventy-two years, of which he had spent forty-two in the exemplary discharge of his duties as a minister of the Gospel," was sentenced to be broken on the wheel. Let the reader who does not know exactly what that means consult any large dictionary. "The agony produced by the most excruciating of all modes of execution known to a bloodthirsty legislation was enhanced by the malice which purposely delayed the last and most merciful blow that should end his misery." Forced "conversions" are made at the point of the sword. "Harassed by importunity, wearied in body and mind, vexed by the loss of property ruthlessly destroyed before their very eyes, distracted by the outrages done to themselves, still more by the dastardly outrages done to their wives and children whom they were powerless to defend save by the utterance of the fatal words of submission, and seeing all these things done in the name of the king, in obedience, as it would seem, to his commands," Protestants pretended to abjure their religion. "That their submission was involuntary and insincere they did not conceal, and could not have concealed had they desired to do so." And all this before the formal revocation of the edict, while the Protestant worship was still nominally under the protection of the crown! Want of space prevents us dwelling, even briefly, upon the recall of the edict by Louis XIV; the cruelties and heartbreaks and wretchedness of the period of the exile; the desperate struggle of the Camisards of the Cevennes; the churches of the "Desert"—conventicles secretly held in secluded places in forest and mountain and valley; the partial relief afforded by the edict of Louis XVI; and the full restoration of civil and religious liberty granted by the first Napoleon. "Exerting an influence out of all proportion to their numbers," says Professor Baird, "the descendants of the Huguenots shape, to no inconsiderable extent, the policy of a nation that scarcely appreciates as yet the service which those men of firm and loyal principle rendered to France in the past or the service which their successors are capable of rendering to France in the future. . . . After the fall of President MacMahon, in 1879, a majority of the ministers—five out of ten—were Protestants, and from that time to this the Protestant representation in the chief councils of the nation has never been small. It has, indeed, been urged as a grievance that in those branches of the administration that specially call for high intellectual culture Protestants have appropriated a share to which they are not entitled—that a Protestant is the director of the normal school, that Protestants are at the head of primary and secondary instruction, that a Protestant woman presides over the school of Sèvres, that Protestant generals direct the polytechnic school and the school of Versailles, and that there are a host of Protestants in the courts of law, as judges, counselors, and officers." These volumes adequately relate the story of a great national tragedy—a tragedy second to none in modern times, unless it be to that now being enacted in Armenia. Professor

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Baird has rather undertold the story than overstated it. There is a sobriety in his judgments, a moderation in his style, a reserve and repression in the whole narrative that reveal a dispassionate seeking for the truth and a conscientious endeavor not to overcolor the picture. If religious motives are occasionally emphasized at some expense to underlying political motive, it is due largely to the nature and limitations of the subject. We advise our friends to read the work.

Papers of the American Society of Church History. Vol. VII. Edited by Rev. SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, M.A., Secretary. 8vo, pp. 318. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This paper-covered volume contains the secretary's report of the seventh annual meeting of the society, held in Washington, D. C., December 27 and 28, 1894; a bibliography of works interesting to students of Church history published in 1893 and 1894; a paper by Professor George P. Fisher, of Yale University, on "Dr. Schaff as a Historian;" another by Rev. Charles H. Small, of Hudson, O., on "Some Elements in the Making of the United States;" and a third by Professor John Lewis Ewell, of Howard University, on "Judge Samuel Sewall (1652–1730), a Typical Massachusetts Puritan." A list of members of the society and of deceased members follows. The list of works bearing in some degree on Church history, issued within two years, fills 225 pages. The officers of the society are: President, Bishop J. F. Hurst; vice presidents, Professors H. M. Baird, G. P. Fisher, H. E. Jacobs, and Dr. C. C. Tiffany; secretary, Dr. S. M. Jackson; treasurer, Mr. Barr Ferree; councillors, Drs. T. W. Chalmers, J. M. Buckley, H. C. Vedder, and H. M. McCracken. The third paper gives interesting glimpses of New England two hundred years ago. "The august position of the minister in the Puritan settlement may be illustrated by a sentence from Ezekiel Rogers, the first pastor of the neighboring town of Rowley. . . . When a stranger ventured to inquire of him, 'Are you, sir, the person who serves here?' he replied, 'I am, sir, the person who rules here;' but that early Puritan ministry of New England deserved the profound and affectionate respect of their own and of all subsequent generations." Touching the witchcraft mania is the following: "Witchcraft was for centuries the nightmare of Christendom. The nineteen persons executed in Salem in 1692 seem hardly worthy of mention when we think of the tens of thousands put to death on the same charge in Europe." Judge Sewall recognized negroes and Indians as his own brothers. When his grandson and the daughter of a negro wood-chopper were baptized together in church he wrote in his diary, "So all are one in Christ." In 1700 he published a public protest against slavery in Massachusetts, the closing sentence of which was: "These *Ethiopians*, as black as they are, seeing they are the Sons and Daughters of the First *Adam*, the Brethren and Sisters of the last ADAM, and the Offspring of GOD; they ought to be treated with a Respect agreeable." That was in the days when Massachusetts was exporting fish to the West Indies to exchange for molasses, distilling the molasses into rum, and sending the rum to Africa to buy

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negroes. Negroes are no longer bought and sold by Americans, but Massachusetts is still sending rum to Africa in enormous quantities. This typical Puritan was more hospitable to new thought two centuries ago than some men are now. After expostulating with some over what he regarded as errors Judge Sewall said: "If God should please by them to hold forth any light that had not been seen or entertained before, I should be so far from envying it that I should rejoice in it." On Tuesday, February 10, 1708, this Puritan chief justice, then fifty-six years old, spent the day in fasting and private prayer, in the upper chamber at the northeast end of his house, closing the shutters next the street, and the burden of his praying was in part as follows: "Perfect what is lacking in my faith and the faith of my dear yokefellow. Convert my children, especially Samuel and Hannah. Provide rest and settlement for Hannah. Recover Mary, save Judith, Elizabeth, and Joseph. Requite the labor of love of my kinswoman Jane Tappin; give her health, find out rest for her. Make David a man after thine own heart. Let Susan live and be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire. Steer the government in this difficult time, when the governor and many others are so much at variance. Direct, incline, overrule on the council day, February 12th, as to the special work of filling the Superior Court with justices, or any other things of like nature. Bless the company for the propagation of the Gospel. Revive the business of religion at Natick, and accept and bless John Neesnumin, who went thither last week for that end. Bless the South Church. Save the town, college, province. Defend the purity of worship. Save this New World, that Christ, who is stronger, would bind the strong man and spoil his house; and order the word to be given that Babylon is fallen." This godly judge, a high model for the judges of to-day, died comforting himself with the words, "If any man sin we have an Advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ the righteous." His body for one hundred and sixty years has lain under the trees in the shadow of Park Street Church, in Boston. Of his portrait Whittier wrote:

> The face that a child would climb to kiss,
> True and tender, and brave and just,
> That man might honor and woman trust.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Thoughts on Religion. By the late GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Second edition. 12mo, pp. 195. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The first edition of this book was exhausted almost immediately. The ability of the author, the peculiarities of his religious history, the oscillations of his mind upon fundamental problems of thought, his undoubted sincerity and frankness, gave the public an interest in knowing what might be the character of his final utterances on the great matters treated in this posthumous volume. Most of the papers contained therein were written during the last winter of his life, and when he died, in the early

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summer of 1894, were put, by his desire, into the hands of Dr. Charles Gore, Canon of Westminster, to be used as he might see fit. Canon Gore, believing that their publication would serve the cause of truth, arranged them as they now appear, accompanied with thirty pages of introductory explanation and comment in the "Editor's Preface." These essays and notes, as the editor says, represent the tendency of a mind from a position of unbelief in the Christian revelation toward one of belief in it; a tendency of seeking after God if haply he might feel after him and find him, and not a position of settled orthodoxy. Galileo in the old cathedral at Pisa watched with absorbed interest the swinging of the lamp amid the incense and before the altar of worship; in this book we watch the swinging to and fro of an intellectual pendulum across the greatest subjects of human thought, sometimes before the altar and sometimes away into regions where are no altars and no worship.

Illustrative Notes, 1896. A Guide to the Study of the Sunday School Lessons, with Original and Selected Comments, Methods of Teaching, Illustrative Stories, Practical Applications, Notes on Eastern Life, Library References, Maps, Tables, Pictures, and Diagrams. By JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT and ROBERT REMMINGTON DOHERTY. 8vo, pp. 384. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The first half of the coming year the Sunday school lessons are in the gospel according to Luke, and the second half in Old Testament history. It is a joy to read this book, proving, as it does, that in no department of study and instruction, not even in scientific laboratories, or in surgeries, or in machineries, are facilities, implements, and methods more advanced, improved, and complete than in the study of Holy Scripture by the aids furnished in this volume of *Illustrative Notes*. It is an orderly storehouse of richest materials gathered from the fields of exegesis, history, topography, choice literature, and actual life. It makes the Bible luminous and its study fascinating. The book is full of pictures, which make places and customs, and costumes and dwellings, and tombs and temples, as vivid and familiar to the reader as if he traveled the sacred lands and saw these things with his own eyes. The maps are clear, accurate, and ample. And, especially, nothing could be finer than the nearly three hundred literary illustrations, gathered from choicest sources, in a wide and varied range of literature. We do not remember ever to have seen a better volume of Sunday School Lesson Helps. Every teacher in Methodism should have it, and the older scholars as well. And for Bible study in the home, without reference to the Sunday school, nothing could be better.

Under the Old Elms. By MARY B. CLAFLIN, Author of "Brampton Sketches," "Personal Recollections of John G. Whittier," "Real Happenings." 16mo, pp. 150. New York and Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.

Mrs. Claflin, the wife of Hon. William Claflin, ex-Governor of Massachusetts, is well known by her earnest and active interest in the promotion of education, literature, and religion. Her books are like the hospitalities of her home, gracious, graceful, sweet, and engaging, full of memories and echoes of many distinguished and delightful guests.

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B. F. Crary.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1896.

ART. I.—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CRARY, D.D.

ONE of the stalwart men who have done much to shape the policy of western Methodism is missing from his place. His ancestors came from Vermont to Cincinnati about the year 1800, that city being then a village of less than a thousand inhabitants. On his father's side he was of Scotch-Irish descent; on his mother's he was Huguenot and English, Protestant and Methodist. His grandfather, John Crary, was a soldier in the Revolution. His grandmother on his father's side was Phœbe Cary, an aunt of the celebrated "Cary sisters." About the time Indiana was received into the Union his father, whose name was also John, moved to Jennings County, in that State, where Benjamin was born December 12, 1821. After remaining there less than a dozen years, amid great hardships, the family returned to Cincinnati. The father was a man of sterling integrity, sound judgment, and fervent piety; unfortunately he was quite deaf. The mother was also a center of Christian power. It was the pressure of her guiding hand, the force of her love and genius, that did so much to inspire the noble ambition of her son. The Bible, family altar, and Methodist hymn book were the foundation of that home.

The early education of the boy was received in the public schools of Cincinnati. His uncle, Freeman Grant Cary, the proprietor of the Pleasant Hill Academy, recognized the native ability of the lad and encouraged him to become a pupil in the institution. From this school he graduated in 1842. It was then one of the best institutions in the West. Organized in

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1833, and well equipped with teachers, it enjoyed uninterrupted success until the war cut off its patronage, many of its students being from the South. In 1846 it was changed into the "Farmers' College," Freeman Grant Cary becoming its first president. It is now Belmont College. The academic education of the boy, while not broad, was thorough. The very limitations of his course of study contributed to accuracy and mastery of detail; and these characteristics continued with him and served him well through all the years of his life. His fine literary taste—to anticipate his future—was traceable to his training in the academy. While not deficient in mathematical power, he took most naturally to the languages, and so thoroughly grounded himself in the Latin, Greek, German, and French that he could read them fluently to the day of his death. Vergil and Horace were his favorites. He particularly loved the smooth-flowing sentences of the former, and during his last illness would frequently quote from the "Æneid." In his longer editorials and in conversation there was a mildness, grace, and elevation of sentiment readily traced to his love for Vergil. He was also a great reader. Only a few months before his final illness he finished an exhaustive history of the Netherlands. The essays of Lamb and Macaulay and Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* had also much to do in forming his literary style. He was especially fond of good poetry. Burns, Holmes, and Lowell were favorites, but his master spirit was Shakespeare. His mind was exceedingly active. He dug down to the foundation of all the great modern theories of speculation; and in philosophy, as well as poetry and history, his scholarship was thorough.

During his academic course, in 1839, he was soundly converted. "I do not remember the time," said he, "when I did not pray daily. I never doubted the Bible nor the divinity of Jesus Christ." Yet his conversion vitalized and stimulated those implanted conceptions of religion and gave him new ideals. The academy was under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, and for a short time he was connected with that Church. Samuel Fenton Cary, a brother of the president of the academy, and in 1876 a candidate for Vice President on the ticket with Peter Cooper, was at that time a brilliant young lawyer in Cincinnati and an intimate friend and relative of

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young Crary. Through the influence of this associate he decided to study law, and shaped his course accordingly; but, soon after graduation, his means being limited, he determined to teach a term in the public schools. For this purpose he came to Dupont, Ind., where he was installed principal of the village school. He thus became an actual "Hoosier schoolmaster," not fifty miles from the ground where Eggleston in after years located his popular story. The journey from Cincinnati to the southeastern part of Indiana was often made in these early days on horseback. It was on one of these trips to visit his home that he chanced to meet the Rev. T. A. Goodwin, who describes the event as follows:

> One sultry day in the summer of 1842, as I was passing on horseback through the town of Harrison, O., I was joined by a well-dressed young man, some two or three years my junior, also on horseback. We had scarcely traveled a mile before he knew that I was the junior Methodist preacher on the Manchester Circuit; and I knew that his name was B. F. Crary, that he was a Presbyterian, a graduate from the Pleasant Hill Academy, and that he had chosen the law as his lifework. I soon discovered that he was a consecrated young man; that he had mapped out for himself a wide field of usefulness as a Christian lawyer. While I proceeded to tell why there was a wider field of usefulness in the pastorate than in the law I discovered that I had a receptive hearer, inclined to give all I said the most candid consideration.

Mr. Goodwin was himself a graduate of the Indiana Asbury University, then under the presidency of Matthew Simpson, and frankly told his traveling companion that he thought it the duty of young men of college training to enter the ministry and raise the standard of culture in the Church. Some years afterward Dr. Crary told Dr. Goodwin that his words on that short ride changed the plans of his life. Although he continued to read and practice law until 1845, yet in less than six months he had license to exhort, and in less than a year was a local preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church. About this time he met William H. English, the most popular young lawyer in Indiana, whose after career was illustrious. Admitted to practice in the United States Supreme Court at the age of twenty-three, he became a leader in the State Constitutional Convention of 1850, was the first Speaker of the State legislature under the new constitution in 1851, was elected to Congress in 1852, was the author of the English Compromise

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bill, and ran for Vice President on the ticket with General Hancock in 1880. It was with him that B. F. Crary formed a partnership and opened a law office in Lexington, Ind. His distinguished associate remembers him as "a man of strong prejudices and decided ability." This statement is easily explained. Mr. English was an energetic proslavery Democrat, having set his face and organized his great abilities in that direction. It is not strange that this brilliant young lawyer, with boundless ambition, his feet already on the steps to leadership and fame, should fail to comprehend the motives of his local preacher partner. Mr. Crary was by nature and education opposed to slavery. Intellectually he was as strong as his distinguished associate, and fully as well trained; but all his sympathies, ambitions, and convictions were entirely opposite, and probably seemed to Mr. English "strong prejudices." To his friends it doubtless appeared like folly to leave the bar for the pulpit. A lawyer was then the popular idol, the dazzling center of the social circle; a Methodist preacher was little more than a homeless wanderer, laboring without compensation, derided by men who emphasized their contempt by hurling at him epithets and worse, while they fawned in adulation at the feet of the lawyer. Yet Mr. Crary renounced all the honors of a lawyer and became a despised Methodist preacher on one of the lowliest circuits in the itinerancy.

In 1844 the Rev. Augustus Eddy, father of the illustrious Dr. T. M. Eddy, was Presiding Elder of the Madison District, and the friend and adviser of the young lawyer struggling against his convictions. It was he who carried up to the Conference the recommendations of Mr. Crary for admission; but for some reason there was no room for him. In the early fall of 1845 he preached a powerful sermon at the Rice camp ground, near Lexington, from the text, "Keep thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life." While preaching that sermon his final decision was made to give up the law and enter the ministry. It was one of those memorable occasions when the Holy Ghost came upon the speaker with mighty power, until scores cried out in repentance, and the whole camp ground shook with the divine presence. In a few weeks the Indiana Conference met in Madison. Mr. Eddy once more presented the young lawyer's recommendations, and

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he was admitted on trial. His charges in the Indiana Conference were: Moorfield Circuit, Vienna Mission, Bedford, Rushville, Indianapolis, New Albany, and Bloomington. From the latter place, at the age of thirty-one, he was appointed presiding elder to succeed the most popular pulpit orator aside from Bishop Simpson that Indiana Methodism ever had—Dr. William M. Daily—who was transferred to the Jeffersonville District to succeed Edward R. Ames, then just elected to the episcopacy.

During all these years of pastoral labor his journals are filled with most devout and continuous prayers. In 1849, while stationed at Bedford, he wrote the following set of rules regarding the more systematic use of his time:

I. Sunday I will rigidly devote to sacred duties. I will spend my whole time in praying, preaching, teaching, and reading the Bible or strictly devotional books.

II. Monday and Tuesday I will read history, general and ecclesiastical, and nothing else except the Bible.

III. Wednesday I will devote to the writing of sermons, essays, and other compositions.

IV. Thursday I will study Latin, Greek, German, and French, and nothing else except the Bible. I declare my strong determination to spend one seventh of my time in the acquisition of the above languages.

V. Friday and Saturday I will devote exclusively to the study of theology and the preparation of my sermons.

VI. It is understood that none of the above rules conflict with my pastoral calling and the devoting of necessary time to the well-being of my flock.

The following cry of distress from his journal will be appreciated by many pastors who have been afflicted with the same plague. On May 7, 1852, he writes: "I was much pained at the very inconsistent and wicked conduct of some of my members. What a curse is a circus! Lord, blow on them."

He was at this time alive to all the questions of the day. The agitation of 1850 over the Omnibus Bill, by which Henry Clay purchased the admission of California as a free State at the cost of more rigorous laws for the recovery of fugitive slaves, aroused the people in Indiana, and, in fact, all the border States. In this agitation he became known as a Whig in politics, an abolitionist at heart, and an uncompromising enemy of the fugitive slave laws. He was afterward one of the first

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supporters of the Republican Party, and was favorably known among the leading Union men of the State.

As a preacher he was absolutely sincere. He knew how to attack sin in its strongholds. Frequently a whole town would be stirred by his sermons and temperance addresses. Yet, while wicked men were often made to wince under his well-directed blows, his heart was always tender and aglow with sympathy. His pathos was of the magnetic sort which electrified, rather than melted, those who heard him. When his proposition was established he spent no time in decorating it with rhetorical figures; he had no use for the magic of mere words. His sermons were eminently scriptural. He especially admired the Epistle to the Romans, and was wont to say that the highest point reached in inspired thought was Rom. xi, 33.

In 1857 he was elected President of Hamline University, Minnesota. This was a year before that State was admitted to the Union, and the entire territory had less than one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. The financial reverses of that year mark the lowest point of economic depression ever reached in the history of the nation. The infamous Dred Scott decision, from which the dominant party had expected much, only plunged the country into an agitation that shook the four corners of the Union. There was no defined public sentiment upon which one could rely. The very measures intended to allay political excitement were like the wind driving the rapidly spreading flames of a forest fire. To undertake to "create" a university under such conditions required courage. Up to the election of President Crary only the preparatory department of the university had been in operation. On taking an inventory of the situation he found that by some strange accident a note for $13,000, given by Bishop Hamline, had been hopelessly lost. The bishop at that time was living in Mount Pleasant, Ia., in feeble health. President Crary instantly made up his mind what to do, and taking the first boat down the Mississippi hastened to apprise the bishop of the situation. He spent several days with him in order to get the case fully before him, when the good bishop made out a perpetual lease to the valuable university property in Chicago. The document is a model of its kind, and was drawn by the bishop himself, who had practiced law before entering the ministry. This paper

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President Crary carried home with him, to the surprise and delight of the friends of the university.

In November, 1858, he writes as follows to his mother:

> My opportunities are very fine, and I am trying to improve my time. I do not know how soon I may be called to the pastorate again, and I am anxious to be thoroughly prepared. It is difficult for me to reconcile myself to teaching, but I am satisfied that I am doing the will of God. We have an interesting school, said to be the best in the Northwest. It is doing well as to students, but it fails to pay us. As times grow better we hope to succeed better. Next term we will have a much larger school. Money is so scarce that the richest can scarcely educate their children. It is a great pleasure for me to say that God has given me numerous evidences of his loving-kindness.

One who was on the faculty with him says they were so poorly paid that they were obliged to depend on the voluntary contributions of produce brought in by the farmers, and that the faculty on one occasion had to divide a single sack of flour among them, carrying the shares home after dark in order to hide their poverty from the students. It is doubtful whether Dr. Crary was satisfied with the detailed work of the class room. He was a man of affairs, capable of leadership; but the ten thousand petty things that burden a college president made him long for the freer air of the pastorate. In 1861 many of his students enlisted, and his classes were badly dismembered. The same year Governor Ramsey appointed him State superintendent of public instruction; but he soon ascertained that the position was not in line with his convictions of duty. He therefore returned to the pastorate, being stationed at Jackson Street, St. Paul, where during the winter of 1862 he had a great revival, which is spoken of to this day.

In the early spring of that year, a vacancy occurring in the chaplaincy of the Third Minnesota Volunteers, he was elected to the place, and in three days was off to the front. In mature manhood he had a fine military bearing. He was a superb horseman. A little above the medium height, strongly built, graceful in carriage, mildly but firmly dignified, habitually self-composed, and resolute of heart, he became at once a favorite in his regiment. At the battle of Murfreesboro he was stunned by the bursting of a shell. His youngest brother, having moved South as early as 1845, was in the same battle on the Confederate

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side, but neither was aware of the other's presence until the close of the war. He was also in the thickest of the fight at Corinth, giving his attention to the wounded and dying soldiers on the battlefield. In July, 1862, his regiment was captured by General Forest. The order was given to send the officers to Libby prison. Dr. Crary had on a surgeon's scarf, and was assisting in taking care of the wounded on both sides. The surgeons were left undisturbed, and he thus escaped that death pen. In the fall of 1862 he took part in the campaign against the Sioux Indians, and in 1863 General Asboth detailed him to go up the Tennessee River and take charge of the contrabands. By order of General Grant he organized the able-bodied men into the First Tennessee Heavy Artillery, and assigned them to duty in the river forts. While drilling these troops the concussion of heavy cannon at close range brought on his deafness with great suddenness—an infirmity which in his case can be traced back to his great-grandfather, Dr. Samuel Cary, who graduated from Yale University in 1755. On account of this infirmity he was obliged to resign his commission. Shortly after Governor Ramsey appointed him to visit the hospitals from Keokuk, Ia., to Memphis, Tenn., in order to inquire into the condition of Minnesota's soldiers. This he did with great thoroughness, reporting many abuses to the medical director. He was well suited for this work. A disabled soldier himself, he passed through the wards with a smile that exorcised pain, and with a sunny kindness that made the pale faces of the sufferers light up with new hope. He continued an ardent friend of the soldier till his death. He was a member of the George H. Thomas Post, G. A. R., and now lies buried in their plot near the soldiers' monument at San Francisco.

In 1864 he succeeded the venerable Dr. Charles Elliot as editor of the *Central Christian Advocate*. Dr. Elliot had set the pace in a vigorous and successful struggle for the preservation of the Union. Dr. Crary was familiar with all phases of the slavery question, and was known for his good judgment and unflinching loyalty; so that it was natural for the General Conference to turn to him as the successor of the gifted Elliot. In the General Conference of 1864 he served as chairman of the Committee on Slavery, and in 1866 was one of the leading spirits in the organization of the Freedmen's Aid

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Society. From 1864 to 1872 he was at the height of his power. His editorials are masterpieces of strong Saxon. His defense of the Union, in the reconstruction period, showed him to be a tower of strength. His paragraphs on the pope and the Roman hierarchy, about the time the Ecumenical Council was declaring in favor of "infallibility," rival the finest wit, the keenest humor, the most penetrating satire in the English language.

He came to Colorado in 1872 and reentered the pastoral work as a presiding elder. He was a stranger, but he walked right into the esteem and affections of his brethren. During the eight years of his service no more heroic pioneer work has been done in the history of the Church. He would drive forty or fifty miles to be at the reception of his preachers in hard and discouraging fields of labor. There seemed to be no limit to his endurance. Through storms and over swollen streams he went; across the sandy desert under a broiling sun he journeyed, facing withering winds hot as if from the mouth of a furnace; over parched and rainless plateaus he rode toward the distant mountains, up whose serpentine grades he toiled into the clouds. Dusty, hungry, and thirsty, he often found himself with his supper to prepare, his team to care for, and his bed to make alone under the stars; and thus he went month after month and year after year, with rapturous joy that he was counted worthy of a place in the Master's vineyard.

At the General Conference of 1880, held in Cincinnati, Colonel John W. Ray, his old-time friend, placed him in nomination for the editorship of the *California Christian Advocate*. All the Hoosier delegations seconded the nomination, and he was elected by an overwhelming majority. Indiana never did a better thing for California Methodism than when it nominated Dr. Crary for the position which he filled for nearly fifteen years. California fell in love with him at sight. In addition to his editorial work he began to preach every Sunday in neglected portions of the city, and established an appointment which is now the flourishing Simpson Memorial Church. With Dr. Otis Gibson he organized the San Francisco City Missionary and Church Extension Society. He traveled the whole length of the coast to attend the Conferences and Missions, and in every way without ostentation freely identified himself with the field. One of the delightful features of those

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Conference sessions was his addresses. His good nature, fund of anecdote, and sincerity of purpose insured him a royal welcome at those annual gatherings.

Anyone acquainted with the development of a new country has observed that public sentiment is subject to sudden and violent changes. The masses, impatient for the millennium, blame everything that stands in their way, and are too ready to follow inferior, reckless, and irresponsible leaders. California, with its fertile soil, its large population, and its immense wealth, had become disorganized by wild speculation, and was a veritable paradise for agitators and fanatics. The whole State had been in the rigors of an intense agitation, which in 1879 culminated in the adoption of the new constitution—an astounding piece of legislation that intimidated capital, excited the State with needless litigations, and crippled the industries of the commonwealth without relieving those in whose interests it was alleged to have been framed. The wave that with such ease and swiftness carried Kearney and his demagogy into power had subsided through the ignorance and incompetence of the leaders. Society was sullen, and factions were snarling at each other. The State had been thoroughly torn to pieces, but no leader of sufficient tenacity of fiber or constructive power had arisen to organize the better element. Such was the condition there when Dr. Crary undertook to build up the *California Christian Advocate*. The old editorial fires were kindled anew, and the paper became a mighty factor in redeeming the State from the dominancy of hoodlums and Kearneyites. A sort of kuklux committee of the "baser sort" was organized, and sent out notes of warning to ministers and respectable citizens, signed "One of the Committee." A letter of this sort reached Dr. Crary; it thoroughly aroused him. "We know 'One of the committee,'" he wrote; "he has been to see us. . . . He is a scoundrel from the top of his head to the soles of his feet. He is not an American; his speech betrayeth him. We despise him, and do not propose to obey his majesty nor the reeking saloon whence he comes." During the decline of Kearneyism in San Francisco some of the most unscrupulous wretches floated to the top and managed to get into the legislature. They gratified their barbarous instincts by attending dog fights and other kindred entertainments. Dr. Crary

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hit them a stinging rap in the following sentence: "An honorable (?) member of the legislature, and other dogs, attended a dog fight one night not long since."

From time to time the California Medical Society had trouble in suppressing spurious diplomas. Once the whole fraternity was set to laughing by the following piece of Dr. Crary's well-directed satire: "One of the bogus doctors of the infamous 'diploma factory' of Philadelphia has drowned himself. Now, if the holders of these bought diplomas will only have sense and honor enough to drown themselves, we shall think better of the crowd." He also set himself with all his strength against the flood of cheap and worthless songs that deluged the Sunday schools. Of these he wrote:

> We have a brand-new song book, and are sorry to say that it is mostly original. That, we presume, is its chief merit and attraction. These songs are unutterable twaddle in limping rhymes, with endless plagiarisms, vain repetitions, parodies, and hymns falsely so called; not one of them with the slightest approach to poetry, not one of them has a robust thought decently expressed. . . . When singing these ridiculous, ill-jointed, disjointed rhyming atrocities, the boys and girls get into a sort of hurrah, and yell and scream and wink at each other, and go it, ending with "We're bound for a glorious land."

Some dozen years ago a distinguished professor was elected to the head of the philosophical department of the —— University. In his first public address he took occasion to announce himself a rank Hegelian. Dr. Crary in the following thoroughly characteristic way proceeded to criticise his extravagant views:

> Professor —— avows his acceptance in the main of the Hegelian philosophy, the fundamental axiom of which is "Seyn=0;" that is, Being equals nothing. Our readers may not know what that blind statement means. No mortal ever did. We confess to the most profound ignorance of the hidden depths of "Seyn=0." . . . The professor did say the State was a supreme personality, but now he says the State is literally God. . . . Being equals zero; zero equals somewhat, externalizing itself, turning itself inside out; and then this amazing zero becomes a personal God, then it makes a State, and hence the State is literally God. If you can understand that, so much the worse for your understanding. If Professor —— understands Hegelianism he is, no doubt, the only extant human being who does.

Thus he runs along for two columns, ridiculing "Das Seyn=0." The Hegelian clubs put on their wisest-looking spectacles; sat

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together until midnight pondering over "Das Seyn=0;" talked in a half-dazed manner of the "dialectic momentum" and the "speculative momentum;" and then went pensively home by moonlight, married, and found out that Hegel and his distinguished followers were all wrong. This piece of consummate satire was read and enjoyed throughout the whole State, and nowhere better than in the —— University, where "Das Seyn=0" hides its head to this day.

From these illustrations of his fearless utterance it will be seen that Dr. Crary was a man of outspoken convictions, and that having taken a position he stubbornly maintained it. He never wrote or spoke in the nicely balanced manner of one who tries to walk a tight rope. He was always positive and aggressive. It is admitted he could not surrender. Many of his best friends thought his strictures sometimes too rasping, and no doubt some people did not fully understand him on this very account. They could hardly think that a soul as gentle as that of John Fletcher, and imbued with the rapturous joy of Charles Wesley, could write such merciless indictments. Yet it must be remembered that his combative powers were unusually strong. He literally abhorred sin and shams.

It was his deliberate choice to ignore both the premises and the proof of an adversary, and at once to attack absurd conclusions. He reasoned that, however deftly constructed and polished the arguments of an opponent, if the conclusion was absurd there must be a fatal defect in the reasoning. He kept himself well informed on all the philosophical theories of the day, but preferred to explode an absurd conclusion with a spark of ridicule rather than to disentangle the threads of a long and complex process of argument. In 1851 the celebrated phrenologist, O. S. Fowler, made a delineation of his character, and among many other true things said: "Your great point is argument, and specially by ridicule. You can use up an opponent in a little more genteel style than any other man; and yet you ridicule his doctrine and not himself, and always to establish truth, not merely to conquer." Few men could lampoon chicanery and vice with such crushing effect as he. By a flash of satire he would in a twinkling baffle and confound an antagonist. The advocates of slavery and intemperance often received vigorous shocks from his well-charged battery.

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But, though he was exceedingly fond of ridicule and satire, and possessed a vocabulary of the stamp of Carlyle's, yet his conscientiousness prevented him from degenerating at any time into indiscriminate lampooning. He could resist an attack with great vigor, but revenge was no part of his constitution. Every faculty of his being was consonant with the strictest justice. He was charitable, and never acted toward men whom he could not trust on the plane of their quibbles and eccentricities. The very soul of honor and inward integrity himself, he was generous in his opinion of the moral principles of others.

There was something about his character which took hold upon and thrilled one. He wore no mask; his soul was in his face. The delicate tracery of pure thoughts, the sensitive lines of habitual devotion, and, in fact, the whole story of his intellectual and spiritual life were stamped upon his features. The light on his face was not of that cold, dry sort which glints over crystals of snow without melting them, but was a warm, sympathetic sunshine, dissolving the sorrows and stimulating the hopes of others. Dr. Abel Stevens has expressed what thousands on earth and in heaven can say of him:

> He was a good soldier of the Lord Jesus, and, after many battles, has retired from the field to his final rest, with the benedictions of all who knew him. Apart from his talents and long services, he was dear to me for his admirable personality. I not only esteemed him, I loved him. He always seemed to me a singularly lovable character. There was something specially endearing about him. It is a benediction on our lives to have known one such man.

He had well-established and profound theological opinions. Full of Wesleyan doctrine to his finger tips, yet he was alive to every important idea that showed itself above the ordinary level. He had no sympathy with necessarian views in philosophy or religion. Man's freedom was to him the only basis of human responsibility. His entire nature was devout. He felt no abnormal sense of mystery, and cherished no hallucinations as to the unseen; yet there was always upon his soul the strong pressure of the presence and power of God. He loved nature; it was to him the vestibule of heaven. Praying was the most real act of his life. Whether studying a flower, enraptured with a landscape, thrilled with the glow of a sunset, or engaged in devotion, he was always in communion with his God. His

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was not a gloomy theology; but a sunny joy brightened all his religious life.

His whole life was one of unremitting toil. Seven times he represented his brethren in the highest council of the Church. For forty-seven years he toiled on without a vacation, when a stroke of paralysis came like a thunderbolt from the clear sky, and for three years he sat in his chair, looking out upon the hills of eternity with the refrain upon his lips, "God is good. O, the goodness of God!" Speaking of his first attack, when his life was despaired of for many weeks and he was wholly unconscious of the world, he says: "I had not in all my sickness a solitary unpleasant thought, but was shut in with God. I cannot remember of uttering a single murmur or even wishing for anything different; but habitually thought and said, 'Thy will be done.' I will not forget the precious experience I have enjoyed in the very holy of holies." A few days before his death he smilingly awoke and said to his wife: "I have had a dream. I was in a broad plain, and I seemed to see a great army drawn up in companies and battalions. Immediately they broke ranks and I was in the midst of them, shaking hands with hundreds who crowded around me."

A soldier in the rebellion, as well as a leader in the higher conflicts of the cross, it was fitting that he should be buried among the warriors he had loved. The Presidio at San Francisco is situated on a beautiful slope leading down to the blue waters of the San Francisco Bay, and is one of the most charming spots in the world. Not far away are the forts that guard the nation's western portal against foreign foes and welcome the sails of peaceful commerce from all parts of the earth. Just above, on the semicircular brow of the hill, runs the parapet with its cannon whose thunder shut out from Dr. Crary's soul the din of a noisy world, and shut him in with God, so many years ago. Here, where the sentinel paces to and fro in vigilance, and the flag floats triumphantly on the breeze, under a wealth of perpetually blooming flowers the mortal frame of Dr. Crary rests in hope.

F. D. Bovard

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Art. II.—CONDITIONS OF AUTHORITATIVE BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

The last decade has been one of intense intellectual activity in the department of biblical criticism, especially in relation to the Old Testament Scriptures. The wealth of learning and critical skill employed in the discussion has been wonderful. Now that the smoke of the conflict has somewhat cleared away the results begin to appear, and whether any readjustments may be necessary, growing out of these discoveries, is now becoming apparent. It is fitting, therefore, that at this time we should ask ourselves what advances have been made, and what results have been achieved, by these protracted and at times almost bitter discussions. That some advances have been made in our knowledge of the Bible; that lexicographical, archæological, and literary investigations have removed obscurities and given a fresh impulse to those who seek to understand the "sacred deposit" God has committed to the care of his Church, will be readily admitted by those who have kept themselves abreast of the critical investigations of our times. The value of these discussions, however, has been impaired by the apparent attempt on the part of some to make their investigations partisan in their character, and to secure adherents for their respective sides, each side being more anxious to establish a theory than to ascertain the truth. Epithets have been applied by one to the other which have tended to prejudice the case, and which have been more effective in the popular mind than any number of arguments. Those who have maintained the conclusions reached by the earlier scholars have been called "Traditionalists," and those who have advocated new views have been designated as "Rationalists;" and each term, in the view of the opposite party, has been regarded as one of reproach. The story of the bronze and silver shield is ever repeating itself; yet both sides may have a measure of truth, if we can only secure the proper point of view.

It is the purpose of this paper to inquire into the conditions of authoritative biblical criticism, and to ask what the Church shall demand of biblical critics before she consents to set aside her accepted opinions and adopt new theories. It will be

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readily agreed that the statement of any man, however learned, would not justify the abandonment of any established truth; nor, indeed, would the declarations of any number of scholars lead us to do so, unless supported by facts and arguments justifying the setting aside of that which the generations preceding have acknowledged to be true. The Church must not surrender her teachings without clear proof that they have been displaced by that which is better. Individuals may accept conclusions in their individual capacity which an organized body cannot. The one speaks and acts for himself only; the other speaks for the great mass, many of whom have neither the training nor the opportunity for independent investigations. The individual may assume the personal risk of his own studies; the Church must proceed with care, and make changes only after mature consideration and with a full sense of responsibility. The Presbyterian Church distinguishes between her ministers and her laymen in the pledges required to her doctrinal standards. The layman who is received into the membership of that Church is not obliged to subscribe to the "Confession of Faith;" but this requirement is enforced upon those who enter her ministry and who give instruction in her theological seminaries.

It will be borne in mind that we do not propose any special consideration of the methods or the matters of fact involved in the discussion. We are simply concerned with the effects which the present stage of the controversy should have on the Church in its organized capacity. How far should we modify our standards of belief on these great problems of criticism because of the results of these long years of controversy? The conditions of which we are speaking do not apply to biblical criticism as such. There can be no conditions to the reverent study and investigation of the word of God. The Bible is the book for all men; its study should be as free and as broad as the air we breathe. Everybody ought to desire to study it and to investigate it for himself. The privilege of so doing is the birthright of the Christian, secured by Christ himself. His command was, and is, "Search the Scriptures." The modesty, charity, and unselfish spirit introduced by Christianity were the beginning of the great progress which has been made in scientific and biblical research. This privilege, long trodden

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under foot, was restored by Luther with the Protestant Reformation, and is ours in all its fullness to-day. Every person, under the guidance of the divine Spirit and the word of God, must decide for himself what he will believe.

There are some problems, however, that must be investigated by the few, because they alone have the appliances and the training for their complete mastery. By the laws of the division of labor each scholar has a special sphere for which he is best fitted, and concerning which he may speak with authority. A preacher destitute of scientific training would not set his opinions on science against those of a Herschel or a Proctor, a Darwin or an Agassiz; nor on a question of law against a Chief Justice Marshall or a Chancellor Kent; but on a subject of which he is a master, while they are not, he may speak with more authority than they. The condition that confronts the Church to-day is based on the assumption that specialists are the authority to which she must refer for the decision of the important questions that affect the very charter of her existence. It is at this point that we take issue. It is an intuition of our nature to seek authority outside and above ourselves. With all our apparent confidence in ourselves we nevertheless in critical cases distrust our own capacities and seek some authority on which to rely. It is common, in some of the most difficult public problems, to cite past decisions as if in some way those who lived before us were wiser than ourselves. At least the consciousness that others have thought as we think has a great influence in determining our conclusions. The Romanist finds his authority in an infallible Church, which settles *ex cathedra* the doctrines to be accepted whenever heretical opinions arise. But where shall the Protestant go for authority? His Church does not claim special inspiration or infallibility, either in her leaders or in the decisions of her councils. Our inquiry, then, is this: At what point in the discussions of scholars concerning the Bible shall the Church accept the decisions which the critics have affirmed to be true?

There are some recognized principles on which there is a general consensus of opinion. First, historical truth must maintain its position until it is overthrown for reasons satisfactory to those interested in it. The abandonment of the results of the studies of earlier scholars should not take place until new

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light has been thrown upon the subject and new reasons advanced which were not within the reach of former investigators. Something certainly is due to the traditions of the Church which have been based upon the investigations of earlier Christian scholars. Second, in the maintenance of her previously accepted views the Church is only required to show "probability," not certainty. In order to the overthrow of the existing conditions the evidence must be overpowering, while a probability in favor of that which exists should prevent its abandonment. This is particularly the case with criticism of similar events differently presented by different authors. It is a canon to be observed in the discussion of apparent contradictions. Alford employs this canon in the discussion of the seeming contradictions which are found in the four gospels. Third, the Church cannot set aside her acknowledged position on fundamental questions on the mere *dicta* of individuals. One person may be wiser than all the rest. He may be greater in scholarship, in reasoning powers, and in judgment than all his contemporaries; but the Church has no right to assume that this is the case. But we may notice some general considerations bearing on this question.

I. Biblical criticism, to be authoritative, must be conducted by those who have learning and intellectual power adequate to the task. It will not be questioned that this subject has attracted the attention of the advanced scholars of the age. Even scientific men have turned aside from their purely scientific pursuits to discuss biblical topics, and in certain instances have become more eminent for their discussions of these subjects than of their ordinary topics of investigation. Some of the qualifications of the biblical critic who would be adequate to this work may be noted. He must, for instance, have a profound acquaintance with the biblical languages. This involves a knowledge of the Hebrew, and of the Greek of the New Testament. The Hebrew, in its lexicography and its syntax, is reflected in the New Testament, and the knowledge of the one for critical purposes cannot be complete without the knowledge of the other. The late Professor Hatch has shown the value of the Septuagint, as well as of the whole field of Hellenistic Greek, for the illustration of the meaning of Old and New Testament words. The late Professor Robertson Smith made

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large use of the Septuagint in his critical studies, a version which has been made the instrument both of attack and defense. The knowledge of Hebrew will also be greatly helped by a profound acquaintance with other Semitic languages, and the knowledge of New Testament Greek and of its relations to criticism will also be facilitated by an acquaintance with modern Greek. The linguistic element was long recognized as a potent factor in biblical criticism, and one on which higher criticism mainly relied for its support. It constitutes the basis of the "literary" criticism of the Holy Scriptures. The authoritative biblical critic must also supplement his linguistic attainments with a profound acquaintance with biblical archæology, and with archæological studies in general. This is so patent a condition of real criticism that it is unquestioned. The recent discoveries in Assyriology and the resultant opening up of the languages and writings of the early ages constitute an essential element in modern criticism, and cannot be ignored. Of course an acquaintance with history and philosophy, and whatever pertains to them, must also be qualifications existing in a profound biblical critic.

This view of the breadth of knowledge required in an authoritative critic leads us to conclude that no one specialist is competent to pronounce on the whole question. He can only speak of things within the sphere of his own investigations. A multitude of workers must enter into the problem, and the final outcome must be the product of the contributions of scholars in various departments. There are those, however, who are not scholars, in the sense in which that word is generally employed, who may speak with authority. They are persons of sound judgment and of keen faculties of discrimination, who can review and formulate the facts furnished them by the original investigators. Their opinion is often of more value than that of the pure scholar, because their minds are not hampered by the limitations of a special department. They cannot discover the gold—that is the work of the few—but when found they can test its fineness and appreciate its uses.

II. The Christian Church must also firmly maintain the supernatural. It exists because it believes in a revelation from God; and it cannot accept as authoritative any criticism which denies his existence or his power and willingness to make known his

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will to his human children. On this belief it has been built up; without this it might exist as a club, but cannot be a Church as recognized in Christendom. An infidel or an atheist cannot be a critic acceptable to the Church, nor can one who denies the supernatural. We do not mean that those whose prejudices are adverse to the existence of the divine revelation may not honestly inquire into the veracity of the records; but we hold that their preconceptions prevent their giving due weight to supernatural facts. One who assumes that no amount of evidence can prove a miracle is not qualified to speak with authority for the Christian Church, which holds miracles to be the credentials of her being.

Absolute impartiality is a practical impossibility, and we doubt if it can be shown that anyone in the discussion of a critical subject has ever been entirely free from the influence of preconceived ideas. The assumption of much of our modern criticism is that no one can be a competent biblical critic who is not entirely divested of prejudice. Certainly, if anyone could absolutely free himself from his environments it would be the man who is engaged in philosophical or scientific pursuits. In these departments the faith of each individual has had much to do with molding his speculations. The late President Porter, of Yale, makes the following observations, which illustrate the point now under consideration:

> But what each individual soul shall be is determined, very largely, by his religious creed and aspirations. The speculative thinking of modern times is represented by such names as Descartes, Spinoza, Locke, Leibnitz, Hume, Rousseau, Reid, Adam Smith, Kant, Schelling, Hamilton, Hegel, Comte, Mill, and Spencer. Modern physics is represented by Newton, Brewster, Young, Davy, Faraday, Tyndall, Helmholtz, Herschel, Kirchhoff, and a multitude more; modern culture by a still greater host, such as Cowper, Byron, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Goethe, Schiller, Tennyson, Macaulay, Carlyle, Emerson, and Matthew Arnold. In speculative philosophy—which would seem to be most withdrawn from personal influences—nothing is more obvious than that the personal faith of each leader of thought has been a potent factor in determining the range of the philosophical relations which he recognized, and the relative place which he assigned them in his system. The mystical skepticism of Kant, the semi-Christian pantheism of Schleiermacher, the decorous conformity of Locke, the keen pyrrhonism of Hume, and the confident and imposing agnosticism of Spencer, reveal quite as much of the individual personality of each of these men as of any plastic energy in their environment.

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Facts are facts, no matter by whomsoever they are found, but the bearings which they have on the progress of argument will be determined largely by the mental or moral attitude of the person who employs them. It must be admitted that if complete freedom from bias could be secured there would be a basis for a correct judgment. Assuming the statement of President Porter to be correct as to philosophy, we may well conclude that the same rule holds true in the realm of biblical investigation, and that such criticism as leaves out of the account one's predispositions and environments is not possible.

III. This leads us to the further consideration that authoritative biblical criticism must be the work of men of profound piety and deep insight into spiritual truths. An abiding love of the truth is fundamental to true criticism. Truth has been defined to be "conformity to fact or reality." The seeker for truth must seek it with clear and open vision. He must desire it so much that he will neglect no means of finding it. He will search for it in every direction; no place will be too remote for him to inquire for it. He will examine all the books which men have written; he will study the mustiest manuscripts in the neglected libraries of the East; he will delve among the foundations of ruined cities, in tropic heat and winter cold. He will love truth more than home or friends or reputation, and when he has found it he will be more joyful in its possession than if he had found many rubies. He must not only love it supremely and search for it diligently, but when he has it he must communicate it honestly. He must put it forth just as it is. It must not be marred, either in its search or in its promulgation, by his own prejudices or by the prejudices of others. He must not be a timeserver, but a bold, manly man, who would not misrepresent that which he has won at so great a cost for the applause of the world. There are conditions, however, in attaining the truth, which must be carefully guarded, if one would find it revealed in the Scriptures. The critic should have that spiritual insight which comes from reverence and from deep piety. Spiritual things are "spiritually discerned." There is an unfolding of the truth to the spiritual mind which others cannot comprehend. It is said that when Mr. Pitt was prime minister of England he accompanied a friend to hear Mr. Cecil preach. Mr. Cecil was a man

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of deep spirituality, and proclaimed to his audience the wonderful things of God. When the sermon was concluded his friend asked the prime minister how he liked the discourse. Mr. Pitt answered that he did not understand it. A distinguished literary critic was asked to write an introduction to a volume of religious poems. He hesitated to do so, giving as a reason that he did not understand them. Those who have been trained in Gospel truth, and have felt its power in the heart, are not aware how little its great thoughts are understood by those who have had no such privileges. It is granted that this piety in the case of the critic is a prejudgment in favor of the Bible, which has been his teacher. But we insist upon it that this condition of mind and heart is essential to a just estimate and an accurate discrimination as to the interests involved. Rev. E. E. Nourse, in a recent magazine article,* makes the following statement concerning the attitude of some German theological scholars toward piety which would be scarcely credited were it not vouched for by one who speaks from personal knowledge:

> One of the surprises which the average American student of theology meets with (in Germany) is the very common separation of the religious and intellectual, or scientific, elements as qualifications of a religious teacher. In America we generally consider these as somewhat equal in importance. At least, the theologian whose religious life is known to be rather weak, or of a somewhat negative character, is not looked up to with the same respect, nor are his writings so influential, as is the case with the one who is known to unite with intellectual power or scientific attainment a warm religious life. But in Germany the separation between these two elements is complete. We have heard it distinctly stated in a public lecture by one of Germany's best and most noted theologians that the element of piety . . . has no necessary place in the make-up of a great theologian. The intellectual element is given the first, and generally the only, place.

Piety is therefore a condition of theological investigation which the Church cannot ignore.

IV. Again, authoritative criticism involves a general agreement on the part of the critics concerning the changes which it demands, and the grounds on which they rest. The Church cannot accept in a matter of such grave import the results of divided counsels. If a number of men deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and each for a different reason, such denial seems to involve a hostile purpose. At any rate, exten-

* *Hartford Seminary Record*, December, 1895, p. 77.

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sive divisions in the ranks of hostile criticism as to what it claims to have proved afford sufficient grounds for hesitancy before abandoning our accepted beliefs. This principle is recognized by Professor Sanday, of Oxford University. When speaking of the gains of the new criticism (*The Oracles of God*, p. 79) he says:

> The first gain is truth. I do not wish to assume the ultimate establishment of any particular set of propositions. All that I mean is that those which are ultimately established—those which obtain a large amount of general acceptance—will do so because they are true. There is great force in the old adage, *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*, "The whole world cannot go wrong."

It is clear that the recent utterances of scholarship in our own country do not show such unanimity in favor of the view Professor Sanday advocates. In a note referring to the foremost American scholars at the time when he wrote (1891), he mentions the following who are still living, namely, Thayer, Dwight, Fisher, Briggs, Isaac Hall, Green, and Warfield. A glance at this list will show such wide divergences of opinion as to justify the unwillingness of the Church to abandon her present position. A reference to other distinguished scholars would show the same result. Professor A. A. Bevan, in the *Contemporary Review* for December, 1895, in reply to Professor Sayce, makes acknowledgments which deserve consideration in this connection. Speaking from the standpoint of modern criticism, the professor states:

> That eminent archæologists should sometimes differ widely from one another will not appear surprising when we consider the nature of archæology. There cannot be a greater mistake than to suppose that an archæologist is a kind of *deus ex machina*, who can step in to decide all manner of questions with infallible authority. Archæology, like all other departments of research, has its limitations and uncertainties, and any archæologist who ignores this truth will inevitably commit serious blunders. Archæological evidence is, from its very nature, fragmentary. The missing links have to be supplied by conjecture. This is especially the case when we are dealing with literary questions. . . . When we pass from the literature of Greece to that of the ancient East we find that the uncertainty of archæological evidence is vastly augmented. This is due to various causes. In the first place, as everyone knows, the languages and systems of writing in use among the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, and Assyrians fell into oblivion nearly two thousand years ago, and it is only in the present century that the meaning of the inscriptions has been to some extent unraveled. The student of Hebrew, Greek, and Sanskrit

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has the assistance of a linguistic tradition handed down through an unbroken series of learned men from the time when these languages were actually spoken; the decipherer of the Egyptian and Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions has no such aid; it is by conjecture, and conjecture alone, that the use of the characters, the meaning of the words, can be ascertained. That many of these conjectures are practically certain no one will now attempt to deny, but a large margin of doubt still remains. The total absence of a linguistic tradition constitutes a difficulty which all the ingenuity of decipherers can never completely overcome. Another cause of uncertainty is the very ambiguous nature of writing. The Assyrio-Babylonian character, in particular, might seem to have been expressly designed for the purpose of confusing the reader.

Justice to Professor Bevan requires the statement that his paper is intended to prove that, notwithstanding the facts to which he alludes, the results of archæological study have been to justify the claims of modern criticism. The conclusions of the radical biblical critics of Germany have been received in a modified form by those of similar intellectual tendency in England and America, and by others of equal scholarship have been rejected. Bishop Ellicott has set forth the general variations in the views held by biblical students.* On one side he places "the traditional view" and "the rectified traditional view," and on the other side "the analytical theory" as presented by the most acute foreign critics, and the same general theory as modified and promulgated by some of the eminent university professors in England. Bishop Ellicott supports "the rectified traditional view," while Professor Green, of Princeton, in his latest work, *The Unity of the Book of Genesis* (Preface, page ix), maintains "the traditional view." The late Dr. James Strong, of Drew Theological Seminary, also held "the traditional view" in its full extent.

V. No results of biblical criticism can be accepted by the Church as authoritative which denies directly, or by clear implication, the authority of Jesus Christ when he affirms the truthfulness of the Old Testament records. The argument from results is one which a true criticism cannot overlook. Professor Sayce closes his article in the *Contemporary Review* by saying, "We have a body of doctrine which has been the support in life and the refuge in death of millions of men of all nationalities and grades of mind, which has been

* *Christus Comprobatur*, pp. 35–60.

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witnessed to by the saints and martyrs, which has conquered first the Roman empire and then the barbarian who destroyed it, and which has brought a message of peace and good will to suffering humanity." He thus affirms the results of the word of God on the hearts of men as an argument for the authority of the documents which compose it. On the other hand, Kuenen argues against the history of Abraham and the patriarchs "on account of the pure and elevated views that are found in it." * Surely, if there is a place for this kind of argument it is when any hypothesis invalidates the character of Jesus Christ as a perfect teacher. The divinity of our Saviour and his absolute knowledge of all questions of fact is an axiom as fundamental to Christian truth as the axioms of mathematics are to mathematical science. There is no point on which negative criticism, in the view of Christians, has found more embarrassment than in its effect on our faith in the infallibility of Jesus Christ as a teacher. Thus far no satisfactory harmony has been established between the results of radical advanced criticism and Christ's indorsement of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. This argument is supported as valid both by Bishop Ellicott and the late Canon Liddon. A single passage from Bishop Ellicott will illustrate the point:

> Arguments from consequences, as Dr. Liddon has impressively pointed out, cannot be set aside with impunity. If it be obvious that certain theories about the Old Testament must ultimately conflict with our Lord's unerring authority, a Christian will pause before he commits himself to those theories. The appeal to Christ may be fruitless to those who have deliberately crossed the Rubicon; but in the case of the great majority the appeal, if wisely and perseveringly made, will rarely fail to suggest some hesitation, some reconsideration of theories which are traversed by the teaching of Christ or by the inferences which immediately flow from it. †

VI. Authoritative criticism requires time to consider objections that may be raised to its conclusions. The present state of opinion in the Church on the question of the authorship and the canonicity of the books of the Bible has stood the test of time. Objections have been raised at different periods, but chiefly since the time of Astruc. This is particularly applicable to the New Testament. The late Professor Alexander, in his *New Testament Literature*, affirms that the book now

* *Christus Comprobatur*, p. 79. † *Ibid.*, p. 205.

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called the New Testament is "the same in every language throughout the world." And he further says that "this identity or uniformity has constantly existed for more than fourteen hundred years; before as well as since the Reformation, through the Middle Ages, back to the close of the fourth century." This affirmation, he declares, is sustained by Rufinus, Augustine, and Jerome, and also by the Council of Hippo, A. D. 393, Carthage, 397, and Rome, 494. It was further attested by Athanasius, Ephraem Syrus, and other authorities. The doubts which arose in regard to authorship and canonicity Professor Alexander explains by special considerations concerning the individual books, which were local rather than critical. It is this test of time upon which the Church must insist before she accepts conclusions so directly subversive of her present position in regard to the Bible. The experience of the past clearly shows the wisdom of this requirement. The Tübingen school has dominated destructive critical thought for many years. For more than a quarter of a century the reputation of a scholar was hazarded if he ventured to question its authority. Many surrendered their gospels, and with it their faith. At length, however, the Eastern monasteries yielded up their treasures to the critical inquirer. The gospel of John has been established as the genuine production of the one to whom it has been assigned by the Church, and that school has practically disappeared except for the scholarship it has evoked from the field of critical discussion.

The convictions of the young scholar must often give way to the conclusions of later years. Young men have done noble work in promoting critical study. Youth is fresh and active, ready to discard the past, and eager for new discoveries. This is proper, and is a hopeful sign. It should, however, be modified by the researches and judgments which are the product of time and of opportunity for further testing. An interesting illustration of the changes of opinion caused by time is found in the recent utterances of Professor Sayce, in the *Contemporary Review* for November, to which allusion has already been made. Professor Sayce writes in reply to a paper by Canon Cheyne, in a previous number of the same *Review*, on "The Archæological Stage of Old Testament Criticism." In this paper the canon had coupled the name of Sayce with that

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of Kuenen, as "one of those to whom he owes a stimulus in that line of research with which his name is so intimately connected." He charged, however, Professor Sayce with having changed his attitude toward "criticism." Professor Sayce denies that he has changed his attitude toward criticism when criticism means "a sober and reverent examination of ancient documents and ancient history, based upon recognized scientific principles, with a due regard to what is ordinarily termed common sense." The professor adds:

> The more important a belief is, the more imperatively does it invite criticism—not criticism that sets out with preconceived ideas and assumptions, which treats imperfect evidence as if it were perfect, or which builds conclusions upon theories which have yet to be proved. If this is what is meant by criticism I must at once plead that I have no sympathy with it, and I think I may honestly say that I have never had any. But I suspect that a good deal of the criticism to which Canon Cheyne is alluding is what seems to me to be of that intemperate and illegitimate sort that I have just been describing; and Canon Cheyne is doubtless right in saying that I have of late years changed my attitude in regard to it. But that is because it is only of late years that I have begun to realize its true character, its tendencies, and its results. We have all committed follies in youth, and one of the few compensations which old age is supposed to bring us is that of growing out of them. Let it not be forgotten, however, that fifteen years ago there was something to be said on behalf of the "new teaching" which cannot be said for it any longer. . . . Let me briefly review some of the reasons which preclude me from offering any longer the same welcome to the method and conclusion of the "higher criticism" that I was prepared to accord to them fifteen years ago. The pivot upon which the whole question turns is the Pentateuch, or the Hexateuch, as our critical friends would make it. If the Pentateuch is really a hodge-podge of ill-digested morsels, none of which is older than the age of the Jewish monarchy, while a considerable part of them is post-exilic, we may at once give up the contest and follow our critical friends whithersoever they lead us. The Christian Church will have erred grievously, like the Jewish Church before it; and the law which our Lord came to fulfill, instead of being the rock upon which the faith of Israel was founded, will have been the product of religious degeneracy and decay.

The late Professor Delitzsch, on the other hand, modified his views in the direction of the higher criticism. The point we are considering is whether biblical criticism has reached a position where the Church can accept its conclusions when they are hostile to her accepted traditions.

In the present state of the discussion it is fair to the most

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advanced biblical criticism to say that it has not reached a state in which the Church can wisely or safely, in her organized capacity, consider its conclusions with a view to modify her traditional beliefs. It is conceded that these investigations have thrown fresh light on the study of the Scriptures, and have given new inspiration to the study of the languages of the Bible and to archæological research; but their generalizations have not yet commanded such confidence as should precede their acceptance by those who have not personally had opportunity to make investigations.

The present writer has attempted to set forth the conditions that should precede action on the part of the Church, with a view to adopt the conclusions which have been set forth by the advocates of what is termed advanced scholarship. In this rapid presentation of a great subject the discussion can hardly be satisfactory, and certainly cannot be complete. It has been the aim of this paper to present the case dispassionately, not attempting, however, to conceal our own belief that the traditional, or what he prefers to call the historical, view still maintains its ground, and, so far as he can now see, will continue to do so.

Professor Caspar René Gregory, of the University of Leipzig, Germany, in his lectures at Drew Theological Seminary not long since, said that we will accept whatever is absolutely proved on these questions. This must be the attitude of the Church. Truth is final. When criticism shall have reached a position which commands the assent of the best scholarship within and without the Church her highest council may take up the question and in the exercise of its godly judgment make such modifications of her statements as truth requires, ever bearing in mind that there have been wise and scholarly investigators of these problems in the past as well as in the present, and that the conclusions of the critics of to-morrow may set aside the verdict of to-day. "Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure," and "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."

Henry A Buttz

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Art. III.—OUR BENEVOLENCES.

Raising the benevolent collections has come to be a large part of the work of our itinerant preachers. In the earlier days of our ecclesiastical life it was not so. Then our pastors were practically all evangelists, and a Methodist preacher who could not direct a camp meeting, or a revival, or an altar service was not much in demand. But now to one not acquainted with our methods of work an Annual Conference, in some respects, seems more like a great collection agency than an organized body of ministers whose supreme object is to save the lost. Often two thirds of the members of a Conference are not heard on the floor, except when reporting their missionary or other moneys. Some ministers spend ten, twenty, thirty, or even more years in effective service without uttering a word at the annual sessions, except when making these reports.

In our statistical tables we use eleven columns of figures for ministerial support, seven columns for church property and current expenses, sixteen columns for our benevolences and authorized collections, and four columns for church membership. But as one of these four is the number of deaths, and another the number of local preachers, we really have only two left for membership. There are no columns to show what became of the probationers of the preceding year, to register the annual increase or decrease in membership, or to give the number of conversions during the year. Measured by our form of statistics, a large part of the pastor's work is in the interest of our benevolent enterprises.

Those familiar with the cares and anxieties of our pastors further know that many of them—such as are usually counted successful—begin early in the Conference year, and spend a great deal of time in planning for and raising the benevolences. Nearly all district meetings discuss different phases of this subject, especially the one held in the early part of the Conference year. If the time spent one way or another by each pastor in the interest of the benevolences could be reckoned up it would be found to constitute no small part of the Conference year.

What has been said is not to intimate that the Methodist

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Episcopal Church in the last quarter or half a century has lost sight of her real mission—the salvation of the people—but to prepare the way for the statement that her methods of work have during these years been much changed. The time spent in raising money for Missions, Church Extension, Christian Education, Sunday Schools, and the Tract cause is as legitimately employed as if spent in preaching the Gospel or visiting from house to house. Nor can we say which of these causes, in proportion to the money invested, is most efficient in saving souls. They are all worthy the faithful and persistent effort of every pastor in the Church.

Objections are sometimes made to the number of our benevolent collections, and usually, as the General Conference approaches, more or less is said about consolidating those of kindred purpose. To do this in a perfectly satisfactory manner is no small problem, and is one not undertaken in this discussion. A readjustment of our benevolences is, however, suggested, which will be applicable whether the causes be many or few, and which the writer believes gives promise of larger returns than the method now used. Let the Discipline declare that "the whole amount raised on each charge for benevolences be distributed to the different causes on the basis of their respective claims." This change is advocated for the following reasons:

First, Because the original apportionments to the Conference practically proceed from the same authority, and rest with equal obligation upon all our pastors and churches. The general committees of the Missionary, Church Extension, Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Societies consist of the board of bishops—sixteen in number—the fourteen representatives of the General Conference districts, fourteen representatives from each board of managers for their respective committees, and the secretaries and treasurers of each board. The bishops and representatives of the General Conference districts are members of the three committees, while the representatives of the boards of managers, with their respective secretaries and treasurers, are different for each committee. Thus two factors out of three in each of these committees are constant, while only one is variable. The apportionments made to the Annual Conferences are therefore largely by the same author-

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ity. Other apportionments to the Conferences are also made by the recognized representatives of our authorized benevolences, and are accepted without question. These amounts are usually reapportioned to the districts, and by them to the pastoral charges; so that every pastor and charge in the Church is supposed to receive near the beginning of the Conference year an apportionment for each benevolent enterprise, with no greater obligations to one than to another.

Secondly, Because such a disciplinary provision would secure more concentration of effort by all recognized representatives of these important interests than we now have. These representatives are the pastors, the presiding elders, and the officials of the different benevolent boards. Under the present arrangement it is almost impossible to secure for a charge, or for a tour through a district, the services of any of our corresponding secretaries or official representatives, unless there is a definite understanding that all the money raised goes to the particular board that official represents; and neither he nor the board he represents feels he has done his cause any good unless he carries the collection considerably beyond the amount regularly and authoritatively apportioned the charge. If the apportionments made by the general committees to the Conferences, then by the Conferences to the districts, and finally by the districts to the pastoral charges, have been fairly equitable, the success of this official help is measured largely by the violation of the law of equity that is supposed to prevail in the apportionments. The greater the violation the greater the success.

A just administrator, in settling an estate, will have all legitimate claims against it paid in full if possible; but if this cannot be done he will see that payments are made in the ratio of these claims, for obligation to pay is not affected by the size of the claim. This law is more or less recognized in meeting our benevolences. Pastors and presiding elders are in some respects administrators of this department of our Church finances. Their goal usually is "all benevolent apportionments in full." When this is not done many of them are anxious that each cause receive its due proportion of the amount collected, though they often fail. Hence some pastors and presiding elders hesitate in securing the services of a corresponding secretary or an

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official representative of one of our benevolent boards, knowing that in proportion to their success the law of obligation is violated; for, as a rule, what is one cause's gain is another's loss. This hesitancy may not apply to the representatives of the Missionary Society so much as to others, because the apportionment for missions usually exceeds the total for all others. Many pastors think that if they get this collection out of the way the work is more than half done; that they can surely secure something for the other causes so there will be no blanks in their reports, and that, on the whole, the result will be fairly commendable, as only the missionary collection is reported in open Conference.

It is quite probable that even under the present arrangement all our secretaries have more calls for service than they are able to answer; but, if their work among the churches were more in the interest of the benevolences as a whole, what would be to the interest of one cause would be to the interest of another, and there certainly would be more unanimity and concentration of effort by pastors, presiding elders, and these official representatives.

Thirdly, Because such a distribution of the receipts for benevolences would promise greater returns than the method now used. This is perhaps the most important consideration of all, and the best that can be done is to estimate the probabilities. When our members come into full fellowship they solemnly covenant to contribute of their earthly substance, according to their ability, for "the support of the Gospel and the various benevolent enterprises of the Church." Here are two channels for contributions, ministerial support and Church benevolences. In ¶ 280 of the Discipline may be found the following provision adopted by the General Conference of 1880: "The amount apportioned to each pastoral charge for the support of the bishops shall be a *pro rata* claim with that of the pastors and presiding elders; and no pastor or presiding elder shall be entitled to his allowance except to the extent to which the claims of the bishops are also met by the charge or district with which such pastor and elder are connected." And in ¶ 282 the following occurs, which was adopted in 1860: "In all cases the presiding elder shall share with the pastors in his district in proportion to what they have respectively re-

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ceived." In these provisions we have the identical law governing the contributions of the Church for ministerial support that we are advocating for the benevolences. This law may not be followed in every presiding elder's district and pastoral charge in the connection, but none are found to advocate its repeal, especially among the bishops and presiding elders. Wherever obeyed it has proved eminently satisfactory to ministers and laymen, and because of the satisfaction given there is no question but that the receipts for ministerial support are considerably larger than they would be under the plan that now prevails for the benevolences.

As a rule most people prefer that kindred claims be aggregated, and generally they will pay more to cancel all these obligations at once than to take them one at a time. Very few persons who pay taxes want to pay for the different funds separately. When a church is to be dedicated all the expenses are aggregated and presented to the people as a whole. No one would expect to succeed if separate subscriptions were solicited for the different items. Many of our largest and most prosperous churches aggregate their expenses for the year, such as for pastor, presiding elder, bishops, sexton, organist, choir, etc. Their contributions are for all these objects taken together; and it would be difficult to prevail upon them to adopt the plan of making separate contributions for each cause, for they know how unsatisfactory, if not disastrous, the result would be. A very large part of our membership really prefer to make their regular contributions to the benevolences as they do for the support of the local church, with the understanding that the distribution be made to the different causes in the ratio of these claims upon the charge. In this way, if their contributions are according to ability, they strictly and consistently comply with their full membership covenant to contribute of their earthly substance to the various benevolent enterprises of the Church.

There may be serious objections to this plan for raising the benevolences, because it contemplates, or does not discourage, "omnibus collections;" and, as some see it, nothing is so disastrous as the omnibus plan. But what vehicle can carry more passengers than an omnibus? A good-sized one is worth a dozen phaetons. It does not make so much display, but it

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has room for the people. Usually the great difficulty with this collection is that the amount raised is applied to but one or two causes, in order to make these contributions commendable, while other causes are put off with merely nominal amounts, if any at all, to avoid blanks in the reports. Had there been a law making it necessary to distribute the amount collected to the different causes on the basis of their respective claims, what a difference there would have been in the result! No greater boon can come to some of our benevolences than a well-regulated omnibus plan.

It will probably be helpful in judging the effect of such a plan, if it be applied to the contributions of the Church for a single year, and the result observed. The statistics for 1895 are not yet accessible; we therefore take those for 1894 as given in the General Minutes. In the following table the column of appropriations is graded by the million and a half for Missions, the amount for Church Extension being one fifth; for Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education, one sixth; for other educational objects, one fifteenth; for Children's Day Fund, one twentieth; and for Sunday School Union, Tract, and Bible Societies, one thirtieth each.

BENEVOLENT CAUSES.	Appropriations by the Annual Conferences.	Collections from Conferences, 1894.	Distribution of these collections on the basis of appropriations.	Gains to the benevolences from such a distribution.	Losses to the benevolences from such a distribution.	What each cause would have received if the collections had been equally valued throughout.
Missions	$1,500,000	$1,115,347	$1,021,572	$.....	$93,775	$1,115,347
Church Extension	300,000	128,830	204,315	75,485	.....	223,069
Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education	250,000	108,909	170,262	61,353	.....	185,354
Sunday School Union	50,000	24,667	34,053	9,386	.....	37,178
Tract Society	50,000	21,295	34,053	12,758	.....	37,178
Children's Day Fund	75,000	63,604	51,078	.....	12,526	55,767
Other Education	100,000	121,985	68,104	.....	53,881	74,356
Bible Society	50,000	32,853	34,053	1,200	.....	37,178
	$2,375,000	$1,617,490	$1,617,490	$160,182	$160,182	$1,765,427

It will be seen that the causes which gain most by such a distribution are Church Extension, Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education, Sunday School Union, Tracts; while those that lose are Missions and the Board of Education. This will produce mingled emotions of satisfaction and disappointment. No one in sympathy with our world-wide missionary work, and the purpose of the great commission, wishes to see the receipts of the

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Missionary Society curtailed; nor does any one familiar with the Christlike work of the societies which are the gainers by such a distribution want to see them have less than their *pro rata* share of the benevolent offerings of the Church. But, laying aside our special preferences, and looking at the subject from the standpoint of a disciple interested in the salvation of the world, would not the distribution of our benevolences on the *pro rata* plan give promise of greater results, even to the Missionary Society, than the method now used? If Emerson's statement is true, that America is but another name for opportunity, then very much, if not everything, depends upon making the cause of Christ dominant here at home. If Christianity fails in America, with all its advantages from location and noninterference by political powers, then it will fail everywhere else, unless its devotees are blessed with more wisdom and divine guidance than falls to the lot of American Christians. The task of saving the United States is not yet an accomplished fact. Foreigners are here by the hundred thousand and the million, and the worst of it is they have, with few exceptions, brought their anarchism and socialism and heathenism with them. These, with our own native unchristian population, must be more generally brought under the sway of the Gospel if we are to maintain our standing as a Christian nation. To fail here is to fail everywhere else. But, considered from the standpoint of missions alone, are not the additional amounts these home societies would receive by the *pro rata* plan a profitable investment? Most of our Sunday schools begin making contributions to missions nearly as soon as organized. The distribution of religious tracts is missionary work, pure and simple. The Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society carries the blessings of Christian education, permeated by the spirit and enforced by the example of the missionary of the cross, to nearly half a million of our own Church members, and the returns to the missionary treasury, though meager at first, will be largely augmented as the years go by. Many there are who believe that the shortest and surest way to do our part in the evangelization of Africa is through the agency of this Society. The Church Extension Board is so much of a missionary organization that the Missionary Society could almost afford to operate the entire plant for the returns that would

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thus be brought into its own treasury. Thousands of prosperous churches to-day owe their very existence to the help afforded by Church Extension, and their missionary contributions form no insignificant part of the Missionary Society's receipts. The Board of Church Extension has, in round numbers, aided ten thousand churches; and an average annual missionary contribution of only twenty-five dollars each would bring into the treasury of the Missionary Society the neat sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Taken altogether, it is fairly probable that the Missionary Society would really gain, rather than lose, by a distribution of the benevolent contributions of the Church on the basis of apportionments.

The last column in the preceding table gives the line that would have been reached by our different benevolent enterprises in 1894 had they come as near reaching their full apportionment as the Missionary Society did in reaching the million and a half line. It is, of course, impossible to prove that this would have been done, even under the *pro rata* plan for distribution; but when we consider how successful such a plan has proven to be, wherever faithfully tried, and that it would have taken less than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to have reached that line for all causes, there is nothing extravagant in the belief that, with the expenditure of no greater amount of energy than was used, such results would have been attained.

H. N. Herrick

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ART. IV.—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

> What's in a name? that which we call a rose,
> By any other name would smell as sweet.

So said Juliet, and yet there is very much in a name. The smell of the rose might be the same, but the identification of the flower would to some extent depend upon the name. However it may be with flowers, a name is very important to men and to human institutions. The name borne by an individual may have value not only for social but also for legal reasons. The same thing is true as to a religious denomination, for a Church is an individual among Churches, and as a body corporate its name has importance not only as expressive of distinction, but also as indicative of its object and its sphere. It has also a legal value which may determine its right to exist in certain places and under some circumstances, while its claim upon funds and real estate may depend upon the appellation by which it is legally known. A study of the title of our own Church is, therefore, of more than passing interest.

In 1770 the Methodist work in this country was classified in the English Minutes under the name "America." This was its first designation. In 1784, when Mr. Wesley was making arrangements for the reorganization of American Methodism, he prepared a service book which he entitled "The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America." By this he meant, as he remarks in his circular letter, the "provinces of North America" which had been "totally disjoined from the mother country and erected into independent States," meaning, in other words, the United States of America. This is clearly shown by the fact that in the second edition of the Sunday Service, printed in 1786, he struck out "North America" and inserted "the United States of America." From this and from other evidences it is plain that Wesley intended the reorganization simply for the United States of America.

The important question is, What title did the American Methodists themselves take, and what did they understand their Church to be. The Minutes of the organizing Conference of 1784 are not extant, at least as far as is now known, and there-

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fore we are compelled to depend upon other sources of information. Asbury in his "Journal" of that date merely says, "It was agreed to form ourselves into an Episcopal Church." Bishop Whatcoat at a later date said, "We agreed to form a Methodist Episcopal Church." Thomas Ware relates that he thinks John Dickins suggested the title, and also says that Dr. Coke was in favor of taking that name. In the certificate which Bishop Coke gave Bishop Asbury he calls the denomination "The Methodist Episcopal Church in America;" but it is evident that America meant the United States of America. The same title appears in the first Discipline published after the organization of the new denomination, and so the same name appears in many of the Annual Minutes. From 1804 the title-page of the Discipline contains simply, "The Methodist Episcopal Church;" but this was merely an abbreviation, was the work of the editor, and therefore did not have the legal value which would attach to an act of a legislative or judicial body passing specifically upon the exact wording of the title.

As early as 1789, when an address was presented to the first President, George Washington, the paper was signed by Bishops Coke and Asbury "in behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." This was an occasion when legal accuracy was important, and consequently the full title was given. Washington's written reply, which he read, was addressed "to the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of America," showing an effort on his part also to give the correct name of the denomination.

The "Journal" of the first delegated General Conference, which met in 1812, opens with the words, "The delegated General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The same full title appears in other General Conference Journals. In the four General Conferences of which the late Bishop Harris was secretary he always opened his Conference Journal with the same title, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." Some later secretaries have not deemed it necessary to write the full title, and probably the change has not been noticed. Secretaries, editors, or colloquialisms do not determine legal titles, and abbreviations do not change the real appellations. We say "The United States," though the real

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title of the nation is "The United States of America." So, "The Methodist Episcopal Church" is merely the colloquial or abbreviated form for "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." But popular expressions, or editors and secretaries, do not finally determine the matter, as does a deliberate legislative enactment or a carefully drawn legal instrument, when the exact title is a matter of supreme moment. In 1796 it became important for the denomination to have uniform deeds, in order to secure property to the Church. This made it necessary to state the title of the body with great exactness, and so, in the "Form of a Deed of Settlement," which the General Conference drew up at that time, appears the full title, as, for example, in these words: "For the use of the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America," and "their General Conferences in the United States of America." When the "Deed of Settlement" was changed in 1864 to a "Form for Conveyance of Church Property" the General Conference struck out the lengthy indenture, but retained the same legal title, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America;" and thus it stands at the present time, and millions of dollars' worth of property are deeded to the "Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." Again, the General Conference of 1796 decided to create a fund "for the distressed traveling preachers, for the families of traveling preachers, and for superannuated and worn-out preachers, and the widows and orphans of preachers." This organization was incorporated by the legislature of Pennsylvania, and because it received a charter it was known as "The Charter Fund," or "Chartered Fund." The charter recites that the fund is for persons in "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America," and the same title occurs a number of times in the body of the instrument. In 1832 the General Conference authorized the trustees to apply to the legislature of Pennsylvania for a change of the name to "The Chartered Fund of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America," and the change was duly made. So, the legal title, by the act of the General Conference and the act of incorporation, is "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The plain

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intention was that the Church was to be in the United States and was to be for the people within the bounds of the United States.

But it may be said that, while such was the title and intention in the early days, the case is different now, since the Church has work outside the United States. But having preaching places or missions outside the United States does not change the title or make the denomination anything else than "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The fact is that, at the very time this title was settled, the work did sometimes extend beyond the bounds of the United States, though in America. Indeed, there was at the beginning a peculiar connection between the Methodists in the United States and those in the remaining British colonies in America. Thus there was an overflow, so to speak, into Canada, and some of the Hecks and Emburys who had helped to form the first Methodist Society in New York formed the first Methodist Society in Canada, in 1778. Then George Neal, a local preacher from Pennsylvania, taught school in Canada and formed another society in 1790. About the same time William Losee, an itinerant preacher from the United States, visited some friends in Upper Canada and made such an impression by his preaching that the people petitioned the New York Conference, requesting that Mr. Losee be sent to preach among them. The request was granted, and thus the Methodist Episcopal Church began missionary work in Canada. This work across the border was at first connected with the New York Conference, and subsequently with the Genesee, but in 1824 it was made an Annual Conference. This, however, did not work well on foreign soil, for at the very next General Conference a petition was presented from the Canada Conference "praying that they may be separated from the jurisdiction of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States." Prior to that the mission work in Nova Scotia and Lower Canada had been turned over to the English Wesleyans.

It was now found that it was difficult to administer in Upper Canada. The Methodist Episcopal Church had not ventured into that section until urgently invited on the ground of necessity. But now the Church found it was not an easy or safe

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thing to extend ecclesiastical authority beyond the nation in which an ecclesiasticism is located and to which it belongs; and the people in Canada learned that it was not a comfortable thing to hold ecclesiastical relations with, and to be under the control of, a Church located in a foreign country. The General Conference of 1828 considered the petition and adopted the following:

Whereas, The Canada Annual Conference, situated in the province of Upper Canada, under a foreign government, have, in their memorial, presented to this Conference the difficulties under which they labor in consequence of their union with a foreign ecclesiastical government, and setting forth their desire to be set off as a separate Church establishment; and,

Whereas, This General Conference disclaims all right to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction under such circumstances except by mutual agreement; therefore,

Resolved, by the delegates of the Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled: 1. That the compact existing between the Canada Annual Conference and the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States be, and hereby is, dissolved by mutual consent, and that they are at liberty to form themselves into a separate Church establishment, etc.

It will be noticed that the General Conference recognizes the fact that the Church was not the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, but in the United States, and that in the Canadian estimate it was "a foreign ecclesiastical government." In other words, it was the Church in the United States with missionary or temporary work outside its naturally legitimate jurisdiction. It will also be observed that the General Conference disclaimed "all right to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction under such circumstances except by mutual agreement;" that is to say, to exercise jurisdiction over work "under a foreign government." This was an acknowledgment of the difference of the status of work in a foreign country, or under a foreign government. In such a case it existed only by tolerance, or, to use the language of the resolution, "by mutual agreement." It would be very different with a Conference in the United States. Here the Church could enforce its authority. In another resolution the same General Conference used the following language:

Whereas, The jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America has heretofore been extended over the ministers and members in connection with the said Church in the province of Upper

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Canada, by mutual agreement, and by the consent and desire of our brethren in that province, etc.

This again was a declaration that jurisdiction in a foreign country was on a different basis from that in the United States, and that the Church itself was for the United States of America. With the independence of the Canadian Conference the denomination was literally, as well as legally, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." It was in the United States, and nowhere else, even in missionary jurisdiction. It went into Canada, not because it claimed any legal right, but because of apparent necessity, and it withdrew its control because it had no right to insist upon remaining when it was not wanted.

In 1833 the Methodist Episcopal Church began a mission in Liberia. This, however, was not, strictly speaking, a foreign country under a foreign national government. It was rather a colony from the United States founded in 1822, and remained under the tutelage of the mother country for twenty-five years. It declared its independence in 1847, but this was fourteen years after the mission had been planted in this offshoot of the United States. The next year Great Britain recognized Liberia as a sovereign State, but it was not until 1861 that it was so recognized by the United States. It will thus be seen that when the Church extended its missionary operations into Liberia it was not like going into the bounds of a foreign nationality. It went among people of the United States, and so found itself with a mission there after the colony became independent. With the independence of the country, though it was not yet recognized by the United States, there came a desire for greater ecclesiastical power, and the Liberia Conference asked the General Conference of 1848 to grant it representation in the General Conference. This the General Conference refused, thus showing that it was not supposed that a Conference in a foreign land had any inherent right to representation in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The next General Conference received another petition from the Liberia Conference asking "the appointment of a bishop for that field of labor," or that the Liberia Conference become independent. As with the work in Canada, so even in Africa, location in

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another country under another national government naturally led to a desire to be free from the control of a Church which was identified with a foreign government, and the report of the committee to which the matter was referred recognized the righteousness and propriety of such a claim. The report of the Committee on Missions, signed by Dr. John P. Durbin, who at that time was the Secretary of the Missionary Society, favored independence for the following reasons:

1. The Liberia Conference is within the limits of a foreign government, and composed of a people of a race wholly different from ourselves. Those circumstances render the application of our episcopal administration scarcely practicable.

2. The petitioners themselves, in the conclusion of their petition, suggest this mode of meeting their case if a missionary bishop cannot be provided for them.

3. The prosperity of the republic of Liberia, compared with its prosperity as a colony under the administration of the American Colonization Society, affords, by analogy, a good ground to conclude that the independence, or at least the independent action and administration, of the Church in Liberia would be greatly conducive to its prosperity and permanency.

This committee, therefore, held that the general superintendency was not intended for, or adapted to, work in foreign lands, but was designed for work within the United States. The action which was taken by the General Conference was a recommendation to the bishops "that they make such arrangements as that one of their number shall visit Liberia once or oftener during the ensuing four years as they shall judge necessary." This was simply a visit, not a residence, that was proposed. It was not understood or believed that a general superintendent could reside outside the United States and continue to have episcopal functions within the United States. That had been settled away back in 1787, when there were placed in the Minutes the following question and answer: "Who are the superintendents of our Church for the United States?" "Thomas Coke (when present in the States) and Francis Asbury."

In 1856 Liberia made further demands, and the General Conference of that year again gave attention to this missionary field. One suggestion was that the Liberia Conference be organized as "The Methodist Episcopal Church of Africa," as is mentioned in the address of the bishops. The Conference,

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however, decided upon a missionary bishop who should "reside in Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, or in its vicinity, and have episcopal jurisdiction in Africa only."

This action shows a recognition of the fact that under the fundamental law of the Church no general superintendent could have an episcopal residence outside the United States, and therefore that it was necessary to create a missionary bishop who could reside in a foreign land. The resolution of the General Conference further stated that "the said bishop and churches in Africa shall still be under the supervision of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States." This indicates that the foreign mission was not an integral and necessary part of the Church in the United States, but under its supervision; as though this supervisory care might not always be needed, but that the time would come when the mission would or might become an independent Church. Having decided upon the missionary bishopric for work in foreign lands, it was then proposed to make it a part of the constitution of the Church, and the following resolution was adopted:

> That we recommend to the several Annual Conferences to alter the Discipline, ¶ 3, § 2, part 1, by adding the words, after the word "superintendency," in the fourth line, "but may appoint a missionary bishop or superintendent for any of our foreign missions, limiting his episcopal jurisdiction to the same respectively."

This amendment was afterward adopted by the ministry in the Annual Conferences, and became part of the constitution of the Church; and this action shows that the general superintendency was not adapted to, or intended for, work in foreign fields, but that it was intended for the work in the United States of America. No general superintendent since the time of Bishop Coke had attempted to reside outside the United States. In his case the American Church promptly denied his right to reside abroad and at the same time exercise the functions of a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and with this decision Bishop Coke acquiesced. The new amendment made the principle clearer, and fixed it in the wording of the constitution, so that it is plain that the only bishops who can be resident in foreign lands in charge of foreign work are missionary bishops.

The dignity of the missionary bishopric was upheld by the

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General Conference of 1888, when it adopted the report upon the question of the missionary bishopric, which report we had the honor of writing. This act defines the status of the office so as to make it one of the most honorable in the gift of the Church, and the missionary bishop in his own jurisdiction an officer of great power. In the case of those now holding the position their field is an empire. All the foregoing facts show that the Church has always understood that the foreign work had a different status from that in the United States.

This was also made prominent for a long time by the fact that the foreign work had no representation in the General Conference. None of our foreign missions had any delegates in the General Conference until 1868. At this Conference provisional delegates, sent by the Conferences which had been formed in the Southern States since the civil war, were admitted to seats in the General Conference. Having admitted delegates from what had been practically missions in the United States, the Conference went further, and declared the Conferences in foreign lands relieved of all former restrictions and to be "endowed with all the rights, privileges, and immunities usual to Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." This having been done, the Rev. John T. Gracey, who was present from the India Conference, was admitted as a delegate; so that he has the honor of having been the first representative from a foreign Conference outside America to sit as a delegate in a General Conference. At the next General Conference, in 1872, one minister appeared from India, one from Germany and Switzerland, and a minister and a layman from Liberia.

Notwithstanding the resolution of the General Conference thus giving the foreign Conferences the privilege of sending delegates to the General Conference, the denomination still remained "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." Though this act was a great concession, nevertheless a distinction continued, and still continues, to be recognized between the status of the foreign and the status of the home work. Thus, General Conferences are held and can only be held in the United States of America. In 1796 the General Conference sent a communication to the British Conference from "the American General Conference," and the

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same General Conference put into the "Deed of Settlement" for the conveyance of property, not only that the property was to be for the use of the denomination, but also that the use was to be "according to the rules and discipline which from time to time may be agreed upon and adopted by the ministers and preachers of the said Church at their General Conferences in the United States of America." This shows very clearly that it was understood there was only one country where the General Conference could be held, and that was "the United States of America." Valuable properties are held under this deed, and they are subject to laws made by General Conferences held in the United States of America. To hold the General Conference anywhere else would be as absurd as for a nation to transfer its capital to a distant colony or to a foreign land.

A distinction is seen also in the nature of the permanent superintendency for the foreign field. The constitution decides that the resident bishop in the foreign field shall be a missionary bishop, while the general superintendency was intended for the United States and not for foreign countries. Hence, when a general superintendent goes into a foreign land on episcopal duty it is in the nature of a work of necessity caused by an emergency for which no provision has been made. The foreign work of the bishops is beyond the normal intention of their office, and, being outside their normal functions, at the beginning it seemed to require a special act of the General Conference to direct or permit them to exercise their episcopal functions outside the United States. Thus, in the case of Liberia the General Conference passed a resolution "that the General Conference recommend to the bishops that they make such arrangements as that one of their number shall visit Liberia once or oftener during the ensuing four years, as they shall judge necessary." It will be noticed that even this was only a recommendation. If it had been a constitutional requirement no such action would have been needed, for then the general superintendents would have gone abroad and acted just as they did in the United States.

A further distinction is indicated by the fact that when the general superintendents go to visit the work in a foreign country their expenses are not paid out of the episcopal fund, but out of the missionary fund. This carries with it the implica-

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tion that when thus engaged outside the United States they are not doing work that belonged necessarily and constitutionally to their office as general superintendents, but that they are doing work beyond the normal requirements of their office, and work that is of a foreign missionary character; and, therefore, the expenses are chargeable to the missionary account, while on the other hand their expenses in the United States are chargeable to the episcopal fund because their functions normally and constitutionally belong to the United States. In other words, their work in a foreign field is of the nature of emergency action, or a work of necessity, and beyond the real intention of their office. The episcopal fund is for the support of the general superintendents or bishops for the United States, whose work belongs regularly to the United States. Hence, anything done by them outside this country, being of an emergency or missionary character, is properly paid from the fund intended for foreign service.

The distinction between the home and the foreign field is likewise seen in the fact that the salary and expenses of the missionary bishops are not drawn from the episcopal fund, because that fund was not created for foreign service, but are paid out of the missionary fund, which is raised for the foreign field. As the missionary bishops are only for the foreign work, and only exercise their episcopal functions in foreign fields, their support comes legitimately from the latter fund.

The distinction between the home and the foreign work is seen not only in the different functions of the episcopacy acting at home and abroad, and in the source of their support, but also in the restrictions placed upon certain funds of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Thus the Chartered Fund cannot be given to the Conferences outside the United States. So, the Church extension fund is limited to this country. Indeed, a careful inquiry will show that a number of funds are only for the United States of America. On the other hand, the great missionary fund may be given to the Conferences outside the United States for almost any purpose. It is the fund that supports the missionaries and preachers in the foreign Conferences. It builds churches and schools and maintains publishing houses and other enterprises. All these things may be done out of this one fund when used

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abroad, while other funds cannot be used outside the United States. These limitations indicate the fact that the denomination is the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States with missionary operations in foreign lands, and that there is a distinction between the two fields, though the foreign field is carefully cultivated by the Church, which has lavished upon it large sums of money, much love, and many precious lives.

It must appear, then, that the Methodist Episcopal Church was not originally intended to be an ecumenical Church, and that, according to the facts which have been cited, it is not an ecumenical Church, notwithstanding its missionary operations in foreign countries. This is seen by its full legal title, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America," which it has placed in a number of legal documents, in its treatment of the work in other lands, and in the present marked distinction between the home and foreign field. Its work abroad is missionary, for the purpose of planting Christianity according to the teachings of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Hence, its control is only of a temporary character. Its object is not to spread a great ecclesiasticism until it shall be in all lands, and then permanently remain in all lands and under all national governments, but to spread the truth of Christ as taught by Methodism. A governmental grasp that will have a firm grip everywhere is not the true intention, though governmental control will be necessary until self-government is possible. Any other purpose is a mistake, and is doomed to failure. The late Bishop E. O. Haven understood the situation when in 1878 he said: "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America cannot well cover and manage the interests of all who ought to be Methodists in the world. . . . A desire to have one gigantic Church, rather than a fraternity of Churches, is Hildebrandic rather than Christian."

There are many reasons why there should not be an attempt to have a world-wide ecclesiastical government. One reason is the fact that it would be practically impossible to make such a government truly representative and democratic. At the present time the one Church which pretends to be ecumenical is the Roman Catholic, and it does not allow popular representation, but is a despotism with power centered in one man who

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dwells on the Tiber. No matter what might be the desire, it would be practically impossible to have a truly representative government in a world-wide Church, for it would be impossible to secure a room large enough to hold any fair representation; and then, to meet this difficulty, it would be necessary to cut down the representation until it would cease to be truly representative and would become a sort of concentrated aristocracy. So, we say, the only effective ecumenical ecclesiastical government must be a despotism.

There is another reason that would affect the work both at home and abroad, namely, possible political complications which might arise where a Church extended its rule among foreign nations. If difficulties should spring up between the United States and some other nation where was a portion of the Church in the United States of America, suspicion of disloyalty might be cast on the adherents of the to them foreign Church. This, indeed, was an actual difficulty in the case of Canada, where prejudice existed against the ministers who were connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.

There are some reasons why the Methodist Episcopal Church should not be an ecumenical Church which particularly affect the Church at home. One is the expense of representation from the foreign field. In the last General Conference there were five hundred and four delegates, and the traveling expenses of all amounted to $32,040.30. In that General Conference were twenty-five delegates from the foreign fields, and the traveling expenses of these representatives amounted to $9,417.87, or a little less than one third the total expense of the entire membership of the Conference, while the foreign Conferences contributed only $404.36 to defray these expenses. Probably they did all they could; but that is immaterial to the argument. The home Church has to bear the burden now, and it may well ask what it will amount to in a few years.

Then, another condition which must be considered is the fact that the number of delegates from abroad will steadily increase, so that in a short time they will be a more potent factor in the General Conference. As long as the delegates are missionaries sent out by the home Church the situation will not be so serious; but what will it be when the delegates

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shall be mainly or entirely natives of distant lands, speaking different tongues, trained under different systems, and owing allegiance to different political governments? In course of time the actual majority might come from abroad, but even a minority holding the balance of power is equivalent to a majority.

There are also reasons against an ecumenical ecclesiastical government that affect the welfare of the foreign Conferences. The best interests of the foreign missions require that they should have home rule within the boundaries of their several nationalities. By being independent Churches they would avoid the distrust of foreign interference. Self-government strengthens self-respect, and this tends to give greater virility to the local Church. The bearing of responsibility develops the Church as well as the individual. This was illustrated in the case of the French Wesleyans. As long as they were under the direct control of the British Conference they had little prosperity, but, as soon as they were granted home rule, and could speak of themselves as a Church in and of France, they began to prosper. It is an interesting fact that the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States broke away from the control of Mr. Wesley. In 1784 it agreed to obey Mr. Wesley in "matters belonging to Church government," but in 1787 the Conference annulled the agreement, and Asbury said he "did not think it practical expediency to obey Mr. Wesley at three thousand miles' distance." If that be a sound principle other Methodist Episcopal Conferences thousands of miles away may some day deem it wise to adopt the same principle. Lower Canada was given up in the early days, and Upper Canada later asked and obtained its independence. Liberia, prior to the General Conference of 1880, took steps toward a severance of its relation with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and in 1883 the Liberia Conference, at a semicentennial celebration, declared that "the necessity of an independent organization of Methodism" in Liberia was "essentially necessary to vigorous life and local activity."

In 1880 efforts were made to have certain portions of the foreign work organized into independent Churches. The report on these requests was as follows:

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The Committee on Missions, to whom were referred certain resolutions in favor of the organization of independent Methodist Episcopal Churches in Europe and Asia, respectfully report the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is premature to consider at this time the question of establishing independent Methodist Episcopal Churches in Europe and Asia.

This is an admission of the legality and possible propriety of the independence, though at that time it was deemed premature.

Later, Japan appealed to the General Conference of 1888 for autonomy, and the General Conference said:

This General Conference will not interpose any objections to the Japanese Methodists declaring themselves independent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, nor will they object to their uniting themselves with any or all other forms of Methodism that now exist or may exist in Japan, the same to be done according to the general basis of union proposed.

One of the delegates from China said if it had been known that this could have been done his Conference also would have asked for the same permission. Others probably will make similiar requests before many years, and it is not difficult to see that, whether India is thinking in that direction or not, the foundations are being laid for a great Methodism in that vast empire, and that this Methodism will govern itself.

Even now the Discipline provides for the organization of a "Central Conference" in our "foreign mission fields" which shall "be composed either of all the members of those Annual Conferences or missions [in said fields], or of representatives from the same, elected according to such ratio as may be agreed upon between the constituent parties," and to this "Central Conference" extensive powers are given. This is a great stride toward autonomy, and a reading of the chapter on "Central Mission Conferences" (Discipline, ¶ 86) will show that it requires very little further legislation to transform the Central Conference into a General Conference for the particular country in which such Conference may be located, so that when the day for independence comes the foreign fields will possess Conference machinery similar to that of the mother Church.

To bring about the independence of our missions in other lands will of course require judicious action, if it is to be

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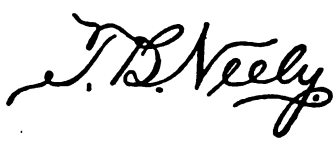
done safely. Some degree of home rule should be given them as soon as they are able to care for themselves even to a limited extent, and this should be developed into affiliation or complete independence. With missionary bishops they will have a duplicate of the American organization, and when they become self-governing the missionary bishops can remain with them. Whatever may be the adjustment, it must be provided that the American missionaries shall always have the way open for their return to the work in the United States. Then provision should be made to continue grants of missionary money according to the needs of the new organizations and under conditions of an equitable character, as, for example, that the same doctrines shall be taught as are held by the mother Church. There does not seem to be any legal difficulty in the way of such gifts. When the Canada Conference became independent the General Conference decided in favor of granting missionary money for missionary work under the direction of the Canada Methodist Episcopal Church. The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States also aided the French Methodist Church in France, which never had any connection with the Church in this country. Even as late as 1884 the General Conference advised the General Missionary Committee to make an annual grant of money to the Evangelical Methodist Church of France and Switzerland.

Space does not permit a full presentation of this important subject. What has been given is simply suggestive. In conclusion, we must content ourselves by saying that the foreign missions should be cared for by the home Church with the greatest affection while they remain under the direct control of our Church, but when the time comes that they are capable of self-government the right should be cheerfully conceded, and further aid should be granted according to the need of the new Church.



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Art. V.—THE WISDOM OF THE EGYPTIANS.

A great official, born in the time of Shepseskaf, near the close of the fourth dynasty, is described on his tomb as the "Scribe of the House of Books." This designation, which occurs quite incidentally, indicates the unexpected development of Egyptian civilization at this remote period. The recovered literature from the monuments of the Old and Middle Empires enables us to make an imperfect catalogue of the works which were doubtless deposited in such a library. Official documents would occupy the first place—registers of taxes and surveys of lands, deeds of gifts to temples, correspondence with feudal lords and governors of provinces, and all similar papers which would call for official action or recognition in the civil or military administration of the State. Then would follow religious work—prayers and devout poetry drawn from the literary treasures of the earlier dynasties, and even from sources which preceded the reign of Mena, hymns to the gods, the early chapters of the *Book of the Dead*, and other similar works, obscure and mystical, and collections of moral precepts. After these would be placed scientific treatises on medicine, mathematics, and astronomy; and, finally, those romances which precede all the luxuriant and marvelous stories of later oriental peoples. In the midst of much which is verbose and obscure there are many passages of pronounced beauty and wisdom.

In the Berlin Papyrus an Egyptian comforts himself as he contemplates death by conversing with his own soul; and the latter remarks—if we follow the paraphrase of M. Maspero—"I say to myself every day: 'As is the convalescence of a sick person who goes to the court after his affliction; as is the inhaling of the scent of a perfume; as a seat under the protection of an outstretched curtain; as the inhaling of the odor of a garden of flowers; as a seat upon the mountain of the Country of Intoxication; as a road which passes over the flood of inundation; as a man who goes as a soldier whom nothing resists; as the clearing again of the sky; as a man who goes out to catch birds with a net and suddenly finds himself in an unknown district—such is death.'"

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The wise sayings of Ana are justly celebrated. They are preserved in the Papyrus de Boulaque, which belongs probably to the Middle Empire. Some of the precepts are worthy of modern authorship. Compare the following warning against strange women with the words of the author of Proverbs: "Beware of a woman from strange parts, whose city is not known. When she comes, do not look at her nor know her. She is the eddy in deep water, the depth of which is unknown. The woman whose husband is far off writes to thee every day. If no witness is near her she stands up and spreads out her net. O, fearful crime to listen to her!" But the old Egyptians had the deepest reverence for womanhood, and especially for motherhood. Ana exhorts his son, saying: "Thou shalt never forget what thy mother has done for thee. If thou forgetest her, she might blame thee; she might 'lift up her arms to God, and he would hear her complaint.'" The father was seldom represented in the tomb of the deceased, but the mother was usually so represented. In later times the usual custom was to trace the descent on the mother's side, and not on that of the father. The grandfather on the mother's side was the most deeply interested in his grandson. "When he is placed at the head of the court of justice, then the father of his mother thanks God." A young officer under the New Empire was received into the royal stables "for the sake of the father of his mother;" and when he went out to war he "gave his property into the charge of the father of his mother."

The instructions of Ana are in favor of industry, and the wise man declares that the idle shall not come to honor. Man should recognize the sanctity of his neighbor's house, and should enter only when invited; and then he should not let the eye of curiosity seek to know all that was in the house, and should be discreetly silent as to anything he might chance to observe. "Speak not too much, for men are deaf to the man of many words; be silent, rather; then shalt thou please. Before all things guard thy speech, for a man's ruin lies in his tongue." One is also warned against gluttony, and is taught charity and respect, especially for the aged.

The wise man also warns against drunkenness, and shows its evil effects. A teacher, hearing that his pupil had taken to strong drink, wrote sorrowfully:

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I am told thou dost forsake books,
Thou dost abandon thyself to pleasure,
Thou dost wander from street to street;
Every evening the smell of beer,
The smell of beer scares away men,
It destroys thy soul.

Then after referring to the dangers to which the drunken youth is exposed, and the crime to which he is being led, the anxious teacher and friend cries:

O, that thou didst understand that wine is an abomination,
And that thou wouldest abjure the *shedeh* drink;
That thou didst not set thy heart on cool drinks,
And that thou wouldest forget the Tenreku.

But warnings and entreaties were as vain in old Egypt as in modern America, and many are the scenes of drunkenness painted on the monuments.

Prayer, according to Ana, was no mockery. "The sanctuary of the god—clamor is an abomination to him. Pray for thyself with loving heart, in which the words remain hidden; that he may supply thy need, hear thy words, and accept thy offering." Death also comes to the young, as well as to the old. Speaking to his son, Ana says: "The messenger comes to thee, even as to the old. Say not to him, 'I am young.' Death comes and takes as first offering the child from the mother's breast, as well as the man who has grown old."

More important still are the precepts of Ptahhotep, a monarch or prefect of King Assa, of the fifth dynasty, as found in the Papyrus Prisse, of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, which has been called "the oldest book in the world." The work was written—we might almost say published—when its author was one hundred and ten years of age. We may place the date at about B. C. 3800. Ptahhotep, "the favorite of Assa," calls himself "the royal son, firstborn, legitimate." Yet this may not after all prove his royal descent, but may rather indicate his high rank at court in questions of official etiquette. This is the opinion of M. Philippe Virey, who has given us the best translation and study of his work. The nature of his office may be better understood if we refer to what is known concerning Rekhmara, of the eighteenth dynasty, who may be considered his successor, though separated from him by many ages. Rekhmara calls himself "the favorite of the good god,"

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or Thotmes III, and is even called "the double of the Pharaoh." The tomb of Rekhmara has furnished a series of valuable inscriptions which have been published by the members of the "Mission archéologique française au Caire." He sits on his divan, listens patiently to petitions, and dispenses justice without partiality. He repels neither small nor great, treats with especial tenderness the poor, the aged, and the afflicted, and may be always relied upon as a peacemaker. Rekhmara was perhaps raised to higher honors than Ptahhotep. He stood next the king in rank; and, in the absence of the latter, took his place, governing all Egypt, and being saluted in the same manner by the courtiers and addressed by the same titles.

It will be profitable to pass in review the precepts of Ptahhotep, following the translation of M. Philippe Virey. We cannot expect to meet with teachings which, in their beauty and ethical character, rival the proverbs of Solomon and his literary school, or express the high standard of morals now prevailing. We recognize more gladly, therefore, the gems of primeval ages these old records have preserved for our day and generation. They give us a high appreciation of ancient peoples and what they have done for the human race. The most remote point in Egyptian history reveals man in the full possession of a language, with a vocabulary and grammatical apparatus requiring more than a hundred generations for its development. There are already works on morals and religion; there are priests and sacrifices, altars and temples. There stand the pyramids—the earliest of them—structures built of stones so vast that they would test the mechanical skill of the most eminent engineers of the present day, even when aided by all modern appliances. Colors are compounded whose freshness and brilliancy have not yet died away; and household utensils and implements of industry are skillfully manufactured. Indeed, there are already all the appliances of a highly organized civilized life. These pure moral maxims of our old sage, in the midst of such surroundings, have an appropriate setting.

The moral precepts of this prefect of Assa were not written for the common people, but rather for the learned class. Like the Chinese sage, Confucius, the author we now study gathered up the wisdom of the past, and was no creator or announcer of new doctrines. He exhorts, "Let none make

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innovations in the precepts of his father; let the same precepts form instructions to his children." * The struggle between the conservative and radical was already in progress; it is the struggle of to-day, and it is the struggle of all ages. It was expected that these precepts would be taught in the schools and discussed by the learned. They were put into poetic form that the student might the more easily commit them to memory, and that they thus "be carried without alteration over the earth eternally." There is some indication that students were subjected to a competitive examination as a prerequisite to their appointment to any post of honor and responsibility. "Let him win success by placing himself in the first rank." † Knowledge is especially praised, and earnestly commended to the young. "The gates of knowledge are not closed" are the encouraging words of Ptahhotep, and Ana exhorts, "Love letters as thy mother." But learning cannot be obtained without paying the price of pains and labor. "Good words are more difficult to find than the emerald, for it is by slaves that that is discovered among the rocks of pegmatite." One possessed of learning commands the respect of his fellows. Words should indeed be few, but thoughts abundant. To instruct the young is a command of the god; and wise is he who gives attention to instruction.‡

The fact that these precepts were addressed only to the learned will in some measure explain the limited range of subjects. They are such precepts as would help the officer employed in affairs of government, the father of a family, and the well-to-do citizen generally, to fill his place with honor; while they would encourage the dependent and subordinate to remain contented and happy in their place and lot, and not give way to unreasonable and sinful restiveness under that providence which has ordained these ranks in society.

There is not always full consistency in the precepts of this old writer. We note, in this respect, that honest labor is commended; while, on the other hand, it is elsewhere declared that inactivity is especially honorable. Many precepts are, however, consistent. The extortioner is condemned in strong words; and the thief brings scorn, malediction, and hatred upon his own children, grievous distress upon his father, and sorrow upon

* Chap. xiii. † Chap. xxxviii. ‡ Chaps. i, ii, xxxix.

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his mother.* Faithfulness on the part of those who are in a low estate is earnestly enjoined; and to superiors proper respect should be studiously paid. A man who has attained a high position in social and governmental circles should guard himself against flattery; it will harm but not help. When an opinion is asked in the presence of a lord it should be given frankly and without reticence. A man should deport himself with especial circumspection in the presence of women.† Love should be inspired, but not fear. Says Ptahhotep, "Inspire not man with fear—God will fight against thee in the same manner;" and again, "Let no one inspire men with fear; this is the will of God." Everything, indeed, should be done with reference to God. It is he who gives the increase to the flocks and fields. The agriculturist gathers of his bounty, and the rich man is but his "steward."‡ A man should learn to speak only that which is good. There are four arguments which may be used for the enforcement of good conduct: it pleases God, it secures a profitable position for the docile and laborious student, it attracts good domestics to the family, and it tends to long life.

We can better estimate the value of these precepts if we study the exact words of the author.§ It will be recalled that he published his work when far advanced in years. Immediately following his preface he presents this picture of old age:

> The progress of age changes into senility. Decay falls upon man and decline takes the place of youth. A vexation weighs upon him every day; sight fails, the ear becomes deaf; his strength dissolves without ceasing. The mouth is silent, speech fails him; the mind decays, remembering not the day before. The whole body suffers. That which is good becomes evil; taste completely disappears. Old age makes a man altogether miserable; the nose is stopped up, breathing no more from exhaustion.‖

* Chaps. ix, xxxvi; comp. Prov. xvii, 25.

† Chaps. xxxv, xxxi, xiv, xv, xviii; comp. Eccles. ix, 9; Prov. vi, 29. Comp. also with the palimpsest papyrus in the Musée du Louvre, x, 9, No. 2114, eighteenth precept.

‡ Chaps. vi, ix, x, vii, xii, xxvi, xxx, xxxix, xliv.

§ Several translations have been made by different hands. Perhaps we may be justified in the assumption that the most recent comes nearest to the thought of the author, since the translator has the advantage in possessing the results of all his predecessors in the same field. M. Philippe Virey, whom we have already mentioned, and to whose introduction we are under obligations, has studied the Papyrus Prisse, which contains the manual of the maxims of Ptahhotep, most perseveringly, as he himself informs us, since 1881; and his translation, with introduction and notes, is published in the third volume of the new series of *Records of the Past*. We shall not go far astray if we follow this authority.

‖ Chap. i. Although this chapter suffers in comparison with the beautiful poetic picture of Eccles. xii, we must not on that account deny its realism and accuracy.

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Great importance is very properly attached to the education of children. The mind of a son should be well stored with "the sayings of former days." To this end paternal authority should be maintained, since the old Egyptians recognized the family as the foundation of society. The author says:

If thou art a wise man, bring up a son who shall be pleasing to God. If he conforms his conduct to thy way and occupies himself with thy affairs as is right, do to him all the good thou canst; he is thy son, a person attached to thee, whom thine own self hath begotten. Separate not thy heart from him. . . . If he conducts himself ill and transgresses thy wish, if he rejects all counsel, if his mouth goes according to the evil word, strike him on the mouth in return. Give orders without hesitation to those who do wrong, to him whose temper is turbulent; and he will not deviate from the straight path, and there will be no obstacle to interrupt the way.

Concerning the direction, "Strike him on the mouth in return," M. Virey says, "It is probable that there is here a sort of play upon the words," and suggests that the meaning is, "Strike directly against a bad direction." The Egyptians were especially fond of such play upon words—leading sometimes to strange etymological conceits and passages whose obscurity cannot be penetrated, but also giving rise to some poetical expressions of merit and beauty—yet we now recall nothing in the customs of the Egyptians which would forbid a literal interpretation of the words.

Other sentiments on the advantages of obedience in children are as follows:

Twice good is the precept of our father, from whom we have issued, from his flesh. What he tells us, let it be fixed in our heart; to satisfy him greatly, let us do for him more than he has prescribed. Verily a good son is one of the gifts of God, a son who does better than he has been told. For his master he does what is satisfactory, putting himself with all his heart on the part of right.

A son who attends is like a follower of Horus; he is happy after having attended. He becomes great, he arrives at dignity, he gives the same lesson to his children.*

Ptahhotep exhorts man, if he would be wise, to labor industriously, that his household may be prosperous and happy. The influence of the wife and mother must have been most helpful, though the husband was her lord and master; she was to be

* Chaps. xlii, xxxix.

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provided for with a liberal hand, and treated with love and tenderness. The motive urged for this considerate and kind treatment was not the highest, if we take the words literally, but was that her "chain" might be "pleasant." We prefer, however, to assign to the word "chain" another meaning, and one in harmony with the sweet bondage of love.

Says the prefect-sage upon these obligations:

> Be active during the time of thy existence, doing more than is commanded. Do not spoil the time of thy activity; he is a blameworthy person who makes a bad use of his moments. Do not use the daily opportunity of increasing that which thy house possesses. Activity produces riches, and riches do not endure when it slackens.*
>
> If thou art wise, look after thy house; love thy wife without alloy. Fill her stomach, clothe her back, these are the cares on her person; . . . it is a kindness which does honor to its possessor. Let her be more contented than any of her fellow-citizens. She will be attached to thee doubly, if her chain is pleasant. Do not repel her; grant that which pleases her; it is to her contentment that she appreciates thy direction.

There is a better way than violence by which to maintain an influence over a wife. The husband should study to know "to what she aspires, at what she aims, what she regards." Among the wise admonitions of the palimpsest papyrus of the Musée du Louvre, x, 9, No. 2114, is found the following: "May it not happen to you to maltreat your wife, whose strength is less than thine, but may she find in you a protector." Deveria, whose translation we follow, quotes the old Sanskrit proverb, "Strike not a wife even with a feather." †

The great man should study to maintain moderation and calmness. His commands should not be so announced as to suggest the tyrant. He should avoid, on the one hand, pride and haughtiness, and, on the other hand, meanness of spirit. He should show a ready kindness to his poor neighbors. An inferior should avoid offensive words in the presence of a superior; and yet he should speak the exact truth, when called upon to speak at all, and that without fear or favor. None should venture to interrupt the great man when engaged in business. Words should always be carefully guarded and chosen thoughtfully and with wisdom, more especially so when sitting in the council of the great. Man should not always

* Chap. xi; comp. Prov. x, 4; xiii, 4. † Chaps. xxi, xxxvii.

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speak: there is even a time to be silent. But we will again permit Ptahhotep himself to announce his own precepts:

If thou art powerful, respect knowledge and calmness of language. Command only to direct; to be absolute is to run into evil. Let not thy heart be haughty, neither let it be mean. Do not let thy orders remain unsaid, and cause thy answers to penetrate; but speak without heat, assume a serious countenance. As for the vivacity of an ardent heart, temper it; the gentle man penetrates obstacles.

If thou hast become great after having been little, if thou hast become rich after having been poor, when thou art at the head of the city know how not to take advantage of the fact that thou hast reached the first rank. . . . Thou art become only the steward of the good things of God. Put not behind thee the neighbor who is like unto thee; but be unto him as a companion.

Surely sentiments so noble are worthy of being preserved in the exact words of the sage who gave them utterance. Egypt has something yet to say to these modern times. We do well to listen to these venerable voices.

The art of listening is as important as that of speaking. A truly wise man is a good listener. The duty of listening attentively, retaining in the memory accurately, and transmitting to others fully, clearly, and exactly, is insisted upon by the sage of Egypt with especial emphasis. Nothing is to be added to the message and nothing subtracted from it; nor yet are the words of the message to be changed. Exact truthfulness is required. The wise man will learn much from the conversation of others and profit from their experience; and thus he will be able to make constant additions to his practical knowledge. On this point Ptahhotep says:

As for the man without experience, who listens not, he effects nothing whatsoever. He sees knowledge in ignorance, profit in loss; he commits all kinds of error, always accordingly choosing the contrary of what is praiseworthy. He lives on that which is mortal, in this fashion. His food is evil words, whereat he is filled with astonishment.*

If thou art a son of the guardians deputed to watch over the public tranquillity, execute without knowing, and speak with firmness. Substitute not, for that which the instructor has said, his intention; the great use words as it suits. Thy part is to transmit rather than to comment upon.†

Some of the rules of social etiquette remind us of those of Confucius. A man should exercise especial thoughtfulness

* Chap. xii. † Chap. xxviii.

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when he sits with company in the house of a person more noble than himself. He cannot but regard what is just before his eyes, but he must not point at it or look at it too curiously. "He is a blameworthy person who departs from this rule." He should not be forward to speak to the great man; but he should not hesitate when invited to speak. His words will then be acceptable and pleasing. The great man, if he has abundant financial resources, feels himself independent, and does and says what he pleases. He works or rests according to his own will, and not the will of another. He can do with appropriateness that which would be considered offensive in others. "As the means of existence are under the will of God, one cannot rebel against it." The law of fitness is applicable to all people and all stations in social, business, and political life.*

Homage is due to the great man, and we should render unto everyone his due. If the laborer labor for another and gather for him his crop, he should give a full return to the owner to whom he owes his subsistence. Gifts of affection are more valuable than the garments wherewith the body is covered. The great man may extend his charities from a motive which is not free from selfishness. Ptahhotep says:

For that which the great man receives from thee will enable thy house to live, without speaking of the maintenance thou enjoyest, which thou desirest to preserve; it is thereby that he extends a beneficent hand, and that in thy home good things are added to good things. Let thy love pass into the heart of those who love thee; cause those about thee to be loving and obedient.†

If thou abasest thyself in obeying a superior, thy conduct is entirely good before God. Knowing who ought to obey and who ought to command, do not lift up thy heart against him. As thou knowest that in him is authority, be respectful toward him as belonging to him. Fortune comes only at her own good will, and her caprice only is her law.‡

If thou hast, as leader, to decide on the conduct of a great number of men, seek the most perfect manner, that thy conduct may be without reproach. Justice is great, invariable, and assured; it has not been disturbed since the age of Osiris. To throw obstacles in the way of the laws is to open the way before violence.

If thou art a leader, setting forward thy plans according to that which thou decidest, perform perfect actions which posterity may remember,

* Chap. vii; comp. Prov. xxiii, 1. † Chap. xxvii. ‡ Chap. x.

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without letting the words prevail which multiply flattery, excite pride, and produce vanity. *

The gentleman will regard the opinions of others. He will not display his own wisdom if another thereby may be led to feel too sensitively his own deficiency. Every opinion, however poor the foundation upon which it rests, should be treated with consideration, and every disputant with courtesy. The ignorant should not be humiliated, but rather encouraged to subject the question under discussion to more thorough investigation. But we will permit the sage to speak again:

If thou aimest at polished manners, call not him whom thou accostest. Converse with him especially in such a way as not to annoy him. Enter on a discussion with him only after having left him time to saturate his mind with the subject of the conversation. If he lets his ignorance display itself, and if he gives thee an opportunity to disgrace him, treat him with courtesy, rather proceed not to drive him into a corner. . . . Answer not in a crushing manner; crush him not; worry him not.†

Very particular directions are given urging to the display of calmness and evenness of temper. Bad humor is "a fatal malady," and contains "all kinds of wrong." The middle path is the one for man to tread, if he would be wise. The self-contained man has the advantage over him who gives way to excitement and anger. He can plead his own cause better; and he also gains more readily the sympathy of those who hear. Anger is a species of intoxication. It rouses to a great display of power for the moment, though this power is likely to be misdirected, but a weakness follows which tends toward permanency. By all means, then, anger should be avoided. If the tormentor determines to drive him to anger, the wise man will remain silent or quietly leave his presence. We cannot improve upon the following words of Ptahhotep:

If thou findest a disputant while he is hot, and if he is superior to thee in ability, lower the hands, bend the back, do not get into a passion with him. As he will not let thee destroy his words, it is utterly wrong to interrupt him; that proclaims that thou art incapable of keeping thyself calm when thou art contradicted. If thou then hast to do with a disputant while he is hot, imitate one who does not stir. Thou hast the advantage over him if thou keepest silence when he is uttering evil words. "The better is he who is impassive," say the bystanders, and thou art right in the opinion of the great.‡

* Chaps. v, xvi. † Chap. xxxiii. ‡ Chap. iii; comp. Prov. xv, 1.

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If thou desirest that thy conduct should be good and preserved from all evil, keep thyself from every attack of bad humor. It is a fatal malady which leads to discord, and there is no longer any existence for him who gives way to it. . . . It contains all kinds of wickedness, it embodies all kinds of wrong. When a man has established his just equilibrium and walks in this path, there where he makes his dwelling, there is no room for bad humor.*

Be not of an irritable temper in regard to thy neighbors; better is a compliment to that which displeases than rudeness. It is wrong to get into a passion with one's neighbors, to be no longer master of one's words.

If thou art annoyed at a thing, if thou art tormented by some one who is acting without his right, get out of his sight, and remember him no more when he has ceased to address thee.†

In the study of this collection of ancient precepts, perhaps the oldest in the world, written more than five thousand years ago, we might have multiplied references to the Book of Proverbs; but enough have been made to show several interesting points of contact. We must not look upon this collection of Ptahhotep as intended to constitute a complete code of morals. It is rather a book of wise sayings, current in the time of the author, enlarged by contributions drawn from his own observations and experience, and referring to business ethics, court and social etiquette, domestic duties, and practical wisdom. The great body of these precepts cluster around the relations of superior and inferior, instructor and pupil, husband and wife, father and son, and friend and friend. While duties are enforced by reference to the relations sustained to God and the desire to please him, there is little special teaching on this line. Religious precepts, as distinguished from moral and practical, do not seem to have come within the range of the author's plan. We would better appreciate the value of these moral maxims if we were to compare them with those of the world's wisest sages. Such a comparison will convince us that—especially if we consider the remote period in antiquity to which he belonged—Ptahhotep will not suffer if we place him side by side with Epictetus, Antoninus, and other great moralists whose works occupy an honorable place in the libraries of to-day.

Several interesting questions present themselves—as the

* Chap. xix; comp. Prov. xiv, 29; xv, 18.
† Chaps. xx, xxix; comp. Prov. xvi, 32; xix, 11.

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origin of proverbs, whether poetry may not be the natural language of primitive peoples, why the purest writings stand so near the beginnings of ancient literature—but their answers must be deferred. We will mention, however, a single point. In this work of the old prefect we learn something of the ground of our reasonable belief in the integrity of the writings bequeathed to us from the ancients. The art of writing was thought to have been the invention of a god who taught his own people the valuable secret. The letters themselves were held in reverence, and, at least among some nations, speech was deified. The wise sayings of the fathers, which were perhaps thought to have come down from the golden age, and, hence, with probability from the gods, were especially reverenced. The greatest care would be taken to write them accurately and to remember them tenaciously. Ptahhotep exhorts, "Take not away one word, and add not one; put not one thing in place of another." * Children were diligently taught the exact words of the precepts of the ancients. The feudal prince whose works we are studying gave his precepts the poetic form in order to preserve them the more surely from possible change. Egyptian poetry, in the sublimity of its language, its parallelisms and antitheses, its cadences, and the ornament of a burden, resembles the poetry of the ancient Hebrews. Written with the poetic rhythm, the contents of the production would be more easily committed to memory and more readily recalled; and besides all this, if a mistake should be made, it would be speedily detected and the original form discovered. The text would be powerfully guarded against corruption. The corruption of the text would still be possible, and might indeed frequently occur, but the probabilities of corruption in any given case would be reduced to the lowest terms. The archaic poems scattered through the early books of the Old Testament are doubtless genuine specimens of the earliest Hebrew composition preserved in their substantial integrity.

* Chap. xlii.

J. N. Fradenburgh.

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Art. VI.—THE "DIVINE COMEDY."

An enterprising publisher once asked Victor Hugo to prepare for him a selection from his works to be issued in one volume. The great French writer replied with characteristic indignation, "Would you ask a tourist to bring you from Chamouni a pebble as a sample of Mont Blanc?" With such a feeling one will greet any attempt to give an idea of Dante's "Divine Comedy" within the narrow limits of a magazine article. The poem is so vast that at first approach we are overpowered. Only after long and earnest study can we realize its greatness and seize the multitudinous details comprised in its mighty structure. And yet, as Dean Church says, "those who know the *Divina Commedia* best will best know how hard it is to be interpreter of such a mind; but they will sympathize with the wish to call attention to it. They know, and would wish others to know also, not by hearsay, but by experience, the power of that wonderful poem." A book parts of which Ruskin has declared to be little short of the miraculous, a book containing passages that Walter Savage Landor and Goethe have placed far above all other poetry, a book that has won the lifelong devotion of such scholars as Hegel and Schopenhauer, Tholuck and Schelling, Longfellow and Lowell —such a book must surely be worthy of study.

The outer form which Dante gave to his poem was nothing new or original. Visions of journeys into the other world were common during the Middle Ages. The limits between the unseen life and ours were not so definite then as now, and the undiscovered country seemed very real. The mysteries, and the miracle plays with their three stages representing earth, heaven, and hell, which were often produced in the public squares of Italian cities, were undoubtedly as familiar to Dante as the puppet shows of the Faust legend long after were to the boy Goethe, to whom they gave the first suggestion of that drama which was to sum up all the development of his mind and soul. As the year 1000 drew near the whole Christian world was expectant of the millennium foretold by St. John, when Satan, after being bound a thousand years, should be loosed, and death and hell should deliver up their

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dead. The terror which then smote men's souls can still be seen in the literature and customs of the times. Human imagination, stirred by the vision of the seer of Patmos, penetrated into the mysteries of the life to come, and out of the details given by St. John—the bottomless pit, the lake of brimstone and fire, the dragons and serpents, the angels and the great white throne—men wrought a whole system of supernatural worlds. These fancies and speculations were written and read and told, and passed into the very life of mediæval society. It is useless to seek for any one vision which may have served Dante as a model; there were a number of them, and he simply followed the beliefs of his time in giving to his poem the form of a journey through hell, purgatory, and paradise.

What differentiated him, however, from his predecessors is that he made his vision a carefully wrought out allegory which, besides containing wonderful poetry, is also an epitome of the poet's own life and of the whole mediæval world. That the allegory exists there can be no doubt; Dante himself distinctly tells us so, if the letter to Can Grande della Scala be genuine. What the real meaning is has been the subject of more or less discussion. The older commentators, such as Boccaccio and Pietro Alighieri, make the allegory a religious one—"to free men from their sins, to direct them toward the purgation of their souls, and to strengthen them in holiness and virtue," says the latter. Later commentators, on the other hand, have been more inclined to give a politico-historical meaning to the allegory. Both are probably right. But there is a personal allegory in the poem as well. Dante himself is the chief actor. He it is who is lost in the world of sin, who is repulsed from the mount of peace and consolation by the wolf, the panther, and the lion. Vergil, representing earthly wisdom, or reason, and Beatrice, representing divine wisdom, or illuminating grace, lead him through the darksome ways of hell and up over the craggy heights of purgatory to the paradise of God. We are told that it is necessary for him to make this journey in order to gain full experience of God's purpose and to reach that liberty which is more precious than life itself. But when he has reached the heaven of the fixed stars, where he sees the glory of Christ surrounded by the apostles, St. Peter, with holy indignation at the corruption of the Church, tells him to

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relate his vision to the world lying in sin and suffering: "And thou, my son, when thou shalt return below, open thou thy mouth and hide not what I hide not from thee." Not only is the world lying in spiritual wretchedness, but owing to the unholy desire for temporal power on the part of God's vicar all Italy is full of war, murder, and rapine; city is arrayed against city, family against family; and pity, patriotism, and religion seem lost forever in the endless civil strife. To change this state of things Dante wrote his poem. Ugo Foscolo says that the poet undoubtedly believed his mission to be apostolic and consecrated. His was not to reform the Church alone, as Luther did, but the world, society, man. Vergil, as reason, was to show men the folly of the political suicides of the day; Beatrice, as faith, was to lift their eyes to those hills whence cometh all help.

But, after all, the allegory is not a very important part of the "Divine Comedy." The poem compels our undying admiration because it is a drama in which we see move across the stage the mighty forms of all lands and ages. Greece and Rome are there; and Dante, boldest among poets, gives us a living, breathing picture of his own times and country. Among these spirits who have left such deep footprints in the sands of time we see the grim figure of the poet himself—the exile and partisan, full of hate and indignation, yet inspired by the noblest ideals for Church and State, and touched by the tenderest sympathy for all that is sweet and good. It is this intensely personal stamp that makes the "Divine Comedy" so real; the throbbings of the poet's heart, the longings of his soul, his words of fierce denunciation, with the sublime poetry in which they are embalmed, make the book unique among the world's volumes.

In order to a clear conception of Dante's journey through the three supernatural kingdoms we must have some intelligent idea of his universe. His system of astronomy was that of Ptolemy. From any spherical substance that represents the earth—for Dante knew that the earth is round—cut out a section in the shape of an inverted cone, the apex being at the center; remove this carefully and place its base on the surface of the sphere exactly opposite the place whence it was taken. The cavity thus made will represent hell, and the cone purgatory. Paradise comprises the heavens of the planets and fixed

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stars, and the crystalline heaven, all of which revolve about the earth; and beyond stretches out to infinity the empyrean, motionless in itself but the source of all motion, where abides the ineffable splendor of God, surrounded by hierarchies of cherubim and seraphim, angels and archangels, principalities and powers. Hell is divided into nine circles, sloping down toward a yawning abyss in the center, the depth of which is measured by half the diameter of the earth. It is impossible to give an idea of the variety of these circles, each one bearing its individual stamp and presenting all the diversities of natural scenery that Dante had seen in the world above—woods and rivers, plains and valleys—but all shrouded in an atmosphere of darkness and terror. The Mount of Purgatory is situated on an island in the Southern Sea, and rises sheer up through the atmosphere which surrounds its lower portion, while at its top the earthly paradise basks eternally in the light of the sun, untouched by the atmospheric changes that affect its base. Purgatory is divided into seven terraces, which, with antepurgatory and the earthly paradise, form nine divisions and thus correspond to the nine circles of hell and the nine heavens. Dante's theory as to the origin of hell and purgatory is very naïve in its seriousness. When Lucifer was flung out of heaven he fell headlong to the earth and penetrated to its center. The southern hemisphere shrank in terror before his face and covered itself with the waters of the great deep, while out of the interior a great mass was thrown up and formed the mountain of purgatory.

Scattered over the infernal circles and the purgatorial terraces is the infinite multitude of souls who sinned on the earth, and who are now punished with all the refinements of horror which the mind of the poet can invent. In hell the punishment is eternal; in purgatory it is expiatory and temporary; in both it is physical and moral. The damned are not only tormented with fire and sword, with fever and thirst, but are filled with hate toward God and each other; they blaspheme the Creator and curse their parents and their birth. The physical punishment of the "Divine Comedy" is founded on the Old Testament principle of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Dante has often been accused of excessive cruelty in his conception of punishment; but he wrote according to the religious ideas of his times. In loading hypocrites with heavy cloaks of

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gilded lead he undoubtedly took the idea from Frederick II, who was wont to clothe traitors in a similar manner and then burn them alive. The terrible story of Piero Dolcino's public torture in the streets of Novara shows to what refinements of cruelty Dante's contemporaries could stoop. The poet gives a correspondence, literal or figurative, between a sin and its punishment. Thus, the licentious are forever blown about by a fierce wind, because on earth they had been the sport of the whirlwind of passion; the gluttonous lie in filth like swine; schismatics are cloven asunder; murderers and tyrants are plunged into rivers of boiling blood; in purgatory the proud are crushed beneath heavy burdens, and the envious have their eyelids sewn together. One striking difference between the punishments of purgatory and hell is that in the former place the soul desires its own torment, which renders it capable of coming at least to peace and joy in the Lord. As hate is the prevailing note in hell, in purgatory love softens suffering and soothes pain. Not with blasphemies do souls there receive the recompense of their sins, but with sweet old Latin hymns of praise and hope. "Salve Regina," "Te Lucis Ante," "Beati Pauperes Spiritu"—these are the sounds which greet the wanderers as they mount from terrace to terrace toward the summit whose ascent becomes more easy as they rise.

Dante's doctrine of the forms of the souls that inhabit these kingdoms coincides with that of the Church fathers. They are living, breathing shadows, made of some spiritual substance; for their mortal bodies still lie in the grave, and only after the last judgment shall body and spirit be reunited. But these shadows have flesh and blood, and are capable of intensest physical suffering. It is often hard to see any essential difference between them and the human body. In paradise the blessed have practically no body; they are light and stars and splendors which flash and corruscate in dazzling brilliancy. There are two kinds of devils in hell—the guardian and the ministering—the latter plying their functions with fiendish joy and diabolical faithfulness. There is here a curious mingling of Christianity and classic mythology. We find among these devils Minos, Pluto, Cerberus, and the Harpies. Some explain this by saying that Dante was deeply saturated with classic antiquity and could not free himself from its influence. Others,

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perhaps more correctly, point out that the early Christian Church metamorphosed the gods of Greece and Rome into demons. This we find in Augustine and Origen; St. Paul, it will be remembered, says, "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God;" and even to later times the Venusberg in the Thuringian Forest, which plays so great a part in Wagner's opera of Tannhäuser, bears witness to the tenacity with which old Grecian divinities clung to mediæval legends. The guardians of purgatory and paradise are beautiful angels, with white, or green, or golden wings, and faces as of flame. In purgatory their chief functions are to guard the entrances to the different terraces, while in heaven all that the poet says of them can be summed up in the words "light," "flight," and "song."

Indeed, the higher we ascend the less realistic does the "Divine Comedy" become. Instead of the pictures which, in the "Inferno," stand out with such startling vividness we have in "Purgatory" beautiful descriptions, whose impressiveness lies rather in the purely musical and spiritual elements of poetry. In "Paradise" light and music are almost the only materials used by Dante. This is one reason why more people read "Inferno" than "Purgatory" or "Paradise;" although "Purgatory" is far more attractive in the pure loveliness of its poetry. In "Paradise" there are so many philosophical and theological discussions, and such a golden haziness in descriptions almost entirely composed of the different effects of light, that it is not so interesting to the "dullard mind" in its ordinary moods. And yet, for the marvelous way in which these light effects are handled, and for the consummate art with which these arid discussions are wrought into sublimest poetry, "Paradise" is undoubtedly the greatest of all Dante's works.

The action of the "Divine Comedy" begins at Easter in the year 1300—"Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita," says Dante in the first line—that is, in the midst of the journey of his life, when he was thirty-five years old. He has lost his way in a dark wood, and as he tries to gain a distant mountain top he is filled with dismay at the sight of three fierce beasts who block his way. As he retreats a spirit coming toward him makes itself known as the poet Vergil, whose "Æneid" has been Dante's lifelong study. Vergil has been sent to his relief by Beatrice, Lucia,

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and the blessed Virgin; and tells him that, to escape from the wood of error and sin, he must pass through the bitterness of hell and so up to the *alto lume*, the light of God on high. With renewed courage the poet signifies his willingness to undertake the lofty task, and the two wanderers make their way toward the portals of hell, which they reach as day begins to decline. It is during the first hours of twilight, as the world lies down to tranquil sleep, that Dante begins his weird journey into the undiscovered country filled with unutterable darkness and horror.

Over the gate in dark letters are written these tremendous words:

> Through me ye go to the city of grief;
> Through me ye go to everlasting woe;
> Through me ye go to the souls that are damned.
> Justice moved my lofty Maker; Divine Power made me,
> Supreme Wisdom and Primal Love.
> Before was naught created, only
> Things eternal; and I eternal shall endure.
> Leave all hope behind, O ye who enter here.

Passing through the gate beneath this dread inscription, and making their way across the vestibule of hell, inhabited by the ignoble souls of those who were neither God's enemies nor his friends, they reach the river Acheron, over which the poet is carried in a swoon.

Hell proper begins with the second circle, and here dwell in a stately castle the souls of the virtuous men of ancient days, whose only punishment for an unbelief in Christ for which they are not responsible is to live always in desire without hope. Vergil and Dante pass through the midst of these venerable spirits, who speak rarely and with soft voices, and soon issue out upon the full fury of the infernal world. As they stand in the third circle and gaze upon the innumerable company of the licentious, blown hither and thither by a wind which roars like the sea in a storm, Dante's attention is attracted to two souls who still cling together, although tossed about like chaff before the breeze. He calls to them and invites them to approach. Leaving the band where Dido is, they fly toward the wanderers, and while a brief hush stills the air Francesca da Rimini tells her sad story of love and crime, in words full of deathless beauty and pathos. As Dante listened, so strongly did pity

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seize upon his heart that he fainted and fell as one that is dead. Midnight found the two poets standing at the foot of a tower on the shore of the Stygian marsh, whose sullen waters plashed in the inky darkness. Hours had passed since Dante fell into the swoon. On awakening he found himself moving forward and downward in the third circle; and saw the gluttonous beaten down upon by the heavily falling, rotting rain, and the misers and spendthrifts rolling heavy rocks against each other and cursing each other's sins. And now as the travelers peer through the murky air, looking for some way of crossing the putrid waters of the marsh, suddenly two lights flash from the top of the tower beside them; and soon a swift bark approaches the shore, and, entering in, the wanderers are rowed across by the fierce-mouthed boatman Phlegyas.

Nearing the other shore, they see looming up vaguely the walls of the infernal city of Dis, in shape like a mediæval fortress, surrounded by deep ditches, and with towers which gleam blood-red. Thousands of demons swarm on the walls and defend the entrance; high up on the summit of the towers stand the three furies stained with blood and girdled and crowned with writhing serpents. "Let Medusa come," they cry, "and turn him into stone." And now doubt assails the heart of Vergil, and Dante's courage failing, he would fain turn back; when lo, with earthquake and thunder roll, appears a celestial messenger, before whom the devils fly in terror and the gates of the city open. As they enter, there stretches out, as far as eye can reach, an immense graveyard, a sort of subterranean Père la Chaise, crowded thick with tombs whose sides are red-hot and from whose half-open covers issue flames. In them those who denied the immortality of the soul must dwell through all eternity. Here occurs that memorable colloquy between Dante and the fierce old Ghibelline chief, Farinata degli Uberti, who alone after the battle of Monteaperti saved Florence from being razed to the ground. Here too occurs the touching scene when Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti, the father of Dante's intimate friend Guido, falls back into his tomb in despair, after hearing, as he thinks, the confirmation of his son's death.

In the beginning of the eighteenth canto of the "Inferno" we find the words, "There is a place in hell called Malebolge." To this place, these evil pits of hell, the poets next come after

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many varied experiences. On leaving the city of Dis they had clambered down a rocky precipice over which the Phlegethon thundered in a mighty waterfall, forming at the bottom a river of boiling blood where tyrants and murderers were plunged. Crossing this river on the back of a centaur, they had entered a grewsome wood, whose gnarled trees extended to a vast sandy plain where flakes of flame fell as snow falls in the still air of Alpine mountains. As they issued from the wood of the suicides and walked along the stony margin of a stream Dante saw and greeted with loving words "the dear, paternal image" of Brunetto Latini, who in youth had taught him how men may make themselves eternal. Then, having descended a tremendous abyss on the back of the monster Gerione, they reached the ten concentric ditches, the Malebolge, where ten different kinds of fraud are punished. In these evil pits is more horror, filth, grotesqueness, and cruelty than in all the rest of the "Inferno." Passing over rocky bridges, sometimes chased by uncouth devils, the wanderers look down upon the wretched souls below—hypocrites and barterers, panderers and flatterers —bitten by serpents, plunged in lakes of boiling pitch, immersed in filth, or hewn asunder by the sword. Hour after hour they pass on through these scenes, stopping from time to time to talk with the wretches below, until finally they reach the well of the giants and are set down by Antæus at the lowest point in hell, which is, at the same time, the center of the universe.

In the fourteenth canto there is a passage full of mysterious grandeur, in which the poet allegorically describes the vicissitudes of time, or, as some think, of the different forms of government. On Mount Ida, in the island of Crete, there stands the figure of an old man with his back turned toward Damietta and his face toward Rome. Like the figure seen by Nebuchadnezzar, its head is formed of pure gold, its arms and breast are of silver, and the rest is of brass and iron, except the right foot, which is of clay. All parts but the gold are rent, and from the fissures tears drop down into the abyss and form the rivers Styx, Acheron, and Phlegethon; and, finally settling at the bottom, they are frozen by the intense cold generated by the six wings of Lucifer and form the icy lake of Cocytus. The poets have here reached the last stage of their journey through hell. As they walk over the glassy surface of the frozen lake they see

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beneath their feet, like straws in ice or insects in amber, the miserable souls of traitors against relatives, friends, country, and benefactors. Dante's glance here falls upon two spirits buried to the neck in the ice, one of whom is gnawing with fiendish rage the other's head. In answer to his question he learns that this is Ugolino della Gherardesca, who, having been betrayed by Bishop Ruggieri degli Ubaldini, was shut up in the tower of hunger at Pisa, and there with his sons and grandsons starved to death. Goethe has said that the lines containing the sad narrative of Ugolino belong to the highest order of composition ever produced by poetic art.

A little window in the tower, which is now named after me, the tower of hunger, had shown me already many moons when I fell into the evil sleep which tore asunder the veil of my future. . . . When I woke in the early hours of morning I heard my little children weeping in their sleep and asking for bread. Verily art thou cruel if thou grievest not, thinking what then my heart forbode me, and if thou weepest not now, at what then wilt thou ever weep? Quickly they were awake, and the hour approached when food had been wont to be brought to us, and each one was sore afraid on account of his dream. I heard the door of the terrible tower locked below us; wherefore I looked my children in the face but said not a word. I did not weep; my heart was stone within me. But they wept and my little Anselm said, "Father, what ails thee? thou lookest so strange!" And yet I wept not, nor did I answer that whole day long and the night that followed, until the next sun rose upon the world. When a little light had entered our dolorous prison, and I saw my own features reflected in my children's faces, I bit my hands for grief. And they, thinking I did this from desire of eating, suddenly rose and said, "Father, it will be far less painful for us if thou wilt eat us; thou hast clothed us with this flesh, do thou despoil us of it." I calmed myself then, in order not to make them still more sad. That day and the next we remained mute. Alas, hard earth! why didst thou not then open beneath me?

When we had come to the fourth day my Gaddo laid himself at my feet and cried, "O, my father, why dost thou not help me?" And there he died; and just as you see me now I saw the three fall, one by one, between the fifth day and the sixth. And then, having become blind, I groped upon the face of each. Three days I called upon them after they were dead; and then starvation was stronger than my grief.

First descending, and then climbing along the hairy sides of the prodigious body of Lucifer, the poets next leave hell and, by a rocky, almost perpendicular path, clamber painfully upward until they finally issue out into the light of heaven and see

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once more the stars. No words but those of the poet himself can describe the scene as, smoke-begrimed and choked with the fumes of hell, they gaze upon the sky of sweet oriental sapphire and drink in the air that blows fresh and sweet from the southern sea sparkling beneath the first rays of the morning sun. Nor can we linger over that other scene, when the newly arrived spirits descend from the angel's boat with the songs of the redeemed on their lips; when Dante meets his old friend the musician Casella; and when the company listens, as the latter sings one of Dante's songs, until Cato drives them with rebukes toward the mount they must ascend. The poets from the foot of the mountain clamber on hands and knees toward the entrance gate, which lies high above them. On the way they pass many souls who have put off salvation until too late or have died in contumacy with Holy Church and here must linger for a certain time before they enter on the work of purging away their sins. About three in the afternoon they meet the troubadour Sordello, from Mantua, who, after exchanging greetings with his countryman Vergil, tells them no ascent can be made during the night, and offers to lead them to a place of safety. In a grassy valley covered with flowers of every hue, and redolent with a thousand odors, they see the spirits of many famous princes, kings, and emperors, gathered from all parts of the world; the Emperor Rudolph of Austria is there, Philip of France and Peter of Aragon, and, sitting alone, the "king of simple life," Henry III of England. The scene which follows —the melancholy of the twilight hour, and the downward rush of the angels who come to guard the valley against the snares of the serpent—is one of exquisite softness and beauty.

It was now the hour when the sailor's heart turns longingly homeward and grows soft within him, on the day when he has said farewell to his sweet friends, and when the new pilgrim is pierced with love if he hears in the distance a bell which seems to mourn for the dying day, when I began to cease from listening and to look at one of the spirits who had risen and who was asking for silence with his hand. He joined and raised both his palms and fixed his eyes toward the east, as if he were saying to God, "For naught else do I care." "Te Lucis Ante" came so devoutly from his lips that I was rapt in ecstasy. And then all the other spirits reverently followed him through the entire hymn, having their eyes turned to the celestial spheres. I saw that gentle band silently gazing on high as if in expectation, pallid and humble. And then I saw come

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out of the heavens two angels who flew toward us with flaming swords. Their garments were green, with the tender green of little leaves but lately born, and their pinions trailed behind. "Both come from the lap of Maria," said Sordello, "to guard this valley from the serpent who will not delay to come." At which I, who knew not by what path, turned around and clung close to my master's faithful side. And then Sordello said, "Let us now go down into the valley among these mighty spirits and speak with them; grateful will it be to them to see you."

That night Dante dreamed that, like Ganymede in the Grecian fable, he was caught up to the highest heavens, and on awakening found that the sun was two hours high and that he was before the gate of purgatory. The angel who guards the entrance drew seven times with his sword the letter "P" on the forehead of Dante, representing the seven capital sins, and these letters are one by one effaced as he ascends the mountain.

In the "Purgatory" there are not so many dramatic events or picturesque details to chronicle as in the "Inferno." From terrace to terrace the poets mount, passing the souls of the proud crushed beneath fearful weights; of the misers bound hands and feet, and singing "My soul lieth in the dust;" of the angry, the gluttonous, the slothful, and the licentious—all horribly tormented, yet bearing their sufferings with patience, and looking forward to the day of their redemption, when the mountain shall tremble with joy and, amid shouts of "Gloria in excelsis Deo," they shall rise to the presence of God. Three days and nights are passed in this upward journey, and on the morning of the fourth day the poets reach the earthly paradise.

The last six cantos of "Purgatory" are a succession of beautiful, mystic, and sublime scenes. The poet's imagination, with an unfaltering upward flight, rises from height to height of poetic grandeur. No words can describe that forest thick with trees, the murmur of whose leaves reminds the poet of the great pine forest near Ravenna; or that gentle lady who went singing along the side of a crystal stream, gathering the purple and golden flowers with which her path was covered; or, still less, that august procession in which the Church of Christ is figured. But here sorrow is mingled with joy in Dante's heart. Vergil, his faithful friend and guide, having mitered and crowned him lord of himself, leaves him; and Beatrice, amid songs of "Benedictus qui venis" and "Manibus o date lilia plenis," descending from heaven in a cloud of flowers strewn by angelic hands, adds

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tears of remorse to his tears of sorrow as she rebukes him for his past waywardness. And then, while "the ice about his heart is melted as the snow on mountain heights," and he makes confession of his sins, he is plunged in the streams of Lethe and Eunoë, and made "pure and disposed to ascend to the stars."

The ascent of paradise is a flight rather than a journey. The rapidity increases, and the poet is only aware of the passage from the moon to Mercury, from Venus to the sun, from Jupiter to Saturn, by the increased brilliancy shining in the face of Beatrice, who is now his guide. In the different heavens he sees the spirits of great warriors, philosophers, and theologians, and, conversing with them, clears his mind of many doubts over which he had long brooded. The poet's imagination rises to superhuman heights in his grand vision of the empyrean. He sees a vast river of light whose shores are clothed with flowers of unutterable beauty. From the river, in form of living sparks, issue the angels of God, who alight on the flowers of the shore and then returning sink in the liquid light. As Dante gazes the flowers take the form of a celestial rose, on whose petals are seated the spirits of the blessed of all ages and nations. Highest of all sits the blessed Virgin, to whom Dante, through Saint Bernard, addresses that prayer which has been called the sweetest, loftiest, and most inspired religious lyric ever uttered by the lips of man. In answer to this prayer the poet is granted a vision of the glory of God; and, dazzled by the splendor of this sight, his lofty imagination staggers, sinks, and falls, and the poem comes to an end.

As we have already seen, history plays a very important part in the "Divine Comedy." It is the warp on which are woven the threads that form the fabric of the poem. What a pageant is that which unrolls itself in these pages! Jostling strangely together we see men of all ages and races; the gods and demigods of ancient mythology; heroes of Troy and Thebes and Rome; kings and princes of modern Europe, popes and cardinals, lords and ladies; men illustrious and men obscure —all mentioned with words of praise or blame, and each assigned his place in hell, or purgatory, or paradise.

Dante is an unbending theorist, and judges all history in the light of the twofold rule of the pope in the government of the world. His theory of the independence of the temporal and

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spiritual power of Rome, which he elaborates at length in the "De Monarchia," is here logically adhered to. God from the beginning has ordained Rome to be the seat of a double power. Here dwells the emperor of the world, who shall govern the nations in temporal matters and lead them to earthly happiness, and the pope, who shall be their spiritual ruler and lead them to the happiness of the world to come. Owing, however, to the union of the sword and the pastoral staff in the hands of the pope, God's plans for the happiness of the race have been thwarted. Naught is left of the old glory of the empire; the innocence and faith of ancient days have become as a dream that is ended. The garden of Italy is a wilderness; Rome sits alone as a widow among the nations. Pride, envy, and avarice are the sparks that set all hearts on fire. Dante's heart swells with scorn as he sees these things. All the bitterness of his disillusionment and exile is found in the terrible denunciations with which the "Divine Comedy" is filled. Italy is a *terra prava;* her cities are full of tyrants. Scarcely one escapes the lash of his verse; Padua is full of usurers; Pisa is the vituperation of the nations; Bologna is the home of ruffians and misers. But, above all, Dante pours out the vials of his wrath upon Florence, "la bellissima figlia di Roma," the city dear to his heart, which has exiled him and denied him as her son. She was founded by demons; she is full of envy, and is the nest of malice. Out of seventy-nine contemporaries whom he places in hell forty-three are Tuscans and thirty-two are Florentines.

Where history and theory harmonize Dante's assignment of rewards and punishments is just; but his knowledge of history is often inaccurate. We cannot object to his placing Cleopatra and Semiramis in the circle of the licentious, or Copeneus among those who curse God, or Caiaphas and Annas among the hypocrites; and we must share Dante's views upon the right of the Roman power to approve the assignment of Cassius and Brutus to the same punishment as Judas. When we come to contemporaries, however, things are different. The poor hermit who was dragged unwillingly from his humble cell and became Pope Celestino V, and who afterward made the "great refusal," is treated with the most withering contempt; and for no other reason, apparently, than that his abdication of the papal throne

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made way for Boniface VIII, who was Dante's bitterest enemy and accomplished his exile from Florence. So, too, his savage hate burst forth against Filippo Argenti in the Stygian marsh, and caused that dastardly deed against Frate Alberigo, in Cocytus, which forms such a blot on his memory. But who can blame Dante? What life was ever so full of injustice as his? What exile more terrible? Is it any wonder that he judges his contemporaries through the prejudices of his own heart; that sometimes tears of rage and sorrow distort his views of life; that everywhere he sees corruption sitting in high places; that to him patriotism is dead and piety but a name?

One thing must strike us in Dante's treatment of history, and that is his impartiality. Politics and party save no man; with him there is neither white nor black, Guelph nor Ghibelline. In hell we see side by side men of all parties—Farinata and Ezzelino, Fier delle Vigne and Malatesta, Ugolino and Ruggieri. Dante's hand is lifted against all who sin against the peace of the fatherland. He himself after his exile had left his evil companions and formed a "party by himself." A Guelph by tradition and family ties, a Ghibelline by force of circumstances, he clings to neither party, but devotes himself with passionate energy to the ideal of a united Italy.

History and religion are also inseparably joined in the "Divine Comedy." We cannot discuss the one without the other. There is no reason to doubt Dante's sincere and profound faith. He is no heretic, but is a Catholic to the core. He accepts the deepest mysteries of the Church without question; his definitions of faith to St. Peter, of hope to St. James, and of love to St. John are thoroughly orthodox. Yet even Martin Luther himself is not more fierce against the corruption of the papal court than he. Though he believes the papacy was ordained by God, still the actual occupants of the pope's chair are the objects of his fiercest denunciations. He lashes and scourges their simony, their avarice, and their nameless vices; they are rapacious wolves whose sole desire is for this world's goods. "How much treasure did Christ demand of Peter when he placed the keys in his possession? Surely he asked for naught but 'Come after me.'" "'Twas you, O bishops of Rome, that the evangelist had in mind when she who sits upon the waters was seen in dalliance with kings." The clergy no longer study the

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decretals; the Gospel is no longer preached; the footsteps of St. Francis are not followed; and the flock of St. Dominic have become gluttons. This bitter feeling of Dante against the Church results from the same cause as his enmity to the politics of the times. Throughout the whole poem it is the exile that we see. Dante himself, as he goes through hell and purgatory, and on to paradise, does not become more gentle. The theologian and penitent is always held in the background by the exile and patriot, ever aspiring to a political and religious ideal. Though Dante believes in the dogmas of the Church, he goes far beyond his fellow-men in his desire for the reform of the world, which must be based on the reform of the Church. This latter must be founded on a return to the principles of the gospels, the abandonment of earthly ambitions, and the purification of the clergy. Dante in the "Divine Comedy" calls upon God to avenge the corruption of the Church on its degenerate pastors; and in this way he fulfills the mission given him from on high to fight against the prince of darkness, to lead the Church to the garden of Christ, to separate the sword of Cæsar from the pastoral staff of St. Peter, and to hasten the triumphant reign of peace on earth and good will to men.

Dante's treatment of nature is worthy of our attention. Of course the modern conception of nature was not his; the times were too hard and stern for that. But who can doubt that, during those long years of exile when he traversed Italy from one end to the other, he studied minutely all the phases of nature? And may he not have found comfort in the restfulness of the great pine forest of Chiasso or the peaceful valley of the Casentino? No country in the world could have shown him lovelier landscapes; and none but a lover of nature could have seen Italy as he saw it, and as he makes us see it—the roar of the cataract of Montone, the tranquil beauty of the Lago di Garda fed by a thousand fountains, or the little streams that descend from the green hills of the Casentino to the Arno. What astonishes us is the minuteness of his observations and his power of reproducing natural phenomena in the simplest and yet most effective way. The homeliness of his figures drawn from animal life—the timid lambs as they leave the fold, the frogs half submerged in the pools of water—does not obscure their extreme beauty. To see and express this beauty of

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Nature in her humblest details is the highest triumph of the poet's art. The variety of light effects in the "Divine Comedy" is also very striking. Dante has caught the rosy flush of morn, the sunshine falling through a cloud upon a bank of flowers, the halo that wreathes the pallid moon, and the pellucid trembling of the morning star. It is certain that before Dante no poet had ever shown such minute observation of nature. The smallest details do not escape him. As we read his poem there rises before us the storm with its thunder and lightning and downpouring rain; winter with its snow, and spring with its flowers; sunrise and sunset; the cool morning and the melancholy hour of twilight, when the heart is filled with longings at the sound of the vesper bells.

It is in his art, more than in anything else, that Dante is great. The three requisites of the supreme poet—creative imagination, vigorous intellect, and sound moral purpose—he possesses in the highest degree. It is dangerous, we know, to use superlatives; but it is not too much to say that no poet ever lived who has produced such wonderful pictures as are burnt in on the memory of the man who reads the "Divine Comedy" with "the spirit" and with "the understanding also." Take the picture of that land of terror and gloom, with its hail and snow and roaring winds, with its grim and savage landscapes, its forests of gnarled trees, its burning plains and valleys of desolation, the whole overhung with clouds of inky blackness, rent and made lurid by jets of red light, as by flickering tongues of flame; or that other picture, as beautiful as this is terrible, with its soft landscapes lying in peaceful loveliness beneath tender skies, with its verdurous valleys and delightful groves, musical with the sweet singing of birds; or still again that third vision, so dazzling that it hardly leaves a picture in the memory, but the effect of which is like that of heavenly melody or the impression that comes upon a man standing at midnight on the snowy summit of some alpine mountain, with face upturned to the eternal stars shining above him like lights of the New Jerusalem. In these pictures, as in the countless details which go to make them up, can be seen the power of Dante's imagination. We cannot linger except to cast a fleeting glance at the old tailor threading his needle, or at lazy Belacqua embracing his knees and wearily resting

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his head upon them; and to mention those apt metaphors taken from burning paper, or from light entering water, or to note the comparison of the vague appearance of the spirits in the moon to a pearl shining on a white forehead. Dante's vigorous intellect also manifests itself in the symmetry of the poem, in the way he has made it an epitome of the science, history, philosophy, and theology of his times. Its moral tone is, besides, of the highest. His ideals are noble and pure, nothing less than the reform of the world. No other book leaves the reader so impressed with the reality of the spiritual realm, or so strong to fight against the false and mean in life.

Indeed, what merit of the poet does Dante not possess? As Ruskin uses Turner to exemplify the best qualities of painting, so one could write a long disquisition on poetry with the "Divine Comedy" as a book of illustrations. Dante's pre-eminence as one of the three greatest of the world's poets is now assured. And we may find in him peace and consolation in hours of sorrow. Longfellow, in a series of sonnets that are among his best, has compared the "Divine Comedy" to a vast cathedral, with dim aisles and perfumed air, whose unseen choirs

> Sing the old Latin hymns of peace and love
> And benedictions of the Holy Ghost.

Into this great cathedral the laborer, "pausing in the dust and heat," comes to kneel and repeat his paternosters:

> So, as I enter here from day to day,
> And leave my burden at this minster gate,
> Kneeling in prayer, and not ashamed to pray,
> The tumult of the time disconsolate
> To inarticulate murmurs dies away,
> While the eternal ages watch and wait.

L. Oscar Kuhns.

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Art. VII.—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

No matter now engaging the attention of the Methodist Episcopal Church nearly equals in importance the question of her constitution. There are at present more adults in her membership than there were in all the colonies when the independence of the United States was acknowledged. The interests of the Church are varied; its properties are vast; territorially it girdles the globe, and the attrition of its ideas is frequent and sometimes sharp. That the condition of the body should be such as to warrant the language of the bishops with reference to the framework of its government in their address to the General Conference of 1888 is scarcely less than startling. They said: "Another question has arisen which is of paramount importance. It has reference to what constitutes the organic law of the General Conference. Have we any such thing as a constitution? If so, what paragraphs of the Discipline are included in it?" Well might they add, "It is scarcely possible to think of this as an open question;" but they asserted, "Yet it does exist."

The subject being thus forcibly brought to the attention of the General Conference, there resulted the appointment of a constitutional commission, consisting of three bishops, seven ministers, and seven laymen. The instructions given them were to prepare paragraphs to take the place of ¶¶ 63, 64, in the chapter on the General Conference; and, seeing the organic law of the Church, and especially the constitution of the General Conference, needed to be accurately defined and determined, they were to carefully consider and report thereon; also, the method to be pursued in the organization of the General Conference should be precisely and explicitly stated. They were instructed to state of whom the General Conference shall be composed, "to declare what shall be the powers thereof and in what manner they shall be exercised, and to provide the process by which the constitution or any part thereof shall be amended, and report to the General Conference of 1892."

Unfortunately, under the last clause of these instructions the commission considered itself precluded from allowing the

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Church to have access to their report until it was first laid before the General Conference. To study a subject so intricate and important as this there is needed time, and care, and quiet research, where choice libraries are accessible. To attempt such a thing amid the rush of General Conference business is sheer folly; hence it was wise indeed in the Conference of 1892 to decline, under the circumstances, to determine the momentous questions involved.

The report of the commission to the General Conference of 1892, after what may be styled its preamble, was in four parts. The first was "As to the definition of 'The Constitution of the General Conference,'" meaning thereby what is now in the Discipline and should be regarded as the constitution of the General Conference. The second part designated the things now in the Discipline which they wished to have determined to be "The Organic Law of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The third part of their report suggested an orderly collation and rearrangement of the matter now in the Discipline and which they had designated as included in Parts I and II. The fourth part proposed new paragraphs for the Discipline, entitled, "Constitution and Powers of the General Conference," and recommended that its adoption be submitted to the restrictive rule process.

The Conference ordered that the report should be considered part by part, and taking up the first part spent three days in its discussion. At the end of that time the Conference had adopted a substitute for the entire part under consideration, and as they were planning for a time when the report should be further discussed, suddenly a motion was sprung to indefinitely postpone the whole matter, print it in the Church papers, and refer it to the next General Conference. This motion was adopted, and the General Conference had relieved itself of an incubus. The substitute by Dr. Goucher, which had been accepted and adopted instead of the first part as presented by the committee, of course went over with the remainder of the report under the indefinite postponement *of the whole matter*. With all respect for the honored author of the substitute, it is now seen clearly that it is well that it was not finally adopted. This summary disposition of so great a report was scarcely short of a *fiasco;* nevertheless, the action had the great advan-

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tage of saving the Church from precipitate action on fundamental matters and gave her a quadrennium for the discussion of the subject and for the maturing of a better result than was then possible.

This famous report had many excellences that undoubtedly will be of great service in the formulating of the document which will finally, and we hope soon, be adopted. So great is our respect for the distinguished men of that commission that it is with utmost hesitation we criticise adversely their report. But we are compelled to submit that every one of the four parts is, in our opinion, seriously at fault, either by embracing too much or too little.

The first part had unsupported historical statements, an ambiguous definition of a constitution, and, above all, a contradictory statement of what is now the constitution of the General Conference.

The second part, "As to the Organic Law of the Methodist Episcopal Church," is so brief that it can be given in full. It reads, "The organic law of the Methodist Episcopal Church includes and is limited to the Articles of Religion, the General Rules of the United Societies, and that which we have already defined as the constitution of the General Conference." Is not this seriously defective in that it does not define the fundamental framework of the polity of the Church, nor mention the name of the organization, its terms of membership, or its officers? Neither is the doctrinal basis there given true to Methodist history, relating to "our present existing and established standards of doctrine."

The proposed new constitution of the General Conference, notwithstanding some new provisions of great value, altogether fails to provide the necessary readjustment of our confessedly defective plan for lay delegation. The Quarterly Conference, instead of the entire adult membership, would continue to elect the members of the Lay Electoral Conference; the Lay Conference would still be compelled to meet at the seat of the Ministerial Conference, and at the same time; the inequality, in number of representatives, between ministers and laymen would continue; division into two houses, even though it should be obviously desirable, would be impossible; and the inherent rights of the respective orders would continue in a promiscuous jumble.

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Its provision that no change shall be made in the Discipline without the concurrent vote of the ministers and laymen is good; but its provision for a separate vote "on any other question" should add that to adopt a measure on a separate vote there should be the same proportionate vote in each order as would have been necessary to its adoption in the undivided house. Humiliating experience has shown the Church the imperative need of efficient safeguards against hasty legislation. That this single provision in that direction will be adequate to meet the demands of the case is more than doubted. Furthermore, this proposed constitution of the General Conference does not, in the light of current discussions, sufficiently define the qualifications of its members. But, in addition to its defects, it proposes to add some dangerous provisions. It says: "The General Conference shall possess supreme legislative, executive, and judicial powers for the government of the Church, subject to the provisions of this constitution and under the following limitations and restrictions." Then follow the restrictive rules. But, under this provision, what body shall judicially interpret "the provisions of this constitution," or whether a proposed measure is in violation of the restrictive rules? The General Conference only. This would practically prevent the possibility of stability in any part of the constitution, seeing the General Conference could by a simple majority vote make perforce constitutional the most unconstitutional decisions, seeing its last judicial decision would of necessity be the law of the Church. "The king can do no wrong." It can never be other than dangerous to allow any body of men to pass judicially on their own legislative acts. Where the legislature is a delegated body, acting under the provisions of a written constitution, beyond doubt the judicial function should not be placed in its hands. The disciplinary language granting to the General Conference "full power to make rules and regulations for our Church" has, especially since 1844, been construed to mean practical ecclesiastical omnipotence; and we have seen, in not a few instances, its deplorable results. As a matter of fact, there has not been from the beginning anything in the Discipline to prevent the organization of a court with jurisdiction over the acts of the General Conference. But the proposed constitution would explicitly

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write into our fundamental law an express prohibition of any such court, and perpetuate a dangerous concentration of authority. Rather, when we get a definite constitution, let it so expand our judicial system as to provide a court competent to protect the Church from the dangers threatened by cyclones certain in a large legislative body. For these and other reasons, notwithstanding the valuable traits already admitted, it is not necessary to be altogether disconsolate over the practical demise of the commission's report.

This review of recent history emphasizes the questions raised in the episcopal address of 1888; and, because they have not been widely studied among us, there is a lamentable lack of intelligence concerning them. It is confusing to confound the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church with the constitution of the General Conference of that Church. The two can never, by clear thinking, be considered as identical. Indeed, there should never be a separate constitution of the General Conference any more than there is a separate constitution of the United States Congress. The organic law of the Church should provide for the General Conference and specify its organization and powers, even as it would provide for annual, judicial, and other Conferences and Church organizations.

But what of the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church? Did we ever have one? Some say our fathers were so absorbed in soul-winning that they never gave thought to such things as constitutions. They err who so affirm. It is well known that when, at the close of our Revolutionary War, Mr. Wesley was preparing the habiliments for "the few sheep in the wilderness," over whom he had exercised the office of shepherd, but whom he now desired should be constituted an independent Church, he took the Liturgy of the Church of England and revised it, calling that revision *The Sunday Service.* He also took the Thirty-nine Articles of that Church and, by free excisions, carefully eliminated obnoxious or questionable doctrines, reducing their matter fully two thirds and their number to twenty-four. This *Sunday Service*, the Articles of Religion, and the *Psalms and Hymns* for the new Church were printed in London in 1784, and were brought over in sheets by Dr. Coke, when he came with letters of authority to organize the new Methodism in the new nation west of the Atlantic.

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The preachers were called together in convention at Baltimore. Sixty-one, out of the total of eighty-three, attended. As Mr. Wesley's representative Dr. Coke took the chair, and read the terse and comprehensive letter of Wesley, in which he stated the grounds of his action and of his advice to the American preachers. Sherman, in his *History of the Discipline*, well says of this gathering: *

> It was a convention assembled for the purpose of organizing the Church and establishing a constitution for the government of the body, without any expectation of its recurrence. The Discipline provided in 1784 was designed to serve as a constitution, to be supplemented by such statutory provisions from time to time as the Conferences might find necessary.

This body of preachers accepted Mr. Wesley's *Sunday Service*, the Articles of Religion, and the *Psalms and Hymns*. They also accepted his advice as to organizing an Episcopal Church. But, although Coke and Asbury had both been appointed superintendents by him, the fledgling Church led by Asbury would not accept them as such until elected to the office by their own convention. They then took the Large Minutes—the Discipline of the English Methodists—and, omitting or adding at will, made such changes as would in their opinion adapt them to the work in this country. The results of this careful labor were at once published and bound up with the sheets already mentioned as having been printed in London and brought over by Mr. Coke.†

In this book, the first edition of the Discipline, we find on page 3 the following questions and answers:

> Q. 3.—As the ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs of these United States have passed through a very considerable change by the Revolution, what plan of Church government shall we hereafter pursue?
>
> A.—We will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church under the direction of superintendents, elders, deacons, and helpers, according to the forms of ordination annexed to our liturgy, and the form of discipline set forth in these Minutes.

* Third edition, p. 27.

† As we prepare this paper we have before us a copy of this foundation publication of our Church. It has a separate title-page for each division. The one for this part of the volume is as follows: *Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D., the Rev. Francis Asbury, and Others, at a Conference begun in Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on Monday, the 27th of December, in the year 1784. Composing a Form of Discipline for the Ministers, Preachers, and other Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Philadelphia: Printed by Charles Cist in Arch Street, the Corner of Fourth Street. M,DCC,LXXXV.*

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The second edition of the Discipline was printed in London in 1786, in connection with *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America.* The separate heading of the Discipline occupies but a small space at the head of the page on which the "Minutes" begin. It is of considerable significance in this discussion, seeing it runs as follows: "The General Minutes of the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, forming the Constitution of the said Church." Question 3 and answer, as they appeared in the first edition, remain unchanged.

The third edition, that for 1787,* was printed by W. Ross, in Broad Street, New York, and is greatly changed. The title-page assures us that the "Form of Discipline" has been "arranged under proper heads, and methodized in a more acceptable and easy manner." It is in thirty-one sections, and in the sections retains the question-and-answer form, the questions of each section being numbered separately. As to this "methodizing," by reference to Asbury's *Journal* (November, 1785) it appears that Asbury, and probably John Dickins, arranged "the subject matter thereof under their proper heads, divisions, and sections." In order to confer with Coke, and more especially to get the consent of the District Conferences, seeing there were many and important changes, this new arrangement did not appear till 1787. As bearing on the present matter, Section III, "On the Nature and Constitution of our Church," is the most important. In the editions of 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1791 this section remained unchanged, and was as follows:

We are thoroughly convinced that the Church of England, to which we have been united, is deficient in several of the most important parts of Christian discipline; and that (a few ministers and members excepted) it has lost the life and power of religion. We are not ignorant of the spirit and designs it has ever discovered in Europe, of rising to preeminence and worldly dignities by virtue of a national establishment, and by the most servile devotion to the will of temporal governors; and we fear the same spirit will lead the same Church in these United States (though altered in its name) to similar designs and attempts, if the number and strength of its members will ever afford a probability of success; and, particularly, to obtain a national establishment, which we cordially abhor as the great bane of truth and holiness, and a great impediment to the progress of vital Christianity.

*An original copy of which is before us as we write.

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For these reasons we have thought it our duty to form ourselves into an independent Church. And as the most excellent mode of Church government, according to our maturest judgment, is that of *a moderate Episcopacy;* and as we are persuaded *that the uninterrupted succession of Bishops from the Apostles* can be proven neither from Scripture nor antiquity; we therefore have constituted ourselves into an *Episcopal Church*, under the direction of *Bishops*, *Elders*, *Deacons*, and *Preachers*, according to the forms of ordination annexed to our prayer book, and the regulations laid down in this form of discipline.

Evidently the men who organized the Church did think of such a thing as a constitution. The title to the second edition of the Discipline, and the celebrated third section in the next five editions, show that they did. Whatever we may think of the completeness or deficiency of their organizing work—whether it was wise or unwise for them to include the entire Discipline in the constitution, and not to have named therein the doctrinal basis of the denomination, or even the spiritual and practical basis as found in the General Rules—still, on a few points they were unmistakably clear. First, the organization was to be an independent Church; secondly, that Church was to be episcopal in government, and under the direction of the ministry; thirdly, the episcopacy of that Church was to be "a moderate episcopacy," "elective," and "amenable to the body of the ministry and preachers;" and, fourth, the plan of the episcopacy of that Church was to be connectional as against the diocesan, which they so well knew in England and in Rome. In their own language, the incumbents of the episcopal office were to be bishops of "the Methodist Connection in America." It is significant that these very items were a quarter of a century later embedded in the third restrictive rule. Beyond the foregoing the practical work of the Church in spreading scriptural holiness occupied nearly all the thought of that organizing Conference. But as they were to meet yearly, they no doubt intended to remedy any defects that became apparent; and to a considerable extent they did.

Singularly enough, Section III, "On the Nature and Constitution of our Church," retained its place in the Discipline only until the meeting of the first General Conference, in 1792. Speaking of this Conference, Sherman says, "The sections on the Constitution and on the Origin of the Episcopacy were condensed into that on the Origin of the Methodist Episcopal

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Church." * The new statement fell very far below the strength and explicitness of the sections which it supplanted; indeed, it was exceeding tame and a sorry apology for independent existence. But, lame as it was, this "condensation" remained unchanged for an even century. In 1892, the General Conference being dissatisfied with the century-old statement, and not thinking it necessary to even inspect the form of words that should take its place, instructed its committee on the revision of discipline to rewrite and improve this chapter of origins. It was ably and even beautifully done—but shades of the 1784 fathers! What liberties to take with their Declaration of Independence and the king-bolt of their "constitution!"

This was not the only section that, being of constitutional force and effect, was diluted, diffused, and practically destroyed. The General Conferences of 1796, 1800, and 1804 left us no reminder that they took any thought of constitutional matters. Whatever we may think of the wisdom of some of the changes made in those days, they were all legal. The itinerant minister had practically created the Church. They had not waited to be called, but they "went everywhere preaching the word," and the Lord daily added "those that were being saved." Consequently, this ministry organized or constituted the Church and her institutions, made and unmade doctrine, terms of membership, and what not. Later, this same body of men developed her Book Concern, her colleges and schools, and led the growing Church to the great place which she held and still holds among the communions of Christendom. The courage, aggressiveness, and spiritual force of this body of ministers has never been surpassed since the apostolic days. Hence, as the Church was episcopal, with a big "E" in italics, it was directed, with a big "D," by the preachers. Until 1800 every traveling preacher, whether ordained or not, had a seat in that body which made and unmade constitutions at will. In 1800 the order was taken that thereafter only those who had traveled four years should be eligible to seats in the Conference, and in 1804 it was again changed so as to limit membership to those who were in full membership and had traveled four years after being admitted to the Annual Conference. In 1808 the last of these mass-meeting General

* *History of the Discipline*, p. 30.

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Conferences was held. Again the larger body consented to be reduced, and said that thereafter the General Conference should be a delegated body, consisting of one in five of the members of the Annual Conference. However, before letting go of any of their authority they chose to fix "perpetually" the time of meeting (and the same word was probably intended to qualify all the other provisions), the membership, the quorum, and the presidency of the General Conference, and also to restrain the future Conferences in six particulars.

Outside of these provisions and restrictions they clothed this new governing body with unlimited authority "to make rules and regulations for our Church." Change in the reserve items could only be made by the Annual Conferences. Over them they retained absolute authority, seeing only they could initiate action to change; and even then it should be favored by all, or it could not pass. In 1832 the Annual Conferences released their grip, and the General Conference was permitted to share the right to initiate changes; and, instead of all the Annual Conferences, only three fourths of the aggregate membership present and voting were necessary to initiate or complete the suspension or change of a restrictive rule. This important change made the individual member of the Conference the voting unit, not the Conference, as it had been up to that time. That made the Annual Conference sessions, so far as constitutional questions are concerned, mere polling places, with no power to deprive any member of the Conference of the right to record his vote on any proposed change of a restrictive rule that may have been recommended by a two-thirds vote of the General Conference. In 1872 the most remarkable surrender of power was made by the Annual Conferences, when lay delegates were introduced into the General Conference; and by the separate vote arrangement they were given practically equal power with that of the ministry. Moreover, this was done indiscriminately, that is, in reference to all matters doctrinal and spiritual, to ministerial character, and everything that might come before the General Conference. Thus, little by little, for a hundred years the accent that at first was so strong on the "episcopal" in our name has been toned down, till it would seem as if long before another century it might be necessary to change our name to the "Methodist Congregational Church," though there,

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alas! "the nobles," with no touch of the heartaches and sacrifices of a Methodist preacher, might exercise a tyranny such as could hardly be possible even at the hands of a "King George" style of bishop or presiding elder. The trend of the century has been toward denuding the Annual Conferences of their power, and toward centralizing everything in the General Conference.

The new constitution ought to change both aspects of the case. First, it should greatly increase the responsibilities of the Annual Conferences; and, secondly, it should relieve the General Conference of those things which experience has shown to disturb its legislative poise. There is no more striking illustration of the tendency to General Conference centralization than is seen in the contention that the General Conference can change at its pleasure its own constitution. It is against reason that a delegated body should have such power over the constituting provisions that have been given it by its maker. This is still more true when the maker provides that those provisions shall operate "perpetually." It is evident that no grant of authority "to make rules and regulations for our Church" can authorize a General Conference to change the law of its own existence, or even to vote at all on such a charge unless specific authority to do so has been given.

Seeing there is no specified method for changing the paragraphs constituting the General Conference, save only that part embraced in the restrictive rules, and seeing that it is of the nature of revolution for the General Conference to assume power over these vital provisions, how then can they be changed? Some say by the restrictive rule process. While this is a safe conservatism there is absolutely no authority for the action. The neat way by which the Annual Conferences have been led to set a precedent along this line, by the current vote on the change of the day of General Conference meeting, should mislead nobody, and it is hoped it may never be repeated. How then can these paragraphs be changed? The right to change them inheres in the sovereign body of ministers who first gave them, and by the same vote that adopted them in 1808, namely, a majority vote. In the absence of any specific mode of amending, and until a way is prescribed, we submit this is the safe way. While the General

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Conference may call attention to what it considers desirable changes, no vote of that body should be effective in making the change. Is it not of the highest importance that such vital matters be authoritatively settled by the adoption of a new constitution?

For the peace and safety of the whole Church the new constitution should recognize, restore, and protect the New Testament responsibilities of the eldership in the government of the Church. Correspondingly, those of the laity should be recognized and protected. In order to do this it should secure to the laity veritable lay representation in the General Conference, and that either in equal numbers with the ministry or in a separate house. This would, no doubt, involve a direct vote of the laity in the election of the members of the Lay Electoral Conference, and the right in the General Conference to initiate all legislation relating to the purely business and financial affairs of the Church; while to the eldership—the pastorate—would be reserved the initiative on all matters relating to doctrines, discipline, and the spiritual life.

Closely related to this is another problem. The new constitution should provide a way to keep the General Conference numerically within the true limits of a legislative body, probably not to exceed three hundred and fifty. If the rate of increase that has prevailed for the last fifty years, or even the last twenty, should continue for fifty more, we would have over three hundred Conferences, with a membership of over fifty thousand. Give the foreign Conferences national autonomy, and, on the ratio of increase that has prevailed at home, there would still be over two hundred and fifty Conferences and forty thousand preachers. This is a conservative estimate. Radical changes as to representation must presently be faced. Will the solution be found in making the number of members, ministerial and lay respectively, the basis of representation, instead of the present regard for Annual Conference bounds?

Surely it is time we had a well-defined constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with clearly expressed provisions as to the powers and limitations of the General, Annual, and other Conferences and organizations of the Church, and especially a judiciary system reaching to a court that will be competent to pass judicially on the challenged acts of the General

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Conference itself. Should not that instrument contain a framework somewhat like the following?

I. The original declaration of purpose that the form of government of the Church shall be episcopal, and its name "The Methodist Episcopal Church."

II. Doctrinal Basis: The Bible as the word of God, interpreted in substance by the doctrinal statements of Wesley's Notes on the New Testament, and the historical four volumes of Wesley's Sermons (being the first 53 of Vol. i, Book Concern edition), together with the twenty-five Articles of Religion and the catechisms of the Church.

III. Spiritual and Practical Basis: The General Rules of the Church.

IV. The Ecclesiastical Framework: 1, Ritual; 2, Membership; 3, Officers; 4, Judiciary; 5, The Conferences; 6, Other Organizations.

V. Amendments, stating explicitly how each part may be legally changed in a manner both safe and convenient.

As it is out of the question that a General Conference should prepare such an instrument, or even maturely consider it after it is prepared, would it not be the part of wisdom for the next General Conference to arrange for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention which shall meet as soon as practicable and prepare the much-needed document? And is not this all that any General Conference should attempt to do in this matter? There never was a day in our Church when clearer thinking and freer speaking were needed than to-day, or when a broader statesmanship was demanded. May God himself guide in the settlement of these important affairs!

Jno Pearson

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ART. VIII.—MISREPRESENTATIONS OF MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES.

MISSIONS and missionaries suffer more at the hands of unfeeling, prejudiced, and often ignorant critics than the Churches and the ministry at home. The open assailants of the latter are neither very numerous nor very influential, and their misrepresentations cannot travel very far nor last very long; for the evidence of their falsity is accessible to everybody. Every community has its churches, and these churches are placed, not on obscure streets, but on the leading thoroughfares, so that they may be most convenient to the largest number and attract the most attention. They are not like private clubs or secret lodges; but all their acts of worship, all their practices, all that they believe and teach, all their thoughts and purposes, are for everybody to see and know. He who wishes to investigate them can do so as freely and fully as his purpose requires, and nobody can avoid knowing a great deal about them. It is not possible, therefore, to poison the public mind against them. Their true character is sure to prevail against any misrepresentation, however great the cunning which devises it or the persistency which publishes it.

But the work of the Church in foreign lands is not thus protected. Those who assail it and assert its failure address themselves to men and women who have no opportunity to give it a personal inspection, who only know what they have heard about it, and do not always know how to meet direct statements put forth as the result of personal visitation and investigation. If men who have lived in India, or China, or Japan, or Africa for months declare deliberately that the reports of the missionaries need to be sifted; that there are no real converts; that those who are reported as native Christians feign Christianity because the missionaries give them employment; that though Christian in name they are still heathen at heart, it is inevitable that suspicions should be aroused and doubts suggested as to the success of foreign missions. These suspicions may be latent at least for a long time; the doubts may never be uttered, and yet they must have some effect in settling the attitude of individuals toward the great cause.

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Suspicion develops into prejudice, which is difficult to deal with, and doubt is apt to lead to hostility. This makes the wider dissemination of missionary information of great importance.

The attacks upon missions and missionaries (and under this head we do not include friendly criticisms) assume various forms. Those which are most direct and explicit are not the most dangerous. It is those which are cautious in statement and suggest damaging conclusions—insidious attacks—which do the most mischief. The more sweeping and virulent the charges the less likely they are to convince or deceive. Their character is stampedupon their face. As an example of the more mischievous method, a daily newspaper of the highest reputation, referring to the massacre of Armenians in Turkey, intimated that while missionary work is a good thing in general it had only served in the Ottoman empire to deepen the dislike of the Turk for the Armenians, who were Christians before the missionaries arrived among them, and to accelerate their martyrdom. The inference meant to be drawn was: These people are already Christians, not of the highest type, perhaps, but Christians, nevertheless. They had learned how to live peaceably with their Moslem neighbors. Why send missionaries to accentuate the differences between Christ and Mohammed, and thus instigate bloodshed?

To charge that the missionaries are really at the bottom of the massacres is to go a step further, and this has been done by Mr. F. Hopkinson Smith, who in a Boston newspaper lauds the Turk and belittles the missionary, and insists that the "root of the trouble is in the missionaries sent out from America and England. Instead of trying to help the people," continues the author-artist, "they teach them that they are ill-treated, and sow the seeds of discontent and rebellion. They have started all the difficulty, and when the blame is properly placed it will rest on their heads." By making the "Unspeakable Turk" seem a far better kind of man than he is, and putting the missionary in the worst light, Mr. Smith manages to create an impression as nearly opposite the truth as possible. His method is fairly shown by the sentence in which he pictures the Turks as "superb specimens of physique," looking with "infinite contempt" upon "these little wizened, dried-up,

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spectacled women," as he designates the missionaries. Ignorant as his article proves him to be of the missionaries and their actual work, it is not pure ignorance which inspires his attack, but ignorance mixed with malice. Christian missionaries are not contemptible people. Those who so describe them either do not know them or deliberately malign them. The missionaries in Turkey are noble men, quite the equal of their brethren of the Congregational ministry in the United States. President Washburn, of Robert College, Henry O. Dwight, Farnsworth and Gates, and Dr. Barton, now one of the secretaries of the American Board, are men of the highest character and of conspicuous ability. No man, Turk or Christian, can look down upon them. They are God's noblemen, and such are the brave spirits who are standing at their posts, facing all danger, while the savage, sensual Turk is putting defenseless Christians to the sword, applying the torch to Christian homes, plundering Christian property, and consigning Christian women to a fate worse than the sword or the stake. Mr. Smith first spoke of them as Methodist missionaries; when told that there were no Methodist missionaries in Turkey he is said to have corrected himself and declared that he meant to speak of them as Baptist missionaries! If he keeps on guessing he may get it right by and by. If Mr. Smith should display such ignorance in discussing art or literature, or any other subject, he would be thoroughly discredited.

Many will remember how contemptuously certain influential daily newspapers and some persons of prominence spoke of the results of missionary work in the Hawaiian Islands when the revolution occurred which overthrew Queen Liliuokalani and the question of annexation to the United States was under discussion. The missionaries and their sons were most severely arraigned. They were accused of magnifying the immoralities of the natives, which had become more open and shocking under the reign of kings and queens of evil practices, of being avaricious, and of caring less for the welfare of the natives than for their own success in amassing wealth, and of depriving the poor Hawaiians of the right to rule their own land. If this was a fair example of the results of foreign missions, the less of them the better; if such was the character of missionaries, those who supported them ought to have their eyes opened.

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In these attacks no one was more reckless in statement and violent in denunciation than a member of the denomination to which the honor of Christianizing the Sandwich Islands belongs. Of course, the truth was on the side of the missions and the missionaries; but it could not be fully established at once. The charges must be sent to Honolulu; and it was a matter of time to gather up the facts, prepare an answer, and get it published in the United States. When the refutation came the Hawaiian question had ceased to interest the general public, and many who saw the charges and believed them never saw the articles which proved their falsity. They probably have a poorer opinion than they used to have of missionary work, and particularly of the men who conduct it; they will discount missionary reports in the future, and think of missionaries as the salaried representatives of rich societies, earning a good living in an easy way, sending home rose-colored accounts of their work, and using the poor heathen for their own selfish purposes.

What is the truth about the Hawaiians? Let one of the much-maligned "sons" of the early missionaries speak, himself an honored missionary—a man of high character and sound judgment, knowing thoroughly all the facts and careful to state them accurately—the Rev. Sereno E. Bishop. He says:

> Our fathers made this land what it has come to be. With Christ's help they lifted it out of sorcery and demon worship into Gospel light; out of slavery into political and social liberty; out of naked savagery into decency and civilization; out of scabby, squalid poverty into luxury and beauty, until it has earned the name of the "Paradise of the Pacific." We older sons and daughters have watched this progress since our infant years, when this lovely city of sweet lawns and palm avenues and rose gardens, of palatial homes and churches, was a dusty, arid stretch of dirty lanes and grass huts, filled with naked, lolling, brutish natives, none of whom could call aught his own against the cupidity of a chief. We remember well how our fathers, and some of us after them, held up Christ and taught the ignorant, and healed the sick, and battled against drunkenness and lechery and chiefish oppression, and filled the land with churches and schoolhouses.

All this was not accomplished without opposition. "A continual wave of calumny beat against our fathers, but never overcame them." These attacks came chiefly from "foreigners of loose morals." The civilization brought by the missionary was

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never hurtful to them. "Before Christianity reached them the inflaming of their vices and the poisoning by foul disease attendant on foreign intercourse had reduced their numbers from 300,000 to 150,000. During the twenty years preceding their complete evangelization they dwindled to 100,000. In fifty years more they have become less than 40,000." In the last quarter of a century the efforts of the missionaries to extend the reform of morals have been neutralized to a large degree by the revival of idolatry and sorcery under the lead of King Kamehameha V, and of degrading heathen practices. Kalakaua was still worse, and the last queen followed in their footsteps. It was the newer generation which fell into the old heathen vices; not the generation which the early missionaries Christianized.

As to the "sons" of missionaries, Mr. Bishop was at the pains to obtain a complete record of them, and, needless to say, it is a good one. Of the fifty-four sons of missionary fathers resident in the islands not one "has ever been arrested for crime or fallen a slave to any form of vice." They are all engaged in honorable occupations, six of them being missionaries or ministers. Two are millionaires, another nearly so, and three others have a competency. All of these are most generous in their benevolent contributions. Mr. Bishop concludes: "I suppose that an equally excellent class of men could not be found on the globe, descended from any particular body of parents, unless they were the sons of missionaries in some other mission fields."

It is in attacks upon missionaries as a class that most injustice is done. Of course there are individual missionaries, here and there one, not many in proportion to the number in the field, who prove to be unfit and incompetent. The methods of selecting men and women for this high calling are not, in some instances, wise. Certain organizations, not under denominational control, appoint many on short notice, and it is not strange that some whose ignorance, lack of adaptation, and unfortunate personal peculiarities make them unfit to serve in the mission field should receive commissions. Strength of character, large natural ability, and a thorough training are quite as important as a sound creed and an approved religious experience; and all the older and best managed societies and boards are

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careful to select only the best. It is manifestly unfair to judge the whole body of missionaries by one or two of the few who are below the proper grade. But such sweeping judgments have been made and will probably be made again. Some of the heathen visitors to the Parliament of Religions from India and China so presented their faiths as to convey the impression that the representatives of the Christian Church in those countries have not dealt honestly with them in their reports, and that these faiths are by no means so repugnant to the Western mind as our missionaries would have us believe. From such insufficient and unsafe premises there were not a few who drew the conclusion that our missionaries are a narrow-minded, bigoted, and ignorant class of men, who are wasting their time and the money of the societies in useless attempts to convert people who already have a religion suited to their nature and needs. It is a little difficult to estimate the effect which the Parliament of Religions had in depreciating the work and ability of missionaries before the uninformed and unreflecting public. The heathen religions were represented with great shrewdness and given a far more favorable character than they possess in the fields where the missionaries see them as they are, and the respectful attention commanded by their advocates was all they could have desired. The Buddhist delegates from Japan gave a glowing account, on their return, of their reception in the United States. They confessed that they went reluctantly, fearing that it was a shrewd attempt to entrap and convert them, but they soon found they were mistaken. The Parliament was called, they discovered, because the "Western nations have come to realize the folly of Christianity," and wished to learn what is the best religion. Buddhism demonstrated, they said, its superiority to Christianity, and there was no better place than the United States in which to propagate the religion of Buddha. They had made one convert in New York, a wealthy man, and as "his conversion may be said to mean more than the conversion of ten thousand ordinary men, so we may say truthfully that we made ten thousand converts at that meeting." If our missionaries were to count their converts by this kind of arithmetic our lists in foreign fields would be immensely enlarged, while the propagation of Buddhism in this country would undoubtedly prove as splendid a failure as

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Mohammed Russell Webb's absurd mission for Islam. The representations made for the Eastern religions at the Chicago Parliament have probably convinced those most willing to be convinced of the futility of Christian missions and the narrowness and incompetency of Christian missionaries. These, of course, belong chiefly to the class who are outside of the Church, and have never studied the subject. There are such men in our navy, and among the bitterest attacks on missions and missionaries are some which naval officers have covertly made. A few months ago an officer of one of our cruisers charged the manager of a Christian hospital in China with inhumanity and selfishness, and spoke of the "canting, whining hypocrites engaged in so-called missionary work among the Chinese," declaring that some one ought to "tell the whole truth about the fraud" and "storm the beggars out." Here was a wholesale statement based apparently upon a single incident. Of course the charges were not true, and the explanation indicated that rank prejudice and some discomfort caused by duty in port in hot weather were at the bottom of the misrepresentation. The enemies of our missions and missionaries—among whom, it is simple truth to say, several Roman Catholic newspapers must be numbered—are quick to catch up and circulate such slanders and draw the most sweeping conclusions therefrom.

It is not the truth which we have to fear, but lying statements and unjustifiable judgments. The more the facts are known the more the great cause is strengthened. We do not want to conceal anything; we want everything to be as public as possible. It is not the rule of the societies to defend the missionary who abuses his trust or to make failures appear as successes. They mean to be absolutely honest. All their accounts are open to inspection, and the results of the work in every field they are more than willing to have tested. If there are missionaries who are hypocrites nobody is more concerned to know it than those who employ them; if the converts of any mission are converts only in name and not in fact, caring only for the "loaves and fishes," the societies are most anxious to have the fraud laid bare. They court the fullest and most searching investigation, and are ready to meet any charges which are made sufficiently definite to admit of reply. When a naval officer says a whole body of missionaries are "canting,

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whining hypocrites," when another, higher in rank, says the missionaries in Turkey are at the bottom of the massacres there, they make statements which are palpably false and which persons of equal reputation and much larger information, not connected with missions, prove to be so. If anyone expresses the opinion that missionaries as a class are second or third rate men, who have done little except draw their salary, we point to Livingstone, Moffat, and Stewart, of Africa; Morrison, Williams, and Legge, of China; Henry Martyn, Reginald Heber, and Alexander Duff, of India, and to scores of names in missionary annals made illustrious not only by successful labors for the propagation of the Gospel, but by large and important contributions to the sum of human knowledge. They have made translations of the Bible or portions of the Bible into two hundred and sixty-nine languages and dialects; they have compiled grammars and dictionaries for scores of strange tongues; they have created alphabets for peoples who had no written language; they have written histories of many countries and brought ancient and unknown literatures to the light. Their contributions to philology have alone been of great and enduring value. Who can say that there have not been eminent scholars among them? The preface to *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii, says: "No class of men have earned a higher reputation as scholars or philanthropists than our missionaries. Their contributions to history, ethnology, philology, geography, and religious literature form their enduring monument."

The exploration of the southern half of Africa is largely due to missionaries. Krapf and Rebman, English missionaries, discovered Mount Kilimanjaro, and heard of an inland sea beyond. This led Speke and Grant to discover the Victoria Nyanza and Lake Tanganyika. The immortal Livingstone opened the way for Henry M. Stanley and inspired him to undertake his wonderful journeys. Stanley mapped out the course of the Congo, but missionaries have explored many of its long confluents. On the West Coast they have traced the Niger, the Ogove, and other streams, penetrated to the very heart of the continent, and described its physical features and its peoples. In East Africa they have traversed the entire region lying between the coast and the great lakes, and missionary reports

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give the best accounts of the country, its peoples, and its productions. What is true of Africa is true of the islands of the South Seas, of New Guinea, New Britain, and of various countries of Asia and America, and it is hardly too much to say that "missionaries have rendered more real service to geography than all the geographical societies in the world." *

If missionaries were "frauds" and "hypocrites" we should not expect them to remain at their posts when their lives are threatened. We should expect those in China to rush to a place of safety when war begins and the government of the empire is somewhat relaxed, so that it cannot insure protection against mobs and lawless bands of plunderers. Did the missionaries in China and Korea ask to be recalled? Did they flee as hirelings, or did they stay wherever their services were needed, wherever they could carry on their work? Missions have repeatedly been broken up in certain provinces in China, mission property destroyed, native Christians slain, and in some instances the missionaries beaten and even killed. It is not a year since the dreadful massacre in West China of English missionaries. Our own West China mission has been broken up twice by violence. But in all cases the work is renewed. The old missionaries return or others are sent in their places. In Turkey, where Moslem hatred of Christians has burned fiercely and thousands upon thousands of Armenians have been put to death for no other crime than professing Christ, where churches have been turned into mosques or burned to the ground and entire villages blotted out, where native pastors have been ruthlessly butchered and women subjected to infamous treatment—in Turkey, where fiends incarnate have enacted the most horrible scenes in mission centers, our American missionaries have faced every danger without flinching. Brave hearts and true, not one has returned in fear. Is this the spirit which "frauds" and "hypocrites" and "mercenaries" could be reasonably expected to manifest? Braver, nobler, truer men never faced death under Alexander, or Napoleon, or Wellington, or Grant than those who have carried the Gospel into every land beneath the sun. The hireling "fleeth because he is a hireling, and careth not for the sheep;" but the true shepherd "layeth down his life for the sheep." How can one prove the

* *Princeton Review.*

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sincerity of his faith more conclusively than by his willingness to give his life for it?

The genuineness of converts may be established by evidence as conclusive as that which refutes the cruel charges against the missionaries. Those natives who are Christians only for the temporal advantage they hope to gain by connection with the missionaries cannot be expected to endure severe persecution or make deliberate sacrifice of property or worldly position. The history of missions is the history of martyrdom almost everywhere. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. This has been true in Africa, in China, in India, in Turkey, in the islands of the sea—among all heathen and non-Christian peoples. Those first black Christians of Madagascar suffered torture and death as firmly under the reign of the bloody Queen Ranavalona as the early saints did under cruel Nero. For a period of twenty-five years, the missionaries having been driven out of the country, they endured the severest persecution, refusing to surrender their Bibles, persisting in holding meetings, and avowing their faith openly and without hesitation. Women who gave their houses to churchless members for Christian worship were speared while they knelt in prayer, some were beheaded, hundreds were sold into slavery, many were fugitives, but the great body of them were true to the religion of Jesus Christ. Similar scenes were frequently enacted in the islands of the South Seas, where the persecuting savages of to-day became the suffering Christians of to-morrow, counting not their lives dear unto them if only they might testify unto the truth. Even fierce cannibals, made gentle by the religion of Jesus, became successful missionaries to their degraded brethren. If it be said that these are ancient stories, we answer that there are modern instances. We point to the Armenian fathers, husbands, and sons who were offered the choice of Islam or death. That many of them accepted death the long roll of martyrs abundantly proves. How was it in North China during the late war? The hatred against the Christians in the neighborhood of Moukden became, says the Rev. John Ross, very fierce. Chapels were destroyed and one missionary, Mr. Wiley, was killed. In many places the native Christians were without the presence of a missionary. Soon as the war ended evangelists, sent on a tour of investi-

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gation, reported that they "found the Christians in great fear everywhere because of the wild and incessant threats directed against them. They seemed face to face with death. Many of them, with tears running down their cheeks and with quivering voices, declared that they could not at any cost give up Christianity. 'Better to die with Christ than to live without him,'" was the language these messengers constantly heard. Only three men, recent converts, had gone back to the heathen faith.

Such are some of the results of the labors of missionaries. Good fruit cannot be produced by a bad tree. Like missionary, like converts. If the missionaries were "frauds" and "hypocrites" their converts would be of like character. There are, fortunately, honest-minded, intelligent, and unprejudiced visitors to mission fields, as well as the other kind, and they gladly acknowledge the good which missions are doing. Eminent statesmen, educators, merchants, and physicians are among them, whose hearty, enthusiastic words might be quoted at length if space did not fail. A distinguished German, Dr. Warburg, made a trip to Formosa in the interests of science a few years ago, and he said in Hamburg on his return:

> I have seen sixteen chapels and people in them worshiping God. I have also seen native preachers standing on platforms preaching the truths of Christianity. *I never saw anything like it before.* If people in Hamburg saw what I have seen they would contribute for foreign missions. If scientific skeptics had traveled with a missionary as I have, and witnessed what I have on this plain, they would assume a different attitude toward the heralds of the cross.

Last year the Hon. John W. Foster, ex-Secretary of State of the United States, gave an account of what he saw in mission lands, particularly in India, China, and Japan, on his recent tour abroad, and he declares that the results of missionary work are wonderful. It is, he says, "the greatest movement for the integrity and well-being of the human race that has ever been known."

H. K. Carroll.

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Art. IX.—THE LAW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AS TO AMUSEMENTS—A CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION.

FIRST PAPER.

Regardless of differences as to what is included in the organic law of the Methodist Episcopal Church, all agree that the Articles of Religion and the General Rules are a part of it. These the General Conference is powerless to "revoke" or "change." The former give us our legal creed; the latter, the general law of Christian practice. Curiously, unless the intensely practical character of Wesley's mind be taken into account, while the declaration of faith is at important points incomplete, the rules relating to conduct are distinguished by comprehensive fullness. As Bishops Coke and Asbury said, in their notes upon the Discipline, this "section forms perhaps one of the completest systems of Christian ethics or morals, for its size, ever published by an uninspired writer." The entire movement of life is touched by it, in principle, and in some instances the ground is so covered that nothing can be added. Upon its inspection one will be struck, also, by the deep perception of the demands of Bible truth, and knowledge of the human heart, which this code exhibits. While certain things are in terms cut off others are left to the Christian conscience and judgment. By way of illustration, and as showing Wesley's masterly power of condensed statement, take his law regarding the recreations which "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness" may not indulge in. With terse force they are forbidden "*such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus.*"

No attempt is made to enumerate inhibited pleasures. Wesley was not more apostolic than statesmanlike. In the spirit and after the method of the Master, he covered this field with absolute completeness, for our times as well as his own; and yet so left the matter to the individual conscience and freedom as to lay upon both an exercise in the choice of amusements which marks and develops Christian character or shows its absence. Under this law denial to one's self of doubtful pleasures, when tempted thereto, must give moral strength, and

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so be a true spiritual culture. No clause in this remarkable body of rules more strikingly demonstrates the consummate sagacity and wisdom of our great founder. More is the pity that we should not have been satisfied to leave this subject where he left it, seeking only a proper enforcement of his rule by judicious administration. Emphatically is this the case in view of the circumstance that, in vain effort to improve upon Wesley, we have a supposed law, bad in form, and really void because it is an attempt to modify a constitutional provision.

I. The new rule specifies as forbidden "dancing, playing at games of chance, attending theaters, horse races, circuses, dancing parties, or patronizing dancing schools." This is a singular list. So far as the enumeration goes, while our people are denied attendance upon theaters or dancing parties they may witness the great gambling games of baseball and indulge in minstrel shows; and though not allowed to see horse races or circuses they can turn out to boat races and look on while the brutalities of football are perpetrated. The boy's purely "chance" game of "odd or even" is prohibited, while it is doubtful whether whist, which is largely a game of skill, may not under the rule be indulged in. True, this enumeration is followed by a general clause against "taking such other amusements as are obviously of misleading or questionable moral tendency." But, in view of the general rule in question, one may say of it all, *Cui bono?* What good is there in it beyond Wesley's legislation? Apparently intending to enlarge that, its influence has probably been weakened by fixing the mind on an arbitrary specification, whereas he centers it upon the tendency of any diversion, with reference to spiritual results.

II. A further objection to this action arises from the fact that it is void of all effect, as a mere repetition of the general rule regarding amusements, or is an unauthorized attempt to revoke or change that rule. The rule includes all that can relate to this question. No one lawfully may join in any diversion which cannot be "used in the name of the Lord Jesus." Hence, if the new act goes no farther it is legally superfluous—adds nothing, and consequently is a nullity.

By the clearest implication the rule allows to our people all amusements which *can* be "used in the name of the Lord Jesus." This evidently covers all that are not *per se* sinful, and

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which do not involve bad associations. Here is the area of Christian liberty which Wesley and our general rule leave to personal discretion. At this point the only questions which legally can be made respect excessive indulgence, or other special circumstances of evil tendency. As a consequence, if the new act at any point circumscribes this operation or effect of the general rule it is void, as in so far attempting to "revoke" it, while if it authorizes what the rule did not allow it also is for so much void, as attempting to "change" it.

The argument is this: The general rule is a part of the constitution. It covers the whole question of amusements. If the new act merely repeats it, in whole or part, the new act must be inoperative, because adding nothing whatever to existing law. On the other hand, if it is to be construed as narrowing or enlarging the operation or effect of the general rule, it is an attempt so far to "revoke" or "change" it, contrary to the fundamental law, which of course renders it void. Should it be regarded as having all three of the effects suggested, the result obviously is the same.

III. If it be said that the new action is authorized by the power given to make rules and regulations for the Church, the answer is obvious. That relates to matters respecting which the constitution is silent; when it makes a rule upon a subject, that becomes exclusive, because supreme. Nor does the negative form of the provision affect this conclusion. Its evident purpose is to lay down the law of amusements. It had been the sole rule of the united societies and of the Church, until the constitution was enacted. That it was made a part of this instrument evinces an intention to maintain it as the only law upon the subject. Manifestly, the rule no more can be changed by adding to than by taking from it. The General Conference has as much authority to make a new article of religion as a new general rule. It alone cannot enlarge the organic law.

Possibly it may be claimed that what has been done is legitimate as defining or specifying certain things covered and denied to our people by the effect of this general rule. But the proposition is untenable. Such a question can arise and be determined only through the judicial power, in applying the law to cases. While as an exercise of legislative authority the Conference may declare the meaning of its own acts, with

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respect to their future operation, it cannot so decide an interpretation of the constitution. That action belongs alone to its judicial functions, and, as in our book on our organic law is fully shown, can be taken only where a case comes before the body for decision. To illustrate, and show a correct view of the law at this point, suppose a young woman to be arraigned for violating the general rule in question. The indictment might be in this form:

CHARGE.

The taking of such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus.

SPECIFICATIONS.

1. That on May 4, 1895, the said Amelia B., then being at the home of Lucy D., a member of another Church, and a girl about the age of said A. B., to wit, sixteen years; and the mother of the said L. D. then playing a piece of music known as a waltz, upon her piano, the said A. B. and L. D., in the presence of the household, did dance to the same, for the time of ten minutes.

2. That on July 4, 1895, at the town of M., the said A. B. did attend a gathering of people brought together for what is known as a "platform dance," to which bad characters resorted, and where beer was sold and drank, whereby many there became intoxicated; that, as one of said gathering, and in the presence of various disreputable persons, with one George H., an irreligious man, the said A. B. did dance to the music of a waltz, for the time of ten minutes.

Now, let it be assumed that the first specification was clearly proved, but that the second was not; that as to the second the case was one of "mistaken identity." A question of law would then arise as to whether the first specification sustained the charge. This could be determined only by an interpretation of the general rule, and so the committee or court trying the case would be compelled to decide whether or not it forbade the "dance" of the two girls as a "diversion," which, under the circumstances supposed, could not be taken in the name of Christ. For in one view the charge would be proved, and the party found guilty, while in the other it would fail, and she of course be acquitted. That the latter result must follow on the facts supposed seems beyond question. No one, surely, could say that the conduct set out in the first specification violated this general rule. Yet it would be forbidden by the unauthorized act of 1872—a circumstance which serves to show that the letter was designed to "change" the rule, and as a conse-

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quence its unconstitutionality. So, also, had the second specification been proved, and the first failed, the same question of law would have arisen, though the decision manifestly must have been that it did support the charge, and required a finding of guilt. But the special point is that a decision upon the sufficiency of either specification is necessarily and purely a judicial act. Hence the General Conference has no power to legislate what it should be, in that or any other case. A fatal objection to the action in 1872 is that it attempts exactly such an inversion and perversion of powers.

Take another case. The rules forbid the putting on of "costly apparel." Will anyone claim that the General Conference can determine by legislation what apparel is or is not "costly," within the purview of this provision? That obviously falls within its judicial powers alone, and hence the clause can be construed only when a case arises for decision. The rule covers the whole ground, the General Conference is powerless to revoke or change it, and so is invested with authority simply to interpret and apply it in the decision of cases. The same is true of the clause which debars our people from "reading those books which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God." Whether, for example, *Trilby* falls into the forbidden list is a question solely of judicial interpretation. Hence it cannot be passed upon until some one is put upon trial for a violation of the rule in reading it. The General Conference, by virtue of its legislative power, is not authorized to make an *index expurgatorius*, and thus say that this or any other book is in the excluded category. Fortunately, the body never has attempted the folly of such action. Why it should have been done with respect to the cognate question of amusements is one of the things which passeth understanding. That it was a great mistake seems too evident for debate, in view of the policy and principles of the general rule. We entertain no doubt of its having driven thousands of excellent young people into other Churches, whose rulers were sufficiently discerning to see that it is not necessary to strain at a gnat in order to avoid swallowing a camel.

The truth is, as we apprehend, that the law of our Church as to amusements is purely Wesleyan and organic, and, as the constitution now stands, beyond the power of the General

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Conference. Its action on the subject, as embodied in ¶ 240 of the Discipline, must be regarded, therefore, not as law, but as the advice or opinion of those who voted for it. While in that view entitled perhaps to consideration, we confess to a strong preference for the deeper wisdom of Wesley and our general rule on this subject. The discretion it allows is within the limits of morality. But this leaves a field of Christian liberty, under a law which is ever an appeal to conscience and a help to the formation of moral character. Excessive indulgence in an allowable amusement, like gluttony, may become an imprudence, scandalize the Church, and so subject one to discipline; as also might be the case were one to take legitimate diversions in improper places. For instance, a Christian could hardly justify habitual resort to saloons for drinking water or the stopping in gambling dens to wait for trains.

We trust that sufficient reasons have been given for letting the anomalous action of 1872 pass into "innocuous desuetude," and the great original law of Wesley come once more into commanding position and influence. In that event the Church will be saved at once from the humiliation of a supposed law, bad in form and defective in substance, and from the losses it causes her by driving young people of character and culture into other communions.

Hiram L. Sibley

SECOND PAPER.

THE object of this article is to present in briefest form some reflections concerning the amusement regulations enacted by the General Conference of 1872, in their relation to the fundamental law of our Church. We make no attempt to discuss the character of the amusements particularly prohibited. It is proper, however, that we should guard against a false inference. No one can justly conclude from anything here written, or left unwritten, that we regard the end sought by the regulations in question otherwise than most important. The Church certainly has sufficient cause for seeking to guard against the

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inroads of frivolity and worldliness. But how best to correct existing evils, or most effectually to prevent them, is a momentous question, to answer which would require extended and discriminating discussion. Upon this we do not now enter.

Our present question is purely legal. Are the special regulations touching amusements, in ¶ 240 of our Discipline, constitutional? Did the General Conference of 1872, in making these regulations, act within the limits of its constituted authority? As to this, it deserves to be noted:

1. The General Rules define the condition of membership in our Church, so far as moral and religious requirements are concerned. They are the statement of these conditions. Evidence of this appears at the beginning of every paragraph: "There is only one condition previously required," etc.; "It is expected of all who continue in these societies," etc. The beginning of the last paragraph is of marked significance: "These are the General Rules of our societies; all which we are taught of God to observe, even in his written word, which is the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice." This is intended, doubtless, to attach to these rules the weight of Scripture authority. It is also calculated and intended to prevent any narrowing or broadening of these rules by interpretation so as not to leave them in conformity with Scripture teaching. The General Rules thus profess to require no more and no less than God requires "in his written word." The ethical conditions of membership in our Church, as stated in these rules, recognize the same necessity for the exercise of Christian liberty, of good judgment, and of developed and refined conscientiousness that is recognized by the Scriptures. While the General Rules particularize at many points, and specifically prohibit things absolutely and universally wrong, with regard to things the moral quality of which is variable, according to circumstances or methods, they do not particularize, but include all such things under the guidance of a general principle. For example, profanity, drunkenness, and quite a number of other things are particularly forbidden. But the one general rule with regard to amusements is that which forbids "the taking such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus." Other examples might be given, but the above is sufficient and the one most pertinent to our purpose.

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It was of this section of our Discipline that Coke and Asbury said, "The present section forms perhaps one of the completest systems of Christian ethics or morals, for its size, which ever was published by an uninspired writer." *

2. The fourth restrictive rule declares that "the General Conference shall not revoke nor change the General Rules of the United Societies." It is said, in ¶ 67, that "the General Conference shall have full power to make rules and regulations for our Church under the following limitations and restrictions." And one of the limitations is that just cited. This appears quite like a denial of any right to the General Conference to change the conditions of membership in our Church. If it is not that, what is it?

Of the restrictive rules in general it may be said that they are designed to protect rights and prerogatives in various directions. Thus, to avoid too much detail, beginning with the third restrictive rule, we find there a safeguard thrown around our episcopal form of government and "the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." The General Conference is not permitted to encroach in the slightest degree in this direction. The restrictive rule has always been construed rigidly, but not too rigidly. The only way in which any change can be brought about in our long-standing method of episcopal government is that prescribed for changing the constitution of the Church. What part the General Conference may have in this every reader is aware. The fifth restrictive rule protects both ministers and lay members in their right to duly appointed trial and appeal. The application and enforcement of the law of our Church is here properly guarded. The fourth restrictive rule, immediately preceding and thus emphasizing its significance, calls attention to, and guards, the law under which members must be tried. It is designed to protect the members of our Church against any change by the General Conference affecting the conditions of their church membership. These conditions may be lawfully changed, but not by the General Conference alone—not even by the vote of two thirds of the General Conference standing alone. Is anyone prepared to say that such a safeguard thrown around membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church is anything less than wise and

* Sherman's *History of the Discipline*, p. 118.

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just? Shall it be held lawful for the General Conference, if it thinks best, to change the conditions of church membership every four years?

3. The General Conference of 1872, by enacting the amusement clause in ¶ 240, did change the conditions of church membership, and thus did what was equivalent to changing the General Rules. It may be said that these regulations were made in accordance with the spirit of the General Rules, and that there is no change that is essential. But this is not the case, for the regulations particularize at a point where the General Rules refrain from particularizing. They pronounce against certain forms of amusement a sweeping and undiscriminating judgment that is not in harmony, but rather in contrast, with both the spirit and method of the General Rules. They practically demand an ignoring, or slurring over, of genuine moral distinctions—a thing never wise or safe. They stand, therefore, in contrast with the General Rules in respect to the proper education of conscience. They leave no room for the administrators of Discipline to exercise discrimination with regard to matters which, whatever else may be said about them, cannot be wisely handled without discrimination. In short, both ministers and lay members find themselves confronting a new order, a changed condition of church membership, since the establishment of these regulations.

It will doubtless be held by some that the General Conference at the point in question acted not as a legislative, but as a judicial, body, and that these regulations must stand as a judicial interpretation of the fundamental law. Yet, it is sufficient to remark, in reply, that judicial bodies never interpret laws abstractly, but always with reference to a particular case. And the interpretation, while it may carry great weight in construing the law in similar particular cases, never attains to the authority of law itself. The General Conference did not, and could not, act in its judicial capacity, for the reason just suggested. Acting as it did, as a legislative body, it overlooked at this point the significance of the fourth restrictive rule.

Enoch McChesney.

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EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

HEGEL felt that religion was thought; Schleiermacher thought religion was feeling; but religion has both thought and feeling, the feeling being the proper and natural product of the thought under the illumination and quickening of the Holy Spirit.

PRECIPITATE action, a disregard of fundamental law by unconstitutional methods of procedure, and the election of any but the best and most suitable men to high office—these are the gravest perils besetting the approaching General Conference.

A LONG-STANDING rule in the office of this *Review* is that no paper which is a review of a book can be published among the contributed articles. A rule agreed upon in all publishing offices is that no manuscript intended for publication should ever be rolled, but should be folded flat.

IN the death of Bishop Atticus G. Haygood, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, bereavement is not limited to the communion in which he was so eminent and powerful. It is hardly too much to say that all mankind have lost a wise and useful friend, for he loved and labored for man as man. His helpful sympathies knew no boundaries less than the whole human race. Especially the Christian people of the United States, from Hatteras to the Golden Gate, from the Thousand Islands to Florida Keys, may well mourn under a sense of loss.

CHRIST is the interpreter of God; the New Testament interprets Christ; the initial and immediate, and also the consummate, task of theology is to interpret the New Testament. All churches and creed-holders perceive that theology is to be more and more biblical. Exegesis is both the primary and the postgraduate teacher of theology. Exegetical theology parentally precedes systematic theology. The transfers of Professor Warfield, formerly of Allegheny, now of Princeton, and of Professor Stevens,

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of Yale, from a chair of New Testament exegesis to one of systematic theology were logical and philosophical. The man who knows the foundations passes on naturally to the superstructure built thereon. The hope of theology rests upon a rational, progressive, and consistent exegesis; an exegesis centering in Christ and moving outward from him; starting with the consciousness of Jesus as to the being, nature, purpose, and fatherhood of God and as to his own Sonship, this consciousness being corroborated by his miracles, his teachings, the fulfillment of his words, his life, death, resurrection, ascension, the reality of his kingdom progressing in the world, and the Christian consciousness. Few things have rendered greater service to Christian theology than the Tübingen attack of fifty years ago on the New Testament, inasmuch as it drove the scholars of the Church to more searching New Testament study. This really brought in a new day for theology, which has come to rest its reasonings more directly on a critical exegesis of the New Testament (and of the Old Testament as well, as preparatory for, and bearing on, the New); an exegesis analytic and synthetic, spiritual, broadly constructive, and thoroughly coherent, interpreting each passage in conformity with its context, and every part in the light of the whole; discarding utterly the inane, wooden, mechanical, disconnected proof-text methods once in vogue, by which the most abominable absurdities could be supported as easily as the most reasonable conclusions.

THE POWER OF APPOINTMENT.

By the will of the Methodist Episcopal Church the power of appointment has always been lodged in the episcopacy. Examination of our denominational beginnings ascertains that Mr. Wesley's assistants, afterward general superintendents or bishops, came into the new Church upon its organization with the appointing power received from Wesley in their hands. By Asbury's sagacious and timely request that power was at once submitted to vote of the new organization, and by that vote it was confirmed and settled beyond dispute as the decree of the denomination. This was prudent because political conditions made it possible that Wesley's authority, if left unsupported, might presently be called in question, inasmuch as his well-known tory views, though not so rabid as those of his brother Charles, tended to alienate American Methodists, who, with their compatriots, were in no mood to accept dictation in Church or State from English authority. The organizing Conference confirming this power

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ordained a corner stone around and upon which the foundations and superstructure of episcopal Methodism were then constructed. John Wesley first, and the General Conference afterward, located the power of appointment in the general superintendency. There it still remains, the Church having steadily refused to disturb the historic foundations or to impair the integrity of the structure reared by coordinating parts and methods with the initial corner-stone decision. Propositions to disturb and distribute the power of appointment have always been rejected by the deliberative wisdom of the Church.

Be it noted that this appointing power rules over bishops, presiding elders, and pastors alike. All are subject to it. To this power in the episcopacy each bishop as an individual laborer is required to be as obedient as the humblest pastor in the Church. The authority resident in the Episcopal Board as a unit, delegated to an impartial committee selected for the purpose, assigns each bishop his particular work twice a year, and he goes to his appointment by order of an authority he cannot control, the same as any other Methodist itinerant, submitting to that necessary authority sometimes with a degree of inconvenience and discomfort to himself and to his family not exceeded by what is endured by the average pastor. So long as the present plan of superintendency continues the circuit system is preserved among us, the bishops being the great circuit riders of our itinerancy. They, preeminently, are our traveling preachers, who receive their appointments, pick up their saddlebags, and start around on their big circuits, to be separated long and far from home and family.

Two principal modifications suggested for this historic method and order call, the one for an elective presiding eldership and the other for a districted episcopacy. By the first the power and responsibility of selecting presiding elders would be taken from the bishops and put upon the pastors. Once a General Conference voted to authorize the election of presiding elders by the Annual Conference, but Joshua Soule raised a question as to the constitutionality of such procedure, and the next General Conference suspended the action of its predecessor, while a later one canceled it altogether. An indication of the careful purpose of the Church to keep the power of appointment where the founders put it is seen in the fact that the form of appointment of even all General Conference officers by the bishops is still extant, as if elections by the General Conference were to be, in form, at least, a request to the bishops to appoint certain men to special

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positions other than pastoral. The election of presiding elders by Annual Conferences (whether composed, as now, solely of ministers, or of preachers and laymen, as some advocate) would be the exercise by those bodies of the power to appoint to pastoral work (the eldership being essentially pastoral); a power which the General Conference itself has studiously refrained from appropriating. The General Conference elects men to the episcopal office for the oversight of the work, but all its action has implied that the power of appointment to pastoral work is understood and ordained to rest in the office of superintendent or bishop.

The other modification suggested is the replacing of our itinerant general superintendency by a districted episcopacy, confining each bishop to a specified territory (for four years or more), and not allowing him to travel through the connection. This is not only a destruction of our present plan and an introduction of a very different one, the expediency of which is more than doubtful, but also a disturbing and dividing of the power of appointment to pastoral work, for the bishops are chief pastors. By the method proposed the General Conference would exercise the power of appointment over each bishop and assign him to a limited field for the ensuing quadrennium. This takes away from the episcopacy the power of dividing up its work among the members of the Episcopal Board. It is clear that an itinerant general superintendency is what the Church has deliberately preferred from the beginning. Around it the first General Conference organized the Church, enforcing upon the bishops the duty of traveling through the connection and supervising all the work, but leaving it with them to decide their movements and to divide their work by their own all-surveying judgment of the needs of the Church. And to this day the General Conference has not given directions to the bishops as to their mutual relations or their episcopal visitations. The motion made and passed some years ago concerning the assignment of bishops to Conferences adjacent to their residences, which met so peculiar a fate, was a request. The whole history of the Church, from a point antedating the organization of the General Conference until now, shows this power of episcopal distribution to be, in the judgment and by decree of the Church, resident in the episcopacy as a body. If all but one of the bishops were to die the whole power and responsibility of the episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church would rest in that one bishop; he would be under all the obligations of the office, and for the whole Church, including mis-

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sion fields. And manifestly he would have to choose which of many pressing things he would do and to which of many important calls to labor he would respond. The same principle now applies to the sixteen holding authority and carrying responsibility in the unity of the episcopal office. They, as a body, must judge what work is most urgent and how it shall be divided among themselves. Coordinate with the missionary bishops in the mission fields, they have the right, and may have the duty, to visit those fields also.

In the fact that the General Conference which first elected a missionary bishop did not do so until the permission of the Church had been secured in the constitutional way for a change of the restrictive rule, is proof that it has always been understood that the General Conference has not in itself the power either to limit the jurisdiction of a general superintendent or to create a bishop with only local authority. It should be clear to every mind that the districting of a general superintendent to any particular group of Conferences, as is by some proposed, is a proposition not to be enacted by vote of the General Conference, and one, moreover, out of harmony with the intention of the fathers and with the historic foundations of our system as the fathers laid them. Nothing is clearer than that the founders distinctly meant something very different from a diocesan episcopacy, an office which should not have the least appearance of being diocesan or local, unless it be clearer that the Church ever since has consistently and firmly maintained that original decision. It has recently been pointed out, publicly and pertinently, in an able article that if the General Conference has the right to district a bishop for four years it may do it for eight or twelve years or for the bishop's lifetime; and this would mean that the General Conference has power to alter our itinerant general superintendency into a diocesan episcopacy and remodel the Methodist Episcopal Church as constituted by the fathers into another Protestant Episcopal Church, without any respect to our restrictive rule requiring the formal and registered consent of the Church at large for a change so radical and so fundamentally at variance with the organic structure.

Next to the question of the constitutionality of the proposition to district the bishops by vote of the General Conference comes the question whether such a change of plan and policy is necessary, supposing it to be attempted in the constitutional way. Is not the work of superintendency divided among the bishops,

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now and by the historic method, with pure and sole regard for the best interests of the Church? Is the body of men known as the General Conference, few members of which travel widely or know the state of the Church broadly, in a position to understand the needs of our enormous denomination in its entirety and of its different localities comparatively, better than the body of men known as the Episcopal Board, every member of which travels widely through the connection and acquires a scrutinizing acquaintance with the work and the workers? Is it at all likely that the General Conference could distribute the bishops more wisely than the Episcopal Board can assign its members? The General Conference, and the Committee on Episcopacy as well, is so large a body that information possessed by individual members one by one as to the special needs of particular localities can hardly be communicated to the whole, and the sessions are so crowded with business that, were such impartation of intelligence possible, there is not time. The Episcopal Board, on the contrary, is so small a body that information held by one bishop can be made the possession of all, and for this there is time, inasmuch as it is their chief business.

Under our system as we now have it there is the possibility of having the continued presidency of one and the same bishop for consecutive years in any Conference where exceptional conditions seem to call for it. It is in the power of the Episcopal Board itself, on its own motion or prompted by recommendation of the General Conference, or request of an Annual Conference, to prolong the jurisdiction of one bishop over the same territory, if and whenever the needs of the work or other considerations make it desirable. The records of not a few Annual Conferences show that at various periods each of those Conferences has been in the hands of one and the same bishop for a succession of years. For definite instances, this was the case with a number of the New England Conferences; and the Missouri Conference had that experience again and again, being several times in charge of the same bishop for two and three successive years. For a recent instance, Bishop Vincent has had the Oklahoma Conference for the past three years. In numerous cases, by reason of death or illness changing plans, a Conference has had the benefit, if such it be, of the same presidency in successive sessions. The continued presidency of one bishop in a Conference or group of Conferences is therefore not in violation of our present order; but the power to determine lies with the Episcopal Board. Even

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if the bishops were districted, the right and duty of the other bishops to step in and do the work in case of death or disability of the local bishop would have to be recognized and prescribed. There is no room to doubt that under our present method the Episcopal Board distributes its members with utmost possible reference to the needs of Conferences and the fitness of men for existing exigencies, as well as to considerations of economy as affected by proximity and chronological order in each bishop's block of Conferences.

INADVISABILITY OF DISTRICTING BISHOPS.

Once in four years the Church is turned into a debating society. The approach of General Conference brings agitation. Every man that hath a dream of how things might be bettered tells his dream. The amount of mental energy, acuteness, and inventiveness displayed in these eager discussions allays all fear of stagnation or apathy; and Methodism manifests its capacity for self-criticism and reconstructive enterprise, entertaining evidently the purpose of improvement whenever changes become clearly necessary to the maintenance or normal increase of efficiency.

Everywhere and always advocates of radical reform are apt to be, by temperament and by the exigencies of their situation, aggressive, zealous, and clamorous. In debates they are loudest, longest, and most frequent. In the absence of any correspondingly adequate statement in apology for things as they are, an uninstructed stranger hearing these debates might conclude that the system under discussion must be a rickety and ridiculous pile of blunders and anachronisms which should be demolished at once for the comfort and safety of those residing under it.

Lest it be made to appear that we are denominational descendants of men who had so little wisdom that they have loaded upon their successors a system made up principally of mistakes, it may be well occasionally for somebody to inquire gently whether established usages and polity have any excuse for coming into being or any justification for continuing to exist.

In these quadrennial discussions the episcopacy, as to plan and personnel, is not overlooked, but receives a measure of attention fully proportioned to the dignity and importance of the office. And among the changes suggested as improvements is one which would attempt to secure some of the advantages of a dio-

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cesan episcopacy. Now, it is well to remember that it is not possible to have all the benefits of all systems under any one system. The desire to secure such monopoly of benefits is natural, but futile. Diocesan bishops may be able to do some things which itinerant general superintendents cannot; but judicious selection of method is made by a comparison of advantages. As between two possible plans of administrative and executive superintendency we decide by considering which is best suited to the character of our work, most in harmony with the spirit of our communion, with an amazingly successful history, and even with the intention of the fathers, and which adjusts best with the rest of our peculiar machinery, and most fully meets the needs arising out of all these features and facts.

Supposing it to be proposed to obtain for the Methodist Episcopal Church, by proper constitutional process, a districted episcopacy, it is well to raise the question whether there are any points in which that plan would be obviously inferior for our uses to our unbrokenly historic method.

I. In the Annual Conferences would there be any loss by the districting of bishops?

The present plan is evidently calculated to secure for the various types and classes of ministers their due appreciation in their turn. It is certain that contrasting types of ministerial character and work will commend themselves differently to different bishops. If a bishop be himself a man of rough vigor he will be apt to favor men of his own type. The driving, pushing, aggressive, ambitious, obtrusively energetic sort will seem to him the ideal men for bringing things to pass. He will not naturally ask concerning the depth and permanence of showy and measurable results, accomplished perhaps by undue admixture of carnal elements, so long as the definite and conspicuous results are achieved. Such a bishop is not likely to appreciate at its proper value the quiet strength of more refined and less demonstrative natures, the genuine and abiding worth of modest men, the result of whose labor rises without sound of ax, or hammer, or clatter of any tools, or shout of the workman; strong, symmetrical, and stable as a temple; an unselfish, unsensational, discreet, and edifying ministry. In making appointments he may naturally prefer the rougher, brawnier, more rugged men. By similar working of personal preference a bishop of opposite type, of finer fiber, higher intellectual culture, more refined spirituality, and less in sympathy with carnal methods, will inevitably in his

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turn understand, believe in, and, so far as is in his power, promote men of like character with himself and his ideals. This he will conceive to be his duty to the Church, as did his predecessor in the opposite direction. Human nature, in bishops, as in other men, being built that way, it is certain that constant change of presidents in an Annual Conference operates to guarantee justice in the long run to all types of ministerial ability and temperament. District the bishops, and within the bounds of many a Conference the demand from one class or another of the ministry for a new and different bishop would be loud before a single quadrennium of continued presidency had passed.

Again, as to apprehending a situation and forming correct judgment of the work, no bishop can be infallible. Though he come to a Conference with a pure, consecrated, and prayerful purpose to be just and wise, yet because he is a man he is liable to err in judgment. Instances are reported where an Annual Conference has felt with considerable unanimity somewhat forcibly expressed that the departing president had left behind him, as unpleasant reminders of his visit, some serious blunders to embarrass the work and worry the workers. Now, for such a Conference, as well as for individual churches and ministers who feel aggrieved, there is advantage and hope in having the scheme of appointments reconsidered and reconstructed twelve months later by another mind. The thoughtful know how hard it is for one to perceive his own mistakes, or, seeing them, to acknowledge and correct them. Can it be doubted that the peace and tranquillity of Zion are promoted by the fact that preachers and people suffering from unsuitable appointments are pacified and made patient by the certainty that another bishop will preside next year, and so these mistakes are not so likely to be perpetuated as under the continual presidency of any one man?

II. In the Episcopal Board would any disadvantage develop from districting the bishops?

Under our present plan the several bishops are not made to be rivals, except in a noble emulation to render the utmost possible service for the good of the whole work. The inspiration given a bishop is general, not local, large, and not small. No one is so placed that he can aggrandize his own vicinage at the expense of his neighbor. Not the exclusive interests of one locality, but the greatest good of the greatest number throughout the entire Church is what each bishop is compelled to desire and seek. A localized jurisdiction instantly changes the relations of the bishops

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among themselves. He who is responsible for a particular territory for a length of time must systematically seek to seize for it the best and strongest possible; not having the same interest in the needs of other territory, but contending for his own district against the claims of others. The several bishops are thus made rivals.

Again, for other reasons the internal relations of the Episcopal Board are not likely to be made more amicable by the process or the results of districting its members. Suppose our territory to be divided into districts and the General Conference to be about to distribute the bishops among the districts. Inevitably the personal friends of each bishop will muster in force and beset the Committee on Episcopacy, pressing the claims of their favorite for one of the most desirable districts, and using all means to influence the General Conference in his favor. Just as inevitably, also, each district will make plain its preference for one bishop over the others, and appear by representatives on the scene to push its demands. Under this method odious comparisons and painful distinctions between the different bishops would be made by argument and vote, and the equality in dignity and in standing before the Church now existing among our chief pastors would be destroyed. Such contending would be promotive of turbulence and antagonisms, and injustice might easily result. A bishop on the frontier must contemplate the possibility of being kept there all his life, separated from advantages belonging to the centers, simply because his personal allies may be less numerous, less pushing and hustling, more scrupulous, and less expert in lobbying, bargaining, and political manipulation. He will feel the sharp injustice of being kept from his fair chance, perhaps by methods which his ideals of Christian manliness would not permit him to use in the affairs of the kingdom of God. The present placing of the bishops by seniority has evils, but nothing approaching those which would attend the plan of districting as by some proposed. The advantage of the present plan is that it settles by a fixed rule, without strife or debate, where each bishop shall reside and put forth his local labors, the bishops themselves choosing in the order of seniority in office. Also, within the limits of that rule and order, the plan allows each bishop (except the last) some exercise of choice among the residences untaken when his turn comes to choose. It also assures even "the babe of the episcopacy," as Bishop Ames once phrased it, that if his life is spared beyond that of older men his providential chance for the more de-

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sirable locations will come. Furthermore, as things now are each bishop, the youngest in office as well as the oldest, takes his turn in visitation of the more cultivated and eligible sections, in the presidency of the larger and stronger Conferences, and in being on the committee in the Episcopal Board to assign to each of its members his next list of Conferences. If any bishop be now held to be greater or more influential than another it must be by what he is, and not by residing in a particular place or holding a certain jurisdiction. A plan of assignment more equitable, steady, and likely to promote contentment in those affected by it would be hard to imagine. It leaves the smallest possible room for jealousies inside the episcopacy; it is promotive of intestinal peace, and ought to make the inner atmosphere of the board genial, sweet, and balmy. Nothing can be less edifying to a denomination than dissonance, antagonism, and strife among its bishops.

III. In the work at large and in denominational life and interests would there be any loss from districting the bishops?

The argument for confining a bishop in a particular district, on the score of adaptation, is an equal argument for keeping him there indefinitely so long as the fitness continues, and if he remains there he more and more assimilates the region to himself, tints his district with his personality, and permeates it with his views and sentiments in proportion to the force of his individuality. This force is likely to be strong, because the Church is not apt to elect feeble, negative, and colorless men to the bishopric, and, being exerted from the seat of authority, it has a chance to be powerfully influential. The denominational uniformity and consistency would thus be broken up into differing sections, each colored and modeled after the type of its bishop. Unity of doctrine, worship, and custom would be greatly diminished as time went on; extreme variations would be introduced, and sympathetic affinity between the sections impaired. This is the spectacle in the Protestant Episcopal Church—small agreement of doctrine or utterance among its bishops; no regularity throughout the Church; on the basis of the prayer book, all kinds of worship and ceremonial, from evangelical Protestant simplicity, to complications of ritual and ornamentation of altar and priest not to be distinguished from Roman Catholic forms and practices. An effort at comprehensiveness, with the settling of the bishops in dioceses, results in most contradictory teachings and ceremonies. Between the most evangelical Low Churchman, now sadly in the

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minority, and the farthest Romeward of the Anglo-Catholics, now so dominant and crescent, how vast is the contrast! Each bishop colors his diocese. And the tendency of any diocesan or districted episcopacy is to make the territorial map of the denomination a crazy-quilt of patches more remarkable for contrasts than for resemblances. Under our itinerant general superintendency no bishop is long enough in power in any one section to implicate his environment in his personality.

Again, the effect of a districted episcopacy would be to weaken our connectional solidarity and momentum, so imposing to many beholders and so powerful in unanimous action. A few inside undervalue this integral connectional solidity, but discerning minds outside of Methodism are impressed to the point of voluntary testimony as to its weight and force. A Congregational theological professor, unsurpassed in eminence, information, and sound judgment, says that this cohesive unity, which is both organic and vital, together with our great numbers, makes Methodism the most formidable competitor of Romanism. These are his words: "I think the Catholics respect and fear you Methodists more than they do all the rest of us together. You are organized into a solid unity, as they are. Your columns are maneuvered together as a whole in unanimity of coordinated action. In you they encounter an army; they look on us as guerrillas." Another non-Methodist student of denominational peculiarities says that no other communion equals ours in the facilities it has, by reason of structural, conscious, and sympathetic unity, for communicating intelligence, impulse, enthusiasm, purpose, and plans of campaign from the centers of deliberation, authority, energy, and influence out through the whole body even to the remotest members. But this denominational solidity is due to nothing so much as to our itinerant general superintendency, which is the only agency circulating through the whole Church, the bishops being the only officials who travel through the entire connection, while secretaries, agents, and editors travel less widely. In this itinerant general superintendency the fullest intelligence, the highest authority, the strongest ability, and selected representatives of the noblest manhood of the Church visit every part, giving to the remotest and obscurest the benefit of the denomination's best. This impartial, democratic, universal circulation through the entire frame of a huge denomination makes it indeed a communion, building all parts together in bonds of intelligent and unhesitating loyalty, and in such one-

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ness as, for example, makes the heart of New York Methodism beat in practical and helpful sympathy with Denver. To destroy the itinerant general superintendency is to stop this circulation and impair this living and sympathetic unity.

Again, a districted episcopacy would work injury to the newer, less prominent, and needier sections. The bishops of greatest experience, wisdom, and power would not only be located in the older centers, but confined thereto. It is hardly likely that juniors would be stationed in the centers and seniors on the frontiers. Remote and struggling parts of the work would not share in the inspiration and other benefits of the presence, long-gathering prestige, and counsel of the most sagacious trained masters of episcopal administration. Suppose Janes and Simpson and Ames had been shut up by assignment each to his own limited district. How incalculable the loss to the Church at large! Matthew Simpson could never have become a national possession, a national power, and an object of national pride—the most illustrious and universally influential bishop in all the wide interests of religion and of the State that this land has ever seen. His magnificent powers would have been confined, and many parts of our country and our Church would have been deprived of them.

Two more reasons against a change of plan may be briefly stated. One of the reasons given against our present plan is the expense entailed upon the Church by the wide traveling of the bishops; and it is said that the laymen especially will insist on applying business principles to the economical management of denominational machinery, and will stop this waste by locating the bishops so that each one will visit only the territory adjacent to his official residence. But be it observed that the whole logical force and natural drift of the argument for districting the bishops is for a diocesan episcopacy, and that means not less expense to the Church but more, because it means a very large increase in the number of bishops, after the plan of the Protestant Episcopal body; so that instead of being a movement toward economy it is really toward a far more expensive system of operation. More episcopal attention for local interests and for the various sections of our territory can be obtained only by a multiplication of bishops.

Lastly, three quadrenniums of a districted episcopacy would deprive the councils of the Church of that compared, corrected, and re-enforced knowledge and balanced judgment of the whole work which are now available in the Board of Bishops.

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THE ARENA.

FIRST FRIENDLY RESPONSE TO MY FRIENDLY APPEAL.

In the January number of the *Review* my friend, Judge Reynolds, appended to a little article of mine a well-meant criticism. By an oversight my critic at the top of page 98 has erroneously ascribed to me a statement which, so far as I know, was first made in an editorial in *The Christian Advocate* of New York. The statement in question is that, of the members of the General Conference of 1888, "some who believed in the law as declared disapproved of the appeal to the Church, and so voted with the minority." The judge indorses this assertion so far as to say that it is "altogether likely." Now, what is this but saying that it is altogether likely that this class of voters, "having an opinion one way, voted the other?" An assertion which my good critic in the next sentence but one declares illegitimate and uncharitable. I cannot understand how he failed to see the fatal effect of his own language. In consequence of it, and of the prior mistake, all the presumption and uncharitableness charged upon me for "classifying" voters, and for implying a doubt whether every vote was determined by the voter's positive belief touching the judicial part of the semijudicial and semilegislative report, falls back upon the author of the editorial statement and upon the brother who indorses it as "altogether likely."

In the same sentence of the editorial from which my critic takes the statement he erroneously ascribes to me there is another assertion which deserves attention. It reads as follows: "Most of the believers in the eligibility of women under the law voted against it," that is, against the semijudicial, semilegislative, amended report. "Most" of them. This implies that in the judgment of the editorial writer not all, but only the greater part of those who believed women eligible under the existing law, voted against the proposed interpretation. Suppose now that the rest of those believers in eligibility under the law as it stood had voted as did "most," who can say that the scale so evenly balanced would not have been turned and an opposite judicial result attained? Whether it would have been so or not does not here concern me in the least; what does interest me is the fact that here, in an authority which Judge Reynolds highly respects, we have a bold though indirect assertion that, on the side of those who believed women eligible under the law, as well as on the side of those who disbelieved, an unknown number of the voters voted, not according to their understanding of the true meaning of the law, but according to their attitude toward the proposal to consult the Church. The full original statement of the editorial was as follows (italics mine): "*Most* of the believers in the eligibility of women under the law voted against it (that is, the amended report); some who did not believe in the eligibility of women under the law, and were wholly opposed to their

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ever becoming eligible, voted against the report after amendment *because of the proposition to submit the change of the constitution to the Church;* and *for the same reason* some who could not decide for eligibility *voted for* the amended report."*

The present issue, then, reduces itself to this: Is any method of *judicial* procedure in a supreme ecclesiastical court legitimate, defensible, and as a precedent safe, under which it is "altogether likely," or under which, as asserted by *The Christian Advocate*, it is a simple fact that an unknown number of the judges on both sides of the judicial question gave their votes, not *according to their real view of the interpretation proposed, but according to their approval or disapproval of a legislative rider attached thereto?* If my esteemed friend is prepared to answer this question in the affirmative I am prepared to accept the verdict of the Church and of intelligent men anywhere as to the whole issue between us. If he cannot answer it in the affirmative he stands precisely where I stand, and, by every obligation of fidelity to sound methods in our supreme judicial decisions, is bound to unite with me in condemning, not the men, but the procedure of 1888.

On page 88 of the critique my readers are told what is my precise contention; the statement given I cannot accept. Let me rather speak for myself. My claim is threefold. First, that in May, 1888, the question of the admissibility of women to the General Conference under the existing law was solely a judicial question. Second, that on the question purely and solely the General Conference has never yet given a decision. Third, that according to the statements of the editorial above quoted—and they come from the honored chairman of the Judiciary Committee of 1892—the record of the vote on the semijudicial, semilegislative amended report affords no decisive evidence whatever that a majority of the voters held, or did not hold, that women were properly eligible under the existing law. The process, not the intent of the men, was at fault. It left the judicial question wholly undecided. The procedure and its results were illegitimate, indefensible, and as a precedent unsafe. If my critic doubts it I am ready to unite with him in an appeal of the question to the supreme court of our Church at its approaching session. Not that I am eager to hasten or to facilitate the admission of women, for I am not. I fear they are coming in quite too soon to meet the demands of the principles I taught four years ago, and often since, touching the dual human unit. I suggest the appeal simply for the reason that, if the Church cannot agree touching a point of this sort, the General Conference is the only tribunal provided by which the question can legitimately be settled.

One final word. In case new criticisms are attached to the foregoing paragraphs and printed in the next issue of the *Review*, I shall not complain, provided only it is understood that, if I desire, I shall have my parliamentary right to close the debate in the same number, or in the next following. Meantime, as for years past, I shall devoutly and con-

* *Christian Advocate*, September 13, 1894.

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tinually pray that if I am in any error on this question the truth may appear and may speedily triumph. W. F. WARREN.

Boston, January 18, 1896.

A REPLY TO DR. WARREN.

THE first paragraph of the foregoing is all that I see any occasion to reply to. It seems to me that Dr. Warren has therein fallen into a strange misapprehension. To say that some who believed in the law as declared (in the original report) disapproved of the appeal to the Church, and so voted with the minority (against the amended report), is by no means to accuse them of having an opinion one way and voting another.

The report, as presented for final action, was twofold. It declared the law as it was, and proposed a vote on the question of changing it. Anyone who believed the law was rightly declared, but was opposed to stirring up the Church by submitting a proposition for a constitutional change, might with perfect consistency vote against the amended report, being compelled to vote on it, as a whole, because a vote in its favor would commit him to two things, one of which he did not approve. As I said, it is quite likely that some were placed in that predicament, and felt constrained to vote in the negative.

On the other hand, Dr. Warren alleged that some who voted *for* the report, did not believe in that part of it which was declarative of the law, and therefore did not mean all that they said. Cannot Dr. Warren see the distinction between an affirmative and a negative position under such circumstances? A man may consistently refuse to vote that both of two things are right as long as he believes in only one of them; but he cannot consistently vote for both together when he only believes in one, because he would thus affirm what he did not believe. We are therefore bound to suppose that those who voted for the report (as amended) meant to approve both of its declaration and its proposal, for by so voting they logically said so.

The proposal to submit was a matter of expediency, into which various considerations might enter; the decision of law was a matter of principle on which no man had a right to pronounce judgment contrary to his opinion. To my thinking this is a very plain matter.

The remainder of Dr. Warren's comments seem to be merely traveling again over the same ground with his original article, and therefore need not be noticed here. G. G. REYNOLDS.

FOREKNOWLEDGE AND CONTINGENCY.

A WRITER in this department says: "If God foreknows an event he must foreknow it as coming to pass. Otherwise he would foreknow an event which might not come to pass, which is an absurdity. If the element of contingency entered into the question, to him it would prevent foreknowledge. What is contingent to the human mind is not necessarily contingent to the divine mind. Contingency is not an attribute of the future events, but of our finite qualities."

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There is the slip in such logic. God cannot foreknow an event, as such, which has not come to pass and which is, therefore, not an event. If it has not come to pass it is only a possibility, and only as such can God foreknow it. In every condition there may be numberless possibilities; and God knows them as such. To say that he knows a possibility as an actuality is utter absurdity. He cannot foreknow contingencies as fixed facts. If so, who fixed them? Evidently, not the unborn agent. Infinite foreknowledge must be eternal. If they are fixed from eternity God must have done the fixing himself. But if they are fixed facts they cannot be known as contingencies. If he foreknows all contingencies as fixed, then they are fixed, else his own knowledge is deceptive and false. But if they are fixed, they are not contingent. The statement that "what is contingent in the human mind is not necessarily contingent to the divine mind" has a sound of reason, but the reality is lacking. If it is "contingent to the human mind" and God has correct knowledge of it he must know the plain fact as such, namely, that it is a human contingency. Then he cannot know it as a fact, either human or divine. A human contingency cannot be a divine fact. This logical stumble is not a divine absurdity, but a psychological puzzle. Why the human mind will keep on making such mistakes is as incomprehensible as foreknowledge.

The nonexistence of a fact will always prevent the divine mind from knowing it as a fact. To affirm the "absolute foreknowledge" of all things, as things, which are not things, as a basis of biblical inspiration is an inexplicable freak of human nonreason. When a man of boundless wealth determines to construct a railroad in a farming section he can work his way through human motives and contingencies to success. Yet he may not have foreknowledge of a single stroke of ax or pick or of how many ounces there will be in any shovelful of earth. Much more, when God has determined to accomplish great things in the race he has done it, but not by foreknowledge. His declaration beforehand that he would so work was prophecy, and the fulfillment came through his infinitely productive will and the limitless resources of his character and the universe.

Wilkesbarre, Pa. J. WALLACE WEBB.

MATTER—ORGANIC AND INORGANIC.

THE "Arena" of the September-October number, 1894, of the *Review* contains an important paper on the relation of chemistry to the theory—the basic element of evolution—that life originates in matter. The writer, William Heap Butler, justly charges that biologists, in attempting to settle the question of the origin of life, have left their own proper field of inquiry and invaded the province of chemistry. He makes his charge good, and no more need be said on that topic. But in his criticisms of Weismann we are not sure that we perceive correctly the ground Mr. Butler himself occupies in regard to the distinction between organic and inorganic matter. We will not attempt to characterize opinions we are not sure that we understand, but submit a few thoughts of our own on the same topic.

In speaking or writing as scientists it is highly improper ever to use

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the expressions "dead," "live," or "living" matter. There is no such matter. As vitalists—believers that in the beginning God gave existence to a vital, as well as to a material, world—we hold that matter is substance, and that life also is substance, but of a wholly different kind and order. Some kinds of matter and myriad kinds or forms of life are so related to each other that the organic world, human, animal, and vegetable, is the result. Each kind of matter—each entity—is matter, simple and pure. Life is as foreign from the essence or nature of matter as any one thing can be from another. Hence it is improper to speak of anything as "dead" unless it was once alive and has died or been killed. We never refer to ideas as red, white, or blue, for they do not belong to the realm of color; and as matter forms no part of the vital world it should never be referred to as either dead or alive. In man and in all bodies which any form or kind of life has built—an oak, an eagle, a lion—the matter of these structures, carbon, oxygen, calcium, etc., is associated with life as material used in the organism; and death is but the separation of this matter from its life, the organizing agent. The tangible substance of the body is matter and nothing else; the initiating, working agent which built it into an organism forms a part of a vital world. We surrender ourselves to materialism whenever we admit the existence of any kind or form of "live" matter.

As it is universally conceded by scientists that matter is unchangeable, it follows that the matter of the human body and of all other organic structures is, *per se*, now exactly what it has ever been. Iron taken from blood of which it forms a part does not differ from iron taken from a mine or from an aerolite. The carbon of the brain is no better nor worse than the carbon of charcoal. The matter of a nerve is exactly what it was before it was appropriated and wrought into a nerve by some kind of life, and it is, *per se*, as incapable of sensation as a stone. All sensations are vital phenomena. The matter of a human body, even after the dust has returned to dust, is as fully alive as ever it was. The matter of an organism is simply the matter of chemistry. Its properties and forces are all material; and we have no reason to believe that it contains any forces which either the chemist or nature's laboratory is unable to develop.

There is, then, *per se*, no difference between organic and inorganic matter. Mark the difference between the newborn babe weighing nine pounds and a lump of dirt weighing nine pounds. Why the difference? We answer: a human kind of life has wrought the matter of the one mass into a human body and animates it; the other mass life has not thus appropriated. The one mass has been elevated to associations with the vital world; the other has not. The one mass is matter organized by a vital agent; the other is the same sort of matter subject only to the action of its own forces. We are tenacious of these views, not only because we think they must be true, but because they compel materialists and evolutionists incessantly to realize that their philosophy has nothing to deal with in accounting for the existence of man as a living, thinking being, but the mechanism of atoms, molecules, and lumps.

Chautauqua, N. Y. H. H. Moore.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

EXEGETICAL—ROM. IX, 3.

"For I could wish that I myself were anathema from Christ for my brethren's sake." The environments of words are as important to their interpretation as are those of a person to the comprehension of his character. This passage is to be understood best by understanding its setting and then by studying its language. The argument of the previous part of this epistle was calculated to awaken the hostility of the Jews, because it appeared to assail their theocratic position as the "chosen people" and to subvert the traditions which they held sacred. Paul, in this view, was an apostate, and not entitled to any favor at their hands. In this chapter he proposes to discuss more particularly God's relation to this "royal nation," and begins by declaring his loyalty to his race. The almost passionate fervor of his expressions shows how deeply he was stirred by their false accusations. He states his love for them both affirmatively and negatively, and in a burst of intense zeal exclaims, "I could wish that I myself were anathema from Christ."

We will notice the latter clause of this sentence first. There are two Greek words almost identical in form, *ἀνάθημα* and *ἀνάθεμα*. Originally they were mere dialectic variations, but in time the former was employed for an offering "consecrated to God," and the latter for something "devoted to destruction." In this sense it is said of Jericho (Josh. vi, 17), "And the city shall be accursed, even it, and all that are therein, to the Lord." In Lev. xxvii, 28, 29, it is said: "Every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord. None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be ransomed," the word "devoted" being the rendering of the Hebrew word. According to Meyer the word means a votive offering, "something devoted to God without redemption." There is no necessary element of eternal perdition in Rom. ix, 3, but rather that Paul himself would be the sacrifice if thereby Israel might be saved. Nor does it include his desire to go back to his old state of guilt and separation from God, but that he would accept the punishment in their stead. He would imitate his Master, who gave himself, the "just for the unjust." As the word *ἀνάθεμα* is not explained we must be careful in giving too concrete a meaning. One thing is clear, the apostle was ready to make the greatest possible sacrifice for the nation which he loved, but which had cast him off. Shedd says: "When, therefore, St. Paul 'could wish' that he was 'accursed from Christ,' he does not mean that he would be willing, if thereby he could save others from sin and hell, to live himself forever in sin and hell, in rebellion against God. His willingness is like that of his Redeemer—a willingness to endure suffering, but not to commit sin or to be personally sinful."

We now inquire, Was this an actual wish—"I did wish," or, "I could

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wish *if it were possible*"—or was it a wish that merely arose in the apostle's mind but did not assume actual form? Winer's *Grammar* illustrates ἠυχόμην by ἐβουλόμην in Acts xxv, 22. In reply to Festus, who had reported Paul's case to Agrippa, the latter said, "I also could wish to hear the man myself" (Revised Version). Winer remarks, "Here the speaker does not refer to a wish that was previously excited at the same time with some other action, but to a wish now felt; the wish, however, is not expressed directly, *volo*, or by the far weaker, ἐβουλόμην ἄν, *velim*, 'I might wish,' but definitely, 'I wished, that is, if the thing were possible, if you would permit it, and therefore I do wish it on this supposition.'" Meyer renders this passage, "I would wish it if the purport of the wish could be realized to the advantage of the Israelites." Hofman renders it, "The wish had entered his mind though but *momentarily*." Another rendering, in harmony with a recognized usage of the Greek imperfect, is, "I was on the point of wishing, the wish arose in my heart that I would submit to be a curse from Christ." A similar use of the imperfect is found in Luke i, 59, "And they called him Zacharias, after the name of his father" (King James's Version). The late revision translates it, "And they would have called him Zacharias after the name of his father." The meaning evidently is that the friends proposed to call him Zacharias, but the angel of the Lord had declared that he should be called John. Again, when Jesus came to John to be baptized it is said, "John forbade him," that is, in Greek, "John attempted to hinder him." A similar use of the imperfect is found in Mark xv, 23, "And *they gave* him to drink wine mingled with myrrh," which the late revision translates, "And they *offered* him wine mingled with myrrh." They attempted to give it to our Saviour, but he refused it. These are all imperfect tenses, used of incipient or attempted action, which was not consummated. They furnish the principle which will explain the text.

In the deep anguish of his soul the wish arose in Paul's mind, a wish of astonishing grandeur, that he would himself ransom his people, but it never reached the full expression of that wish. His soul, all on fire for Israel, was stirred to the most extreme sacrifice, which, however, was soon set aside by his own devotion to them in his life.

It is the language of strong emotion, which cannot be adequately expressed in the ordinary forms of expression. Old Bengel, on this passage, profoundly remarks, "Human words cannot express fully the emotions of holy souls, nor are these emotions always the same, nor can those souls always draw from themselves such a prayer as this. A soul not far advanced cannot comprehend this. It is not easy to estimate the measure of love in a Moses or a Paul, for our limited reason does not grasp it, as the child cannot comprehend the courage of warriors."

MINISTERIAL RESTS.

The Church of England has places which are called retreats, where the clergy at certain periods go in order to separate themselves from the world

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and to commune with God. They are conducted by some clergyman of scholarship and ability as well as piety, and such exercises are engaged in as may be most helpful to their spiritual life and to their active ministry. They have also been adopted by the Episcopal Church in the United States, and those who participate in them regard them as very useful.

There are dangers undoubtedly growing out of gatherings of this kind, but these are more than balanced by the advantages which accrue. Neither asceticism nor monasticism constitutes a present danger of the Church or of the ministry. On the other hand, there is great need of solitary communing with God and of the help which comes from a period of separation from the cares and the allurements of the world. "Come out from among them, and be ye separate;" and again, the words of Christ, "Come ye yourselves apart into a desert place, and rest a while" may not be obeyed by such separation in the exact sense set forth by the sacred writer, but it is in harmony with the spirit and the teachings of the New Testament.

It is worthy of careful consideration, whether the gathering together of ministers and people in crowds and amid many excitements during the summer months is helpful to the spiritual life. The Itinerants' Club has at different times set forth the value of these summer gatherings as inclusive of rest by change of work and also a high degree of intellectual, and at times of spiritual, stimulus. The tendency to social dissipation, however, needs guarding. In one sense there is a time for everything, at least there is a time for everything that is right and proper to be done, and this is one of the things that is eminently proper. On the other hand, we cannot fail to note the nervous pressure under which ministers are constantly laboring and from which they sometimes need relief.

The plan indicated by the caption of this article, of "rests," into which ministers may go for a season to pray and to contemplate sacred things is worthy of consideration. These retreats should not be places of absolute rest in the sense of abstaining from all intellectual activity, but in which, without special effort, advances may be made in the spiritual life, especially in the quiet study of the word of God. The reading of the Greek Testament, for example, in the way of simple yet scholarly exposition with a view to the promotion of the spiritual life, and amid the environments of prayer and praise, cannot but be helpful to many persons. Dr. Vaughan, of England, was accustomed from time to time to meet a number of the younger clergy in such a gathering and expound for them some portion of the word of God. A commentary by Rev. W. Kay, D.D., on the Corinthians, had its origin in this way, the preface declaring: "In July, 1879, a number of clergy living in the neighborhood of Chelseford agreed to study the New Testament together under the presidency of Dr. Kay. For this office his eminent scholarship, together with his long habit of lecturing, peculiarly fitted him." This was not exactly such a retreat as is implied in the caption of this paper; but retreats of this kind, where in the quietness of spiritual communion, apart from the world, God's servants may grow in grace through the study of his word, may be promotive of much spiritual and intellectual profit.

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ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

WOMAN IN ANTIQUITY.

THAT the "new woman" is the product of modern civilization becomes clear by a comparative study of ancient history with that of our times. The pages of antiquity on the whole show clearly that woman was almost universally regarded as an inferior being, holding a much lower rank than her lord and master, and having little or no voice in public affairs or political life. Nay, more, her position in the home, where no one of our readers, it is hoped, will deny her the right to rule as a queen, was in most cases but little better than that of a slave, condemned not only to incessant toil and drudgery, but also subjected to the caprices and whims of her husband.

The regard in which she was formerly held by non-Christian nations may be fairly illustrated by a quotation from Luther, who says: "Among the heathen there was a saying, '*Tria mala, mala pessima, ignis, aqua, femina*'—that is, there can be nothing worse than what these three can do, to wit, fire, water, and woman." The Greeks, with all their culture and their devotion to philosophy and art, were noted for the contempt in which they held the housewife, and many are the despicable flings at woman which are found in their writings. How heartless appear the words of Hipponax, "A woman gives two days' happiness to man in her bridal and in her burial." Or this corresponding sentiment from one of their poets, "Where women are, all evils there are found." Or the following extract from Euripides:

> But folly does not find its home with men,
> But roots in women's hearts.

The above, it is true, may not fairly represent the universal thought of Grecians; nevertheless, it shows the prevalence of such a sentiment, though we find it in the satires of comic poets. But what are we to say of the views held by Socrates, "the divinest of the Greeks," who is often held up as a model of wisdom and piety for all times? His views, according to Professor Gildersleeve, a most competent authority, are substantially contained in the following words: "We have . . . wives for the sake of legitimate children, and of having faithful guardians of our households." The last part of this sentence explains the apparent better lot of woman in Sparta, where she enjoyed greater liberties than her Athenian sister, simply that her offspring might be more vigorous and thus more efficient in time of war. Woman in Greece was denied intellectual association with the other sex, even with her husband. For in Athens, as in some Christian lands in our day, to borrow a phrase from George Sand, the lord of creation "came home to eat and to snore." The Greeks took it for granted that woman was naturally inferior—indeed, that she was "a minor with

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regard to civic rights." Her duties and achievements, says an eminent authority, were hardly considered in a much higher light than those of a faithful slave.

If we look from Greece to ancient Chaldea and Babylonia, the status of woman, as we see from many a clay tablet, was anything but enviable; and yet her condition must have been far more tolerable than that of her sister in cultured Athens centuries later. Indeed, there can be no doubt that woman's lot deteriorated, as time rolled on, not only in Greece, but also in countries farther east. Guhl and Koner, speaking of woman's social position in Greece, say, "In prehistoric times the position of woman seems to have been upon the whole a more dignified one." Both Hommel and Pinches, eminent Assyriologists, say that the same is true of Chaldea; for, according to them, the wife in the very early periods of Chaldean history not only occupied an equal place with her husband, but was even his superior in power. Maspero also favors this view, and attributes the change to the advance of Semitic ideas. Thus, later in the history of Babylonia, the husband became the head of the family, exercising absolute rule, not only over his wife, but over his children, both male and female. Even the son could not marry without the consent of the father. Indeed, no marriage was regarded as valid until the father had "affixed his seal or made his nail-mark on the contract tablet." If such power was then exerted over a son, how much more over a daughter!

The marriage contracts of Babylonia, of which great numbers have been found, are very interesting, since they show that a woman, notwithstanding her inferiority, still had many rights. On the consummation of a marriage a dower contract was drawn up, and three copies of the same were made, one being given to the bridegroom, another to the bride, while a third was deposited with the local authorities. Specimens of such contracts in three copies have been placed in the British Museum and the Louvre. The items of dowry which are mentioned consisted of real estate, such as houses, fields, and orchards, as well as of silver, gold, and slaves. The wife was allowed to retain full control of whatever property she brought with her as dowry. She might dispose of it while living, and she might bequeath it by will at her death. Peiser cites cases where wives sued for the restoration of property which had been given away by their husbands without their consent, and proved that women were empowered to deal with their own property in every respect like an ordinary male proprietor.

Divorce in Babylon, as among the Jews, was granted to the husband on the most trifling pretense. Sterility was always a sufficient reason; for, according to popular belief, a woman incapable of maternity was regarded as under the immediate curse of the gods, possessed of a devil, and a source of great danger in any family. Even miscarriage was "thought to be occasioned by evil spirits." In cases of divorce, however, when the wife was not put to death, her original dowry was restored to her, and, besides, the husband was sometimes compelled to pay damages for the insult offered his wife. Indeed, some of the tablets which have been discovered are

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legal documents wherein the second husband of a divorced wife sues the first husband for such damages. There is no doubt, therefore, that the ancient Babylonian woman enjoyed more privileges than do the Mohammedan women occupying the same territory in modern times. Her condition was perhaps not much inferior to that of the Hebrew woman under the Mosaic dispensation.

The Hebrew women, as we learn from the Old Testament, seem to have mingled freely, if not with strangers yet with acquaintances and with all the members of their family. Woman at creation was made the equal of man, for that is the meaning of the phrase, "a helpmeet for him," or, more literally, "help answering to him." How significant the words, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife." As Dr. Landsberg has observed, "The text does not say woman, the physically weaker one, shall cling to her husband; but man, the physically stronger one, shall cling to his wife, who in a high condition of humanity is morally and ethically his superior." No one can read the Old Testament without being impressed with the equal rights enjoyed by Sarah, Rebekah, Hannah, the woman of Shunem, and others. These were not mere slaves to their husbands. But it might be objected, with some truth, that these were the exceptions, and not fair representatives of the average Hebrew woman. Be that as it may, it still remains true that the Hebrew wife enjoyed great liberties, bordering in some regards even upon her position in modern times. For in this, as in other things, to use the words of Heine, "Judea has ever appeared to me like a piece of Occident lost in the midst of the Orient." Yet the emancipation of women is nowhere more clearly taught than in the words of the apostle Paul, "There is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

But to return to antiquity, it is evident that, of all ancient countries, no place respected woman more highly than Egypt. This becomes clear not merely from the study of the monuments, but of Greek authors as well. When Herodotus made a tour of many countries he was amazed, if not disgusted, at the way the Egyptians treated their women. He writes, doubtless, in a half humorous way, the following: "The Egyptians have adopted customs and usages in almost every respect different from the rest of mankind." Then, after enumerating many distinctive features, he concludes as follows: "Among the Egyptians the women attend markets and do the trading, while the men stay at home and weave or spin." Granting that this is humor, and an exaggerated account, it is still very valuable as showing the impression produced upon the mind of the Greek historian. The condition of the Egyptian wife was so unique, compared with that of women in the rest of the world, as to fairly shock the father of history. Had we nothing but these words of Herodotus on which to depend we might be inclined to be skeptical. We have, however, the more sure testimony of the monuments, which furnish incontrovertible proof of the esteem in which the women of Egypt were held, the power and influence which they wielded, and the many privileges and rights enjoyed by

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them. The mural decorations, the hieroglyphs on tombs and coffins, the many papyri discovered, show conclusively that woman, if not altogether the equal of the man, occupied a very high position. It seems that the Egyptian woman of ancient times, contrasted with her sister in other lands, was what the woman of the English-speaking world in our day is to the rest of mankind. According to the monuments family life in ancient Egypt was almost ideal; it was of great simplicity and affection. We are, therefore, not surprised to find that marriage is praised and glorified. "Wise is he," says Ptahhotep, "who founds a home for himself and loves a wife." And again, "If thou takest a wife, let her be more contented than any of her fellow-beings." The Egyptians, in common with all the other oriental nations, regarded children as the choicest gift of Heaven. Filial devotion, and especially affection for the mother, was a virtue that they especially emphasized. The following sentiment from the great philosopher 'Eney, which is quoted by Erman, confirms this point: "Thou shalt never forget what thy mother has done for thee; she bare thee and nourished thee in all manner of ways. If thou forgettest her, she might blame thee, she might lift up her arms to God, and he would hear her complaint." The affection existing between husband and wife, parent and child, being such, and the intimate social and intellectual association between the several members of the family being so tender, the difference between the Egyptian and Grecian woman will be easily understood by the reader.

In Egypt, as in Babylonia, only to a much wider extent, the law allowed woman to transact all manner of business in her own name. She had the disposition of her own property, and could make contracts without the consent of her husband. Property passed very often, for some reason, through the name of the female, rather than that of the male heir. In deeds and contracts the father of the mother, rather than the paternal grandfather, is generally mentioned. So also we read of an officer who was promoted "for the sake of the father of his mother," and who, when he was starting out to war, left his property in charge of the "father of his mother."

The exalted position of woman is further shown by the fact that women at different periods in Egyptian history occupied the throne of the Pharaohs. The most distinguished of these queens or rulers was the celebrated Hatsheph-su, or Hatshepu, the sister and wife of Thotmes II, famous not only as a ruler but as the builder of the temple of Dêr el-Bahari. This great woman reigned alone for sixteen years, and then, conjointly with her brother Thotmes III, for several years more. She not only assumed the title of king, but clothed herself in male attire and led her armies to victory and glory.

So supreme, says Professor Mahaffy, in his *Greek Life and Thought*, was the position of woman in Egypt that we have instances of "a man settling all his property, present and prospective, on his wife, with this only condition on her part, that she will support him while he lives and give him a decent funeral and sepulture when he dies."

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MISSIONARY REVIEW.

STUDY OF MISSIONS IN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

SOME time since attention was called in this department to the subject of missionary instruction in theological seminaries, or rather to the lack of it in most of these institutions. It is a subject which, we are pleased to believe, is not to pass without fuller discussion. The secretaries and other officers of the several foreign missionary societies of the United States and the Dominion of Canada have organized an annual meeting for the discussion of problems which especially concern them as administrators of great missionary interests. In January last they held their fourth annual conference in New York city. There were present officials of the Protestant Episcopal and Congregational Churches, the Methodist Episcopal Churches, North and South, the Baptists, North and South, five branches of the Presbyterians, two or more Reformed Churches, and several Canadian boards, representing altogether some twenty-three societies. They considered such important propositions as the "Discriminating Use of Funds in Maintaining a Growing Work," the "Increase of Efficiency of Missionary Officers at Home," and the "Relation of Boards, Missionaries, and Converts to Governments." It was a dignified and learned body of men, met to consider some of the most vital and pressing questions which confront the Christian Church. What they might say as a body could not fail to command attention, and it is not easy to select from among the important themes they discussed any which might be esteemed preeminent.

One, however, which lay outside the range of their official obligation was that of missionary instruction in theological seminaries. Rev. Dr. Mabie, Home Secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, as chairman of the committee to whom this subject was referred, presented a paper which formulated the judgment of those discreet men. No one can think of them as speaking perfunctorily because of their official position on a topic lying within the range of that other body of wise men who formulate the course of study for the theological institutions of the country. They did not speak in any dictatorial way, but as fellow-servants with these others of the Lord Jesus Christ. They set forth that, even under existing conditions, the very least which can be demanded is that every professor in these institutions shall be imbued with the spirit of missions. But this is not enough. No seminary of this class should be content without securing at least occasional lectures from returned missionaries, secretaries, or others vitally moved and intelligently informed on the great theme of missions. As an advance on this, or coordinate with it, they suggest that several institutions might combine in the support of one regular professor, or lecturer, who should be sustained by a joint endowment fund, and should at least give some systematic

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presentation of missionary themes to the outgoing class. A still broader suggestion is that of a special graduate or undergraduate course, not provided for in the ordinary curriculum, with special reference to non-Christian religions and the philosophies underlying them, the methods of dealing with them, and the languages and literatures in which they express themselves.

All these, however, are expedients where the men and the money cannot be commanded for a full missionary professorship. The function of such a professor, they suggest, might be to present the Christian religion as essentially a world religion, the propagation of which is not an incident, but the most fundamental and vital obligation imposed by the very constitution of the Church, and hence impossible of being relegated to a class either in the ministry or laity, but inhering in the vital piety of every individual in the kingdom of God. This chair should also exhibit the missionary movements of the past, making a close analysis of the success and failure of methods, of climatic conditions, and of political, social, and other features, and pointing out the paths of approach to new work, and carefully presenting the economics in the development of a self-respecting, self-sustaining, self-governing, self-propagating Christian Church and industrial community.

The Conference suggests that where such a separate chair is impossible of realization the work should be assigned to some other professor; a suggestion which is open to several objections. Very few professors feel that they have either time or strength to master the details involved in such instruction; besides, those matters that are subordinate to their specialty are likely to suffer. But, whatever plan or plans may be adopted, the conviction of these reverend and wise brethren is deepening in the minds of the Church at large that in some way the ministry of the future must be far more instructed on the subject of missions and the problems allied therewith than is possible under existing conditions in many theological seminaries.

MISSIONARY PROBLEMS IN JAPAN.

THERE are sundry fundamental difficulties inherent in the local environment of the missionary force in the several non-Christian lands which affect all missions alike, though with varying force. No one of the great mission fields, perhaps, presents more peculiarities than Japan. There are obstructions to the progress of mission work in Bulgaria growing out of the spirit of nationalism or patriotism. The Bulgarian political movement for national independence carries with it the idea of a national Church, and hence provokes antagonism to any foreign mission movement as disintegrating. Even in China there are indications of the development of a like spirit of opposition to the introduction and advance of missionary enterprises. Since the late China-Japan war, the cry is raised, "China for China!" In Liberia progress is hindered by the constitutional provision that none but black men shall own land in the

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republic. This restriction is based on the fear that foreign ownership would lead to foreign disputes, and they know they are not able to defend themselves against the claims of any of the larger nations.

Japan has also precluded foreign ownership of real estate outside the treaty ports, even mission property being held in the name of some Japanese, to whose honor be it said, they have generally dealt justly with their trust. But since 1890 all such substitutional holders of land have been persecuted as unpatriotic, and the parties have been placed under ban as disloyal. To obviate this, cases have been adjusted by erecting a board of trustees to hold such property. But extremists have pressed even these to the point of refusal to accept any restriction from the foreign missionary society contributing money for the erection of buildings and sustaining the institutions. In the case of the celebrated Doshisha College the board of trustees have even declined to give assurance that it shall be conducted in the interests of Christianity under so broad a definition as, belief in God, the divinity of Jesus Christ, and the future life. The trustees of the institution at Kumamoto have publicly announced that the school was no longer "Christian" in any sense. In both these cases the missionary society which had built up the school and erected missionary residences is absolutely without redress in the courts.

It is anticipated that this condition of affairs is to be changed materially under the new treaty, which is to take effect in the year 1900; but meanwhile titles to real estate seem to be in a very precarious state. Whether the fanatical and extreme view of what is necessary to patriotism will be modified under calmer judgment, now that the war, with its exciting challenge to the Christian Japanese, is ended, it is too early to know. But it is certainly assuring to have so careful a deputation as that of the American Board intimate that the nation has been disarmed of its suspicions against Christianity, while non-Christian leaders recognize the worth and power of the Christian character and honor true Christian living. If there has been loss of control of some property this deputation asks that it be borne in mind that Christian teachers have appointment in many government schools, with full liberty to teach Christianity out of school hours; that the missionary is free to go everywhere for evangelistic work, and that no censorship of the press prohibits the freest circulation of the Bible and religious literature all over the empire. Besides, they emphasize the fact that the process of the assimilation of Christianity by the Japanese must not be expected to take place without the development of some excrescences. "There is not a Japanese in the empire twenty-five years of age whose early years were under the influence of Christian thought and training." It is not so much a wonder that Japan has not yet formulated what it fancies it will be pleased to accept of Christianity as it is a satisfaction that, whether Japan realizes it or not, "Christianity has already put its stamp upon the laws of society, of the army, and of the State, and is making itself felt in its literature and forms of thought."

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FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Wilhelm Kahl. The fair-mindedness of the Germans in reference to their theological opinions and their freedom from prejudice amount almost to laxity. The one who has no opinions or convictions can be very charitable toward the opinions or convictions of others. But Kahl has proved himself both fair and unjust at the same time. In an address delivered at the University of Bonn, Germany, January 27, 1895, he took up the question as to the origin and consequences of religious equality. It is really an historical address, and the substance of it may astonish some readers. He states that after a short period of equality between Christianity and heathenism came that of the sole supremacy of the former, lasting throughout the Middle Ages. During this period there was no thought that there could possibly be any tolerance of a false religion alongside of the true in the Christian world. So far well. But now he tells us that even in the time of the Reformation the traditional conception of the duty of the authorities with reference to the Church remained unchanged, and this he explains by two suggestions, the first of which, namely, that the Reformation entered into a world whose religious idea was that of an individual Christian society, we must affirm, but the second of which, namely, that religious equality and the Reformation have no inner connection, and that such parity was not a natural consequence of the Reformation, we must emphatically deny. Rightly does he say, indeed, that the religious peace of 1555 and the peace of Westphalia in 1648 only granted what could not be refused in this respect. But when he makes the mixed religious condition of the territorial states and the thought of natural right as taught in humanism the causes of the subsequent parity he fails of justice to Reformation. He asserts that the Reformation placed the freedom of the conscience at the front, and yet that it achieved nothing in the way of securing equality for all confessions. But as a matter of fact the apparent failure of the Reformation to secure and to grant equality was the result of causes which lay wholly beyond the control of the reformers. In a life and death struggle there is but little opportunity for tolerance of the enemy, and when freedom is suddenly attained it is almost always abused. If the Reformation was not to be wrecked by the very freedom it proclaimed it must set some bounds until those who had been set free could become accustomed to the new atmosphere. In some cases it was not alone for the purpose of saving men from complete religious apostasy that restrictions had to be placed, but also the Protestant secular authorities were obliged to interfere with the theologians and for themselves determine what the form of faith should be in order to preserve even the social well-being of the State. All these things prevented the true principles which dwelt in the Reformation from develop-

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ing rapidly. A new principle may be properly defined and firmly held and yet meet with practical obstacles because of the unfitness of the people for its application. Such was the case with the principle of the freedom of conscience in the Reformation.

Emil Zweynert. Though not a university professor, Zweynert has done a work which will give him rank among the leaders for some time to come. The question of the relation of the Lutheran Reformation to the progress of culture has been hotly debated in recent times. Janssen, in his *History of the German People Subsequent to the Close of the Middle Ages*, claimed for Romanism the credit of the *Renaissance* and then affirmed that the "so-called" Reformation destroyed this flourishing intellectual life. Professor Paulsen, of Berlin, a Protestant, in his *History of Scholarly Instruction in German Schools and Universities from the Close of the Middle Ages to the Present Time*, published in 1885, agreed with this view. Zweynert has been incited by this to take up the question as to whether the decline of culture in the first half of the sixteenth century was causally connected with Luther's Reformation. The very form of the question admits the fact of such a decline while leaving undecided the nature of the cause. This, Zweynert affirms, could be answered in the affirmative only in case Luther had taken a position with regard to humanism which was positively unfriendly. He does not think that Luther was a product of humanism, although as a child of his age he was influenced by it. On the other hand, Luther diverged from humanism in that he looked at the sciences rather from the standpoint of their value for real life, and especially for the religious life, than from that of mere culture as an end in itself. Luther, he thinks, was convinced of the high value of education, and was not personally responsible for the evident decline in scholarly study in the sixteenth century. Nor was his Reformation responsible. Perhaps in this Zweynert has gone too far. For though there was nothing in the Reformation which of necessity would lead to such a decline, yet the fact that the decline and the progress of the Reformation were contemporaneous must be explained. It is not likely that it was accidental. No great movement, such as the Reformation, which mightily seizes upon the affections and arouses the sympathies of the people can fail to withdraw attention from other interests. Heated political campaigns deprive multitudes of the power to think of anything else important. A great revival robs men temporarily of their profound interest in business. It is impossible that the minds of men should have been so excited on the great religious questions which were being discussed and at the same time absorbed in the desire for education. Besides, there were prejudices against the science of the age because there was prejudice against the Church which had produced it. The new Church must learn to distinguish between the religion of the Middle Ages and the science of the Middle Ages. When the principles of the Reformation had had time to do their work they produced a much higher form of culture than ever was known to Roman Catholicism and with which

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that belated organism has never been able to keep abreast. No one can regret that the Reformation aided in the decline of humanism, since it made way for a culture so much more rich, varied, and useful.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

La notion biblique du miracle (The Biblical Idea of Miracles). Paris, Fischbacher, 1894. By Professor Eugène Ménégoz. French Protestantism has been much excited recently by the question of miracles. The author undertakes to show from a considerable number of instances in the Old and New Testaments that all the biblical writers consider the miracle as a strictly supernatural event in contradiction to the ordinary course of events, and as a phenomenon which is in every case to be referred to God as its cause. The question which he then presents to himself is the one which confronts the Christian and unbelieving mind, namely, What are we to think, in view of the researches of science, of the credibility of miracles? After some effort is spent in wrenching the idea of the miraculous and in weakening and destroying its religious significance, he reaches the conclusion that no Protestant theologian can ever again accept the biblical miraclesin their full compass and with all their consequences. Nevertheless, he thinks the miracle stories have a permanent value for us, though the relation of the stories was made possible by the historical conditions in which their relators lived. In order to this he undertakes a distinction between the knowledge gained by the methods known to natural science and that view of the world which comes into existence as the result of a divinely imparted assurance of an eternal loving purpose. In other words, the religious impression, amounting to a certainty, is not based upon the same laws which govern our knowledge in the natural world. He then proposes to show the relation which exists between the belief in miracles and the belief in divine providence. The miracle is thus supposed to have a certainty for the religious consciousness, but not for the scientific. To the author it is certain that God hears prayer, and this is in his judgment miraculous, although not a violation of natural laws. But this does seem to be a contradiction, unless by prayers he means only those requests which are in perfect accord with the laws of nature, and which they would inevitably work out even were there no prayer offered by men. Yet this is hardly prayer at all. But this is what he practically says when he declares that the Christian only asks in prayer what he knows to be in conformity to natural law. To say nothing of the fact that this is to obliterate the distinction between the two means of knowledge which he has established, in order to make room for faith in the miracles, it is a subterfuge to cover up the double sense in which he uses the word. The answering of prayer is miraculous. Miracle is contrary to nature. But the prayers which Christians offer and which God answers are all in conformity to natural law. These three conclusions of the author utterly contradict each other.

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RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Recent Discussions of the Doctrine of Assurance. The very fact that the old conception of the Bible has been swept away from so many minds has brought the doctrine of assurance again to the front. Thousands who were not aware of it had rested their hope of salvation in some way upon the word of God, and the only knowledge of divine things which other millions possessed was that which they gleaned from the word of God. To vast numbers, perhaps undefinedly, yet really, the correspondence of the utterances of the Bible concerning providence and the way of salvation with their own experience furnished about the only Christian evidences they had. As the divine authority of the Bible is now questioned by so many, at least in certain of its parts, men are beginning to ask themselves what part the Bible has had or ought to have in their religious life. The Bible reveals the possibility of salvation; but are we to believe in this possibility because the Bible teaches it, or because we have experienced it, or both? It has been but a few years since Dr. Julius Köstlin, the great biographer of Luther, wrote a work entitled *Die Begründung unserer sittlich-religiösen Überzeugung* (The Foundation of our Ethical Religious Convictions). More recently Dr. Hermann Schultz has taken up the same questions under the title of *Christliche Apologetik* (Christian Apologetics). In 1895 Professor K. Hackenschmidt published a little book in answer to the question *Wie werden wir unsers Glaubens gewiss und froh?* (How May We Attain to the Certainty and Joy of Faith?) In other forms these problems are being discussed as almost never before outside of Methodism. The dread that with the old faith in the Bible might go the assurance of the truths of the great facts of our religion is not the only impelling motive for such works. They are incited by the desire to show the fearful that even without the doctrine of inspiration the facts which we all prize so highly are well supported. In all these books, then, there is the claim that the true evidence of Christianity is not subject to the assaults of criticism. For example, Schultz (pp. 108, 109) says: "A new principle of life becomes operative (the Holy Spirit), in which every member of the Church may personally participate. Thus the genuine Christian experiences the revelation personally, and he detects in the sacred literature the same Spirit which he himself experiences as a revealed divine life. Hence historic doubts may attack the external history of Jesus, but not the revelation of God in him; and they may assault the external form of the sacred Scriptures, but not their religious-ethical truth." Köstlin (p. 118) says: "Accordingly our faith in Christ is not founded on the faith in the higher character of the Scripture, but rather our faith in the Scripture is founded on our faith in Christ. The witness concerning Christ which we get from the Scripture increases in strength for us thereby, and we follow the more joyfully and trustfully the entire formulation of truth which we receive at the hands of the apostles." In like manner Hackenschmidt claims that the method by which we come to a knowledge of the truth of Christianity is not subject

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to the flood of theological criticism. It is delightful to feel that the critics are finding a way by which to prove the verities in which we have so long believed. If we may not base our faith upon them simply because they are in the Bible we ought to be glad that there is another way by which we may attain as great certainty. But what is that way? To read of them one would almost imagine himself in a Methodist class meeting. Schultz says we experience the revelation. We know for ourselves. We cannot question the truth of the Bible, because we have tested its precepts and its promises and found them true. So Köstlin puts the whole burden upon our religious experience. Hackenschmidt declares that when under the influence of the Holy Ghost and through the impression Jesus makes upon us we attain to the conviction that Jesus is really what he claims to be, the Son of God, the Saviour, the King of the kingdom of heaven, then we become assured as to our Christian faith. Furthermore this experience is one to which any person may attain without regard to education or race, for all it requires is a disposition which is not beyond the possibility of a little child. And through this he thinks that the Bible becomes assuredly the document of our sonship. It is doubtless not expedient that as Methodists we should boast. But we cannot but indulge the reflection that if the theologians who have so despised Methodist theology had listened to the voice of the great theologian, John Wesley, a hundred and fifty years ago, the world might have been spared much of the strife which it has witnessed on these very points. For, as anyone may know who will take the pains to look it up, the essence of what these modern scholars are saying is the essence also of what John Wesley taught concerning Scripture evidence. But because he stated it in a couple of pages instead of expanding it into a great book, as the modern scholar does, and because he made it a practical affair instead of a matter of theory, the world looked on and cried "fanaticism." In one form or another almost all the greatest theologians of the world teach Methodist doctrine on this subject. That they are obliged to find some other support for the faith the Bible contains, on account of their rejection of the traditional view of its inspiration, does not invalidate their teachings. May the time soon come when in view of the mighty truths so well attested the zeal of the theologian in diffusing these blessings of experience shall rise to fever heat!

Seventh General Conference of the German Society for the Advancement of Morality. The meeting was held in September, in Essen. The income of the society was 28,810 marks. New branches had been organized in Erfurt and Strasburg. A strong resolution was adopted against any and every proposition looking toward the legalization or police protection of impurity. The society recognizes the danger to good morals arising from the improper crowding of dwelling houses, and is taking measures to afford relief. Greater efforts are also to be made in the direction of more general use of tracts among the youth of both sexes, and among parents, and it was also determined to push more energetically the midnight mission work, or what is known in America as rescue work.

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SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE Venezuela boundary question is at the front. Conspicuous among recent articles on the subject is "The Issue Between Great Britain and America," by Henry M. Stanley, in the *Nineteenth Century* for January. The paper incidentally shows how un-Americanized this sometime popular American correspondent has become. Speaking from the standpoint of an intense Englishman, he declares that on a recent tour through America he found the people of the United States "working themselves into an extremely angry temper" over the boundary question. In other gracious phrases he writes of the "frequent ebullitions of the American temper;" of the "stupendous arrogance" and "audacious wickedness" of resisting the pretensions of Great Britain in Venezuela; and of the "crime of crimes" which the United States will commit in the "firing of a single shot." The possession by England of the disputed territory for fifty-five years is reason why, in Mr. Stanley's judgment, she should not be molested. In the interests of peace, however, he suggests a European commission to examine into the claims of England and report to her foreign office. "If our government," says he, "requested Russia, Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium to appoint their respective commissioners for the purpose just specified, I feel sure that the entire British race, from these islands to the antipodes, would be unanimous for the defense of British dignity, honor, and rights, if we were discovered not to be willful aggressors on the territory of our neighbor. If, on the other hand, we have unknowingly overstepped our just frontier, it will be found that we are willing and ready to do that which is right." In spirit this proposition is the most equitable in Mr. Stanley's serious arraignment of his former countrymen.

THE *Edinburgh Review* for January has: 1. "The Reign of the Queen;" 2. "Italian Influence on English Poetry;" 3. "Marshal Canrobert;" 4. "Finland;" 5. "The Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge;" 6. "War Correspondents;" 7. "Painters and Critics—French and English;" 8. "Army Organization;" 9. "The Princes of the House of Condé;" 10. "Political and Commercial Affairs in Asia;" 11. "Henry Reeve." The first paper is an attractive review of the unparalleled "moral and material progress" which has taken place during the reign of Victoria, who next autumn "will have reigned for a longer period than any monarch who has ever occupied" the English throne. The fifth paper reviews the compilation of Coleridge's letters, extending from 1785, when he was "a schoolboy at Christ's Hospital, thirteen years of age, to July, 1834, when he was a confirmed invalid, and, indeed, was within a few days of his death." Coleridge, "more than most men, poured out oftentimes his whole heart in a letter;" and that heart the reviewer now discovers.

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The sixth article notices the war memories of William Howard Russell, LL.D., and Archibald Forbes. The tenth paper concludes with the judgment that there is every reason "why Great Britain and Russia should endeavor to act in accord in solving the problems of the further East."

THE opening article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, by the Rev. W. L. Ferguson, of India, considers "The Fourth Gospel after a Century of Criticism." His paper is a scholarly and vigorous testimony to the Johannine authorship of the book in question. Other articles are "William Wordsworth," by T. W. Hunt, Ph.D.; "The Hebrew Cosmogony," by C. B. Warring, Ph.D.; "Christianity and the Evolution of Rational Life," by J. T. Gulick, Ph.D.; "Abraham at Bonn," by O. H. Gates, Ph.D.; "The Gospel of Paul," by F. H. Foster, D.D.; and "An Appeal from a Verdict of History," by W. E. Barton, D.D., which aims to show that the penitent thief on the cross was not a "vicious criminal," but a more or less "worthy man" condemned by an unjust tribunal. Following this there are: "Greek Elements in Modern Religious Thought," by E. S. Carr; "Classification of Social Phenomena," by Arthur Fairbanks, Ph.D.; "A Point of View," by E. W. Bemis, Ph.D.; and "Monopoly by Patents," by Z. S. Holbrook.

THE *Lutheran Quarterly* for January contains: 1. "The Christian Pulpit," by W. M. Baum, D.D.; 2. "Millennialism," by Rev. J. F. Pollock; 3. "Apperceptive Christianity," by Professor M. H. Richards, D.D.; 4. "The Washing of Regeneration," by G. U. Wenner, D.D.; 5. "God Immanent, and the Incarnate Word," by Professor W. H. Wynn, D.D.; 6. "Washington—Christianity the Molding Power of his Character," by F. W. Conrad, D.D., LL.D.; 7. "Harnack on the Apostles' Creed," by Rev. G. W. Fritsch; 8. "Sabbath Day or Sunday, Which?" by M. G. Boyer, D.D.

THE successive articles in the *London Quarterly* for January are as follows: 1. "Europe in Africa;" 2. "The Gurneys of Earlham;" 3. "The New Rationalism;" 4. "A New Commentary on the 'Romans;'" 5. "The State Papers Relating to the Armada;" 6. "The Command of the Sea;" 7. "The Alps from End to End." The first paper holds that the partition of Africa—whose map only fifty years ago was left by the cartographers "a comparative blank"—is now "practically an accomplished fact." Its aim is to take a survey of the possessions secured by each power. The third article reviews Dr. R. F. Horton's eighteen sermons, wherein he in turn reviews Wendt and Beyschlag, and points out the merits and defects of his work. The sixth article notices some recent books on the sea by Captain A. T. Mahan, Spenser Wilkinson, and Admiral P. H. Colomb. The last article of the *Quarterly* is fascinating for those who are not made dizzy by mountain climbing.

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THE *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren* for January has: 1. "Personal Liberty from Spiritual and Spirituous Standpoints," by Rev. W. F. Crafts, Ph.D.; 2. "The Three H's in Education," by President W. M. Beardshear, LL.D.; 3. "The Scientific Study of Children," by Professor H. U. Roop, Ph.D.; 4. "Why I am a United Brethren [*sic*] in Christ," by G. M. Matthews, D.D.; 5. "The Message and Mission of Judaism," by Rabbi Max Wertheimer, Ph.D.; 6. "Outlines of a Study of Sociology," by Bishop J. S. Mills, D.D.; 7. "The Position of Kant in the History of Philosophy," by Rev. G. K. Irie, Ph.D.

THE opening paper in *Christian Literature* for January, by Hon. Boyd Winchester, LL.D., discusses "Greek and German Philosophy," and concludes with the statement that, "to a plain, sober-minded people like ourselves, much of the German philosophy appears as blasphemous as it is the fantastic creation of the brain." This is followed by: "Bishop Butler and his Censors. II," by W. E. Gladstone; "Rigidity of Rome. II," by Wilfrid Ward; "Professor Sayce and the Critics," by S. R. Driver; "The Meaning of Christ's Prayer in Gethsemane," by Thomas West, and by other important papers.

THE *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for January has: "The Beginning and Growth of the Canon of the New Testament," by Dunlop Moore, D.D.; "Some Recent Phases of Christian Apologetics," by Professor A. H. Huizinga; "Naturalism," by President D. W. Fisher, LL.D.; "The Beginning of the American Presbyterian Church," by Rev. J. A. Davis; "The Place of Reason in Theology," by Professor H. C. Minton, D.D.; and "The Holiness Code and Ezekiel," by Professor L. B. Paton, Ph.D. ——The *Missionary Review* for February gives prominence to the interests of China.——The January *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* gives a picture of William Stoughton, Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts 1692–1701, and a sketch of his life. On June 2, 1692, he was appointed "Chief Justice of a special tribunal to try the witchcraft cases." Judge Emory Washburn charges that he "sacrificed all the better feelings of his nature and prostituted the forms of justice to consummate a series of judicial murders that have no parallel in our history." Yet he still retained his popularity, won general approval as acting chief executive of the colony, and "died highly honored and respected."——Besides other articles of great variety the *North American* for January and February has two articles of a series by Mr. Gladstone on "The Future Life and the Condition of Man Therein."——In the *New Church Review* for January are, among other articles, "The Christian Ideal in Youth," by John Worcester; "Christian Science," by A. F. Frost; and a generally commendatory notice of Dr. G. A. Gordon's *The Christ of To-day*, by J. K. Smyth.——The *Chautauquan* for February, besides all other attractions, has illustrated articles on "Footprints of Washington," by H. H. Ragan, and "How Will the Czar Wear his Crown?" by T. B. Preston.

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BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Creation: God in Time and Space. By RANDOLPH S. FOSTER, D.D., LL.D. A Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 8vo, pp. 365. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $3.

Without exaggeration a sublime book, a tremendous book! Great thoughts by a great thinker on greatest themes; a triune greatness which rarely lifts its solid grandeur in the field of literature, or like a three-faced prism explicates the white sunlight of truth into its elements and spreads them out in ordered, broad, and many colored splendor. From the long-ago publication of Bishop Foster's book on Christian Purity, until now, no volume so wonderful has come from his pen. This from the Preface we adopt as our own: "We solicit ministers especially to the reading of these pages. The benefits to be derived are various. It will take them out of their accustomed ruts into new departments of knowledge and thought. It will supply them with the richest illustrations of the great themes which they are to elucidate and unfold. It will impart zest and variety to their ministrations. It will broaden their view of the divine method and operations. It will put them in possession of the highest proofs of the infinite greatness of the Almighty Being whose servants they are. It will enable them to meet the demands of the hungry and often distracted people to whom they preach, and will save them from the crudities into which all must fall who are uninformed on points which more and more engage educated thought. The knowledge of the great facts of being which scientific research is developing is indispensable to one who would hold the attention of the age and command its respect." The preacher must show himself acquainted with the facts of the universe, and not teach doctrines which collide with facts. He must be able to satisfy himself and his people that although some long-regnant ideas may have to be abandoned, the citadel of theological belief remains intact. "The strength of any system is the truth it holds; its weakness is the errors which infest it. . . . If it has some errors of incidents and minor points they may be relinquished without harm, and its power thereby be increased. If its errors are shown to be not inherent, but the accidents of misinterpretation merely, it is made stronger by the exposure if its expounders and defenders show themselves pleased with the discovery and glad to amend the mistake. Nothing can save a system which shrinks from investigation, or attempts to build itself on ignorance, or the impudent denial of facts, or refusal to know them, or inability to show that it does not contradict them. In the interest of theology we plead for the freest and largest liberty. We hail every new discovery. Every new truth, no difference what old error or system of error it may shake down and utterly destroy, is a harbinger of the millennium." As to the

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cosmos being a creation by a personal cause, Bishop Foster says that now "there is no respectable thinker who any more doubts the presence and operation of personal agency in the universe." One of his introductory paragraphs says: "The present discussion is partly scientific, partly philosophico-theological. It undertakes to present, from known scientific data and principles of philosophy, a view of the world-plan, or methods and purposes of the infinite in creation, deduced from grounds largely outside of revelation. The object is . . . to present a rational view of the divine movement from the inception to the outcome of his work by a study of the works themselves. Occasional biblical facts will emerge, and it is believed the result of the inquiry will show that a rational theory will be in substantial accord with the word God has given, properly interpreted." The amount of cerebral phosphorus consumed in making this blazing book would almost turn a midnight ocean into a sea of fire. The nebula in Orion is not more dense with crowded light-centers than is this radiant volume with its aggregation of shining facts, making to the mind an immeasurable but ordered splendor. In its chapters one sees the stupendous magnitude of the universe; sees also that the human intellect is a giant able to pick up worlds as playthings and spin them on its finger tip, or bowl them as arguments along the course of its reasoning; one hears them roll and rumble from Preface to conclusion of this large, long book. Every manly man detests reading after a timid, careless, trembling, or fumbling mind, and likes a fearless, frank, lucid, and thorough-going thinker. Reading the book before us one wonders if there is anywhere a mind more maturely broad-visioned or more youthfully brilliant, intrepid, and enterprising; if anywhere among scholars there is greater avidity in pursuit of knowledge, or enthusiasm in its acquisition, or more patient plodding after exhaustive information, or more careful, sober reasoning on facts, or mind more expert in constructive and systematizing thinking; if any explorer of high plateaus or hardy climber of defiant peaks with steadier head or surer foot, than one sees at work in these pages. Let any who are afraid of science and dread or decry philosophy read Bishop Foster and recover from phobias, panics, and antipathies. Through regions scientific and philosophic his argument treads its ascending course, grand and stately, robed with infinite dignities, crowned with eternal glories. Deep and high go his thoughts, to the bottom and to the top of their vast subject, wide-ranging to the farthest frontiers of ascertainable fact, whence are seen auroral flashings of truth to faith from beyond the horizon of demonstrated knowledge. Such a book powerfully expands, strengthens, and establishes the mind. Always the large view tranquilizes, pacifies, and steadies. It is the narrow view that is unsteady, tippy, and in danger of upsetting; that makes for nervousness, impatience, bigotry, irritability, suspicion, and a precarious faith afraid for its life. Faith, snagged on details, is floated free by generals and universals inflowing like ocean tides. Nothing is so mighty to save as an elemental lift; as when the measureless east wind blowing under the whole heaven rolls the sea shoreward in heaps, and with

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gentle omnipotence buoys the stranded *St. Paul* off the Long Branch sands. The reader reaching the end of this book has been carried so far, as in a sky-mounting chariot, that he wonders he ever lived to get back. He sympathizes with the feeling Amanda Smith, the colored evangelist, expressed after hearing Bishop Foster preach: "It makes me dizzy, but I'm glad I've got such a mighty Father." The height of the author's great argument is calculated to fill one with adoring wonder and solemn ecstasy; its intellectual climaxes and final spiritual culmination may easily excite a rapture fit to die in, and mount a disembodied spirit to "the palace of angels and God." Down from such heights a man might come with some such look upon his face as Moses wore after his interview with Sinai's God; and it would scarce be strange if he should act and seem like Lazarus, recalled from the spirit world, as Tarshish, the Arab physician, saw and described him in Bethany. Lazarus behaved like one who has tasted blisses which make earth-joys cheap, whose soul, though in the flesh, seemed to live in view of heavens unseen by others; no longer measured or valued things by earthly standards, despised greatnesses and saw in trifling facts prodigious import; lived bordering realms of glory

> Which, conscious of, he must not enter yet—
> The spiritual life around the earthly life;
> The law of that is known to him as this;
> His heart and brain move there, his feet stay here.

He has been face to face with realities so much greater than the passing fortunes of this life's little sphere that nothing here has power to agitate or disturb him. Prodigious armaments assembling to besiege his city move him no more than the passing of a mule with gourds; and when told that Rome is on her march to stamp out like a little spark his town, his tribe, his crazy tale, and him, he merely looks with his large, steady, peaceful eyes on who would frighten him. Man gets his bracing by vision of the unseen universe of which the visible cosmos is but a product and phenomenon. And a bracing book, indeed, is this which our bishop has given us. Not to read and study it should be counted a misdemeanor in any minister able to buy or beg or borrow it.

A Creedless Gospel and the Gospel Creed. By HENRY Y. SATTERLEE, D.D. Rector of Calvary Episcopal Church, New York city. 8vo, pp. 322. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

In this book a prophet lifts up his voice in the name of the Lord, protesting to his generation that the popular Christianity of to-day is not in accord with New Testament Christianity, and sounding a strongly reasoned recall. It begins with an implied disapproval of the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago, and sympathizes with the Archbishop of Canterbury's refusal to participate therein. It is divided into three parts: "A Creedless Gospel;" "The Gospel Creed;" "Witnesses for Christ." It is broadly intelligent, frank, firm, and fearless. Advocating the formation of bands among communicants in parishes, the author says: "In this way our modern believers would find the kind of help the early Christians had when they met together in caves and catacombs as a little

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band misunderstood by and separate from the outer world. Like those witnesses of the primitive Church, they would gain the inspiration and stimulus which comes from association and concentrated effort in following a high religious aim; they would be brought face to face, through the interchange of Christian sympathies, with the realities of Christian discipleship, and not feel that a spiritual atmosphere is so unreal as it seems to the outer world." And in a footnote he adds: "In modern Christian life the Methodist system of 'classes' and 'class leaders' . . . gives us a glimpse of the kind of spiritual influences that accompany such associated Christian efforts in the cause of Christ." Since this book appeared its author has been chosen bishop of the new diocese of Washington, D. C. Having declined similar honors in Ohio and in Michigan he now accepts, and will enter publicly on the labors of his bishopric on Palm Sunday at the national capital. He has said: "I seriously object to being labeled as belonging to any one school of thought in the Church. I prefer to be free and untrammeled. In some things I suppose I am a High Churchman, in others Low, and in others Broad. I claim the right to live up to the comprehensiveness allowed in the Church, and to hold the truth as I see it, no matter by what name it may be called." Dr. Satterlee is a manly, earnest, courageous, evangelical minister, with a passion for active evangelization and a warm practical sympathy for the poor and neglected. He has done great work for the disadvantaged and unbefriended, utilizing for that purpose the resources of his large and wealthy church. Highways and hedges know his shepherding presence and voice. On summer evenings during the twenty minutes preceding service-time he would stand, dressed in his cossack and with bared head, at the outer threshold of the vestibule of his church, greeting everyone who approached the entrance, friends and strangers alike, with a hearty "Good evening. I am glad to see you. Walk in!" extending both hands in welcome. When the time for service arrived he would pass quickly back into the vestry room, put on his preaching robe, and appear in the chancel to conduct service and preach. Before dismissing the congregation an invitation would be given for any who wished to remain for a brief religious conference. Then, when the bustle of the departing majority was over, he would stand on the floor at the head of the middle aisle and talk familiarly to those who had remained in the most direct, simple, and helpful way, driving straight at their spiritual needs and duties. In Christ Church, Brooklyn, Dr. Satterlee, preaching before the bishop and clergy of the diocese of Long Island, urging that the Church should cherish a broader, more brotherly and catholic spirit, learning wisdom from its own past mistakes, pointed his suggestion with this historic reference: "If we had treated the Methodists properly they would never have gone out from us." Delivering the annual sermon to the graduating class of Berkeley Divinity School at Middletown, Conn., he charged the young theologues not to imagine theirs to be the only ministry, but to look abroad and rejoice in the great work which God is doing through his servants of other communions, and to cultivate sympathy with all who

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are sincerely laboring in the name of our common Lord and Master. We know of no man in the Protestant Episcopal body more worthy to be a bishop than Dr. Satterlee.

The Witness of Denial. By VIDA D. SCUDDER, A.M. 12mo, pp. 152. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

An abridgment of lectures given at Wellesley College. Six chapters make up this little book on "The Movement of Doubt;" "The Renascence of Faith;" "The Religion of Mystery;" "The Religion of Humanity;" "The Religion of Morality;" "The Religion of Christ." Miss Scudder in her Preface says: "The tone of the book throughout will be found candidly Christian. . . . These pages will hardly appeal to the thorough agnostic; they speak, too often, a language strange to him, which he will reject as fantastic and unreal. The book is meant for those who seek, not for those who are at rest; perhaps, indeed, it could reach no one who is not already earnestly wishing to accept Christianity. Even so, the number of those to whom it is directed is very great." Here are some of the closing words of the book: "From Christianity all modern faith, however unconsciously, springs; to Christianity it must return. The sense of finite ignorance, the passionate love for men, the recognition of force making for righteousness—all these, with their colored and partial glory, unite in the white and simple light of the Christian faith. And in the ideal Church of Christ are found waiting the means by which these great truths may be made part of the daily life of men. Through her the glory of the Infinite is revealed to that humanity which, standing at the height of natural evolution, serves as a meeting place between the material and the divine. In her as the family of brethren, nay, the very body of Christ, is fully realized the collective conception of the race as an organic whole. Her great sacraments present not only types of spiritual truths, but channels through which the influx of the spirit of righteousness may purify and feed the human soul." Miss Scudder is a gifted and highly cultivated woman.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Letters of Matthew Arnold. Collected and arranged by GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 909. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $3.

In these letters there is little additional to his published writings on the themes mostly treated therein. We do not find in the privacy of personal correspondence any fuller or freer utterance of the views with which he most attracted public attention when alive. To his previous intellectual contribution these volumes add little, nor is there in them any special play of mental brilliancy. Their interest and value chiefly lie in his opinions on various people and things and in showing us the man as he moved in life's ordinary affairs and in domestic and friendly relations. It is remarked that they exhibit his faculty for keen enjoyment, his manly endurance of adverse fate, buoyancy in breasting difficulties, unremitting

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solicitude for those nearest his heart, love of children, childlike pleasure in his own performances, laboriousness in a life of unremunerative drudgery, a nature essentially religious, and a constant remembrance of his own doctrine that conduct is three fourths of life. He was a sort of modern Marcus Aurelius. The letters begin with 1848, and the first ones give glimpses of the commotions agitating Europe in that troublous year which set so many hearts and institutions a-tremble. Matthew Arnold mingled in the great mob which rioted in Trafalgar Square in March of that year, noted the din and whirl and brutality which envelop a movement of the masses, and anticipated "a wave of more than American vulgarity, moral, intellectual, and social, preparing to break over" England. He says, "It is the intelligence of the idea-moved masses of France which makes them politically as far superior to the insensible masses of England as to the Russian serfs." He meets Emerson in London and is told by him that Carlyle is much agitated by the course of things, had known a European revolution to be inevitable, but had expected the old state of things to last out his time; now Carlyle was giving "our British institutions, as they are called, aristocracy, Church, etc., five years to live." "The ridiculous terror of people here is beyond belief. Tell Miss Martineau it is said here that Monckton Milnes (afterward Lord Houghton) refused to be sworn in as a special constable that he might be free to assume the post of President of the Republic at a moment's notice." (In 1848 Great Britain was expected by many to become a republic.) Matthew Arnold writes his eldest sister, "I am not sure but I agree in Lamartine's prophecy that one hundred years hence the Continent will be a great united federal republic, and England, all her colonies gone, in a dull, steady decay." [The one hundred years are already about half gone by.] Arnold at the age of twenty-nine writes thus bluntly to his sister, Mrs. W. E. Forster: "I am by nature so very different from you, the worldly element enters so much more largely into my composition that as I become formed there seems to grow a gulf between us, which tends to widen till we can hardly hold any intercourse across it." He reads Bacon, Pindar, Sophocles, Milton, Thomas à Kempis, and Ecclesiasticus, and is sickened of modern literature, which he finds "not bracing or edifying in the least." In 1853 it was the opinion of Lord John Russell that Matthew Arnold was the one rising young poet of that day. Spending a Sunday in Oxford, in 1854, Arnold is struck with the apathy and poorness of the people there, and with the petty pottering habits of the students as compared with those of Paris, Germany, or even London. Animation and power of work are wanting. Newman's religious movement, which kept the place from stagnating, has gone, and nothing better has come to take its place. However, Arnold hopes that "the infusion of Dissenters' sons of that muscular, hard-working, *unblasé* middle class—for this it is in spite of its abominable disagreeableness—may brace the flaccid sinews of Oxford a little." He says that what made his father, Arnold of Rugby, great was "that he was not only a good man, saving his own soul by righteousness, but that he carried so many others with him in his hand, and saved them,

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if they would let him, along with himself." On the publication of a new volume of "Modern Painters," this is his criticism on Ruskin, "the man and his character too febrile, irritable, and weak to allow him to possess the *ordo concatenatioque veri*." As he grows older he learns "to make habitual war on depression and low spirits," which are "noxious alike to body and mind and partake of the nature of death." One May day the man of thirty-five writes, "I have a positive thirst to see the Alps again, and two or three things I have in hand which I cannot finish till I have again breathed and smelt Swiss air." He thinks his tragedy, "Merope," has "what Buddha called 'the character of fixity, that true sign of the law,'" and writes a friend in Italy, "Make Browning read it if he is in Florence. As to his wife, I regard her as hopelessly confirmed in her aberration from health, nature, beauty, and truth." He says that to unite perfection of thought and feeling with that of form is difficult unless one can devote one's whole life to poetry, as Wordsworth and Byron and Shelley could, and also "Tennyson, a far inferior natural power to either of the three." Of a public dinner at Birmingham he writes: "I heard John Bright to perfection. The company was dismally obscure, the dinner abominably bad, the speaking, all but his, unutterably wearisome; but his speech made amends. He is an orator of almost the highest rank—voice and manner excellent; perhaps not quite flow enough—not that he halts or stammers, but I like sometimes to have more of a rush than he ever gives you. He is a far better speaker than Gladstone." Of John Stuart Blackie Arnold writes: "He is an animated, pleasant man, with a liking for all sorts of things that are excellent. For the rest, an *esprit* as confused and hoity-toity as possible, and as capable of translating Homer as of making the Apollo Belvidere." This is a travel note: "What wounds one's feelings in Holland is the perpetual consciousness that the country has no business there at all. You see it all below the level of the water, soppy, hideous, and artificial; and because it exists against nature nobody can exist there except at a frightful expense, which is very well for the natives, who may be thankful to live on any terms, but disagreeable for foreigners who do not like to pay twice as much as elsewhere for being half as comfortable. What is most disagreeable is the climate; you live in a constant smell of ooze, at least in summer; hot ooze when in the sun, cold ooze when you go under the trees." From Strasburg, in 1859, he prophesies that in case of war between the two nations bordering the Rhine "the French will beat the Prussians all to pieces, without doubt." Mill's book on Liberty is "one of the few books that inculcate tolerance in an unalarming and inoffensive way." Upon Carlyle's death he writes: "I never much liked Carlyle. He seemed to me to be 'carrying coals to Newcastle;' preaching earnestness to a nation which had plenty of it by nature, but was less abundantly supplied with several other useful things." He finds Emerson of far more use than Carlyle. Robert Burns "is a beast, with splendid gleams, and the medium in which he lived, Scotch peasants, Scotch Presbyterianism, and Scotch drink, is repulsive." Arnold speaks of "the intellectual vulgarity" of the London *Times*. "I do not

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think Tennyson a *grand et puissant esprit;* and therefore I do not really set much store by him, in spite of his popularity." "The real truth is that Tennyson, with all his temperament and artistic skill, is deficient in intellectual power; and no modern poet can make very much of his business unless he is preeminently strong in this. Goethe owes his grandeur to his strength in this, although it even hurt his poetical operations by its immense predominance." Arnold says, "Homer leaves Shakespeare, with all his unequaled gifts—and certainly there never was any such naturally gifted poet—as far behind as perfection leaves imperfection." He speaks of reading the "Odyssey" to keep himself from putrefaction. From these two volumes of Arnold's letters Americans can get a pretty complete idea of his opinion of them and their country. In our war time, 1862, he thinks it has become "indispensable to give the Americans a *moral lesson*," and fervently hopes it will be given. He thinks the feeling of kinship between the two countries does not count for much; "after immediate blood relationship the relationship of the soul is the only important thing, and this one has far more with the French, Italians, or Germans than with the Americans." In 1883, "I do not think the bulk of the American nation at present gives one the impression of being made of fine enough clay to serve the highest purposes of civilization." In this country he writes: "This morning I have been to hear Ward Beecher. His management of his voice and hold on his vast audience struck me wonderfully, but the sermon was poor. They said he knew I was coming and was on his good behavior, and therefore constrained. At the end of the service he came down into the area to see me, gave me the notes of his sermon, said I had taught him much, that he had read my rebukes of him too, and that they were just and had done him good." The American press is "an awful symptom;" the "best paper is the *Evening Post*, written by Godkin, an expatriated Anglo-Irishman." The *Boston Herald* is "a coarse paper, but perhaps the strongest in America." "A Detroit newspaper compared me, as I stooped now and then to look at my manuscript on a music stand, to 'an elderly bird pecking at grapes on a trellis.'" "An American told the Bishop of Rochester that 'Denver was not ripe for Mr. Arnold.'" His daughter "is in bliss at New York, but she is a goose to prefer it to Canada." "The hills of the Ohio Valley at Cincinnati are really picturesque, and the views from the park-like heights around were very fine. The river, with its wooded hills, had a curve which bore a startling resemblance to Windermere, with its curve at the island, only the Ohio was much broader." "Quebec is the most interesting thing I have seen on this continent, and I think I would sooner be a poor priest in Quebec than a rich hog merchant in Chicago." "The political sense of the people" of America seems to be "sounder than with us, and is the soundest thing they have." The New World buys his books, he says, because they are "novel and strange;" "the New World is getting very large and strong;" his books have "done much good in America." Of Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* he writes: "All the religious world, and even the more serious portion of the aristocratical

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world, have accepted the book as a godsend, and are saying to themselves that here at last is safety and scientific shelter for the orthodox supernaturalisms which seemed menaced with total defeat." What Arnold sees in America is "the civilization of the Australian colonies and not of Europe—distinctly inferior to that of Europe." The "capital defect of life" in America is that "compared with life in England, it is so uninteresting, so without savor and without depth." Of General Grant's *Memoirs* he says: "Grant is shown by this book to be one of the most solid men they have had. I prefer him to Lincoln. Except Franklin I know hardly any one so *selbst-ständig*, so broad and strong-sighted, as well as firm charactered, that they have had."

Anima Poetae. From the unpublished notebooks of SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. Edited by ERNEST HARTLEY COLERIDGE. 8vo, pp. 271. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

Coleridge looked for a time when he might have opportunity and energy to reduce to order the contents of his almost numberless notebooks, full of remarkable miscellaneous literary materials. The Preface of the book before us says: "The aim of the present work has been to present a collection of unpublished aphorisms and sentences, and at the same time to enable the reader to form some estimate of those strange self-communings to which Coleridge devoted so much of his intellectual energy, and by means of which he hoped to pass through the mists and shadows of words and thoughts to a steadier contemplation, to the apprehension, if not the comprehension, of the mysteries of Truth and Being." The selections are arranged, as far as possible, in chronological order. The best way of making our readers acquainted with the book is by letting it speak for itself through quotations. One curious item is that Coleridge was in lifelong error about his birthday. He said it was October 20; his editor says it was October 21. Here are sample sayings: "Socinianism, moonlight; Methodism, a stove. O for some sun to unite heat and light!" "A most unpleasant dispute with Wordsworth and Hazlitt. I spoke, I fear, too contemptuously; but they spoke so irreverently, so malignantly of the Divine Wisdom that it overset me." Reading Barrow's treatise "On the Pope's Supremacy," Coleridge made a note on "the *L'Estrangeism* of his style whenever his thoughts rendered it possible for the words to be pert, frisky, and vulgar." Speaking of "the inward light" he says, "In Plotinus the system of the Quakers is most beautifully expressed: 'It is not lawful to inquire from whence it originated, for it neither approached hither, nor again departs from hence to some other place, but it either appears to us or does not appear. So that we ought not to pursue it as if with a view of discerning its latent original, but to abide in quiet till it suddenly shines upon us, preparing ourselves for the blessed spectacle, like the eye waiting for the rising sun.'" "Religious slang operates better on women than on men." George Dyer said to Rickman, "Your aunt, sir, is a very sensible woman. Why, I read, sir, my 'Ode' to her, and she said it was a very pretty thing. There are very few women, sir, that possess that fine discrimination, sir." Coleridge

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writes: "Dear Sir Walter Scott and myself were exact but harmonious opposites in this—that every old ruin, hill, or tree called up in his mind a host of historical or biographical associations; whereas I believe I should walk over the plain of Marathon without taking more interest in it than in any other plain of similar features." "The gracious promises and sweetnesses and aids of religion are as alarming and distressful to a trifling, light, fluttering, gay child of fashion and vanity as its threats and reproaches and warnings." "St. Paul has well observed, 'By worldly wisdom no man ever arrived at God,' but having seen him by the moral sense, then we understand the outward world." "In the Preface of my metaphysical works I should say, 'Once for all, read Kant, Fichte, etc., and then you will trace, or, if you are on the hunt, track me.'" "With friends and beloved ones follow the heart. Better be deceived twenty times than suspect one twentieth of once." Dr. Alexander Geddes, the author of a revised translation of the Scriptures, is described as "that bubbling ice spring of cold-hearted, mad-headed fanaticism." "I seem to feel that if France had been for ages a Protestant nation, and a Milton had been born in it, the French language would not have precluded the production of a 'Paradise Lost,' though it might, perhaps, that of a Hamlet or a Lear." Every literary worker will understand Coleridge's reluctance to destroy or throw away papers or magazines: "I am ashamed to confess what pulling back of the heart I feel whenever I wish to kindle a fire with a hospital or harbor report, and what a cumulus lies on my table. I am not able to conjecture of what use they can ever be, and yet trembling lest what I then destroyed might be of some use in the way of knowledge." "Consider the incalculable advantage of chiefly dwelling on the virtues of the heart, of habits of feeling and harmonious action, the music of the adjusted string at the impulse of the breeze, and, on the other hand, the evils of books concerning particular actions, minute cases of conscience, hair-splitting directions and decisions, O how illustrated by the detestable character of most of Roman Catholic casuists!" "Speculative men are wont to be condemned. Who more speculative than Sir Walter Ralcigh? Yet he, even he, brought in the potato to Europe." "Always bear in mind that profound sentence of Leibnitz that men's intellectual errors consist chiefly in *denying*. What they *affirm* with feeling is, for the most part, right." "Let England be Sir Philip Sidney, Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Harrington, Swift, Wordsworth." "Leibnitz, Lessing, Voss, Kant shall be Germany to me, let whatever coxcombs rise up, and shrill it away in the grasshopper vale of reviews. And so shall Dante, Ariosto, Giordano Bruno be my Italy, Cervantes my Spain; and O! that I could find a France for my love. But spite of Pascal, Madame Guyon, and Molière, France is my Babylon, the mother of whoredoms, in morality, philosophy, and taste." "The vile, cowardly, selfish, calculating ethics of Paley, Priestly, Locke, and other Erastians do woefully influence us." "The progress of human intellect from earth to heaven is not a Jacob's ladder, but a geometrical staircase with five or more landing places." "I love beings superior to myself better than my

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equals. But the notion of inferiority is so painful to me that I never, in common life, feel a man my inferior except by after reflection." "So receive, so believe divine ideas that ye may earn the right to understand them. For faith should go before understanding, in order that understanding may be the reward of faith." "Aristotle admits that demonstrated truths are inferior in kind of certainty to the indemonstrable out of which the former are deduced." "The first man of science was he who looked into a thing, not to learn whether it could furnish him with food, or shelter, or weapons, or tools, or ornaments, but who sought to know it for the gratification of *knowing;* while he that first sought to *know* in order to *be* was the first philosopher." "There is no superstition but what has religion as its base, and religion is only reason seen perspectively by a finite intelligence." Coleridge was of opinion that Protestants should require of a converted Romish priest no other recantation than "a declaration that he admitted no outward authority superior to, or coordinate with, the canonical Scriptures, and no interpreter that superseded or stood in the place of the Holy Spirit, enlightening the mind of each true believer, according to his individual needs." He might be a good Protestant by renouncing only this.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Memories and Studies of War and Peace. By ARCHIBALD FORBES, with Portrait of the Author. 8vo, pp. 368. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.50.

Forbes writes that the most brilliant of all the men who ever gained reputation as war correspondents was that brave young Ohioan, J. A. MacGahan, who, if he were alive, might possibly in the magnanimity of his soul put the laurel upon Archibald Forbes's own war-worn weather-beaten brow. Concerning MacGahan, Forbes writes: "He was the hero of that wonderful lonely ride through the Great Desert of Central Asia to overtake Kauffmann's Russian army on its march to Khiva. He it was who stirred Europe to its inmost heart by the terrible and truthful pictures of what have passed into history as the 'Bulgarian atrocities.' It is, indeed, no exaggeration to aver that, for better or worse, MacGahan was the virtual author of the Russo-Turkish war. His pen-pictures of the atrocities so excited the fury of the Slav population of Russia, that their passionate demand for retribution on the 'unspeakable Turk' virtually compelled the emperor, Alexander II, to undertake the war." The Armenian atrocities of to-day ought to precipitate the armies of Europe upon the accursed Turk. Is there no MacGahan to stir the righteous wrath of Christendom? Forbes and MacGahan were comrades in many perils and rivals in many a daring enterprise. Certain it is that these two have done more than any other modern men to make us eyewitnesses of some of the most remarkable militray campaigns and conflicts of our century. Everybody who has a library ought to have in it at least one such book as this, and of its kind we know of none surpass-

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ing it. Its style suits magnificently with its tremendous subject. It is as grimly splendid as an army marching on the enemy, as dashing and fiery as a cavalry charge. Here are some of the titles of these terrific cartoons, painted by the hand of a master: "Moltke Before Metz," "The Dark Days of Sedan," "Ambush Against Ambush," "Paris in Prostration," "The Crushing of the Commune," "The Death of the Prince Imperial" (of France). Other chapters are entitled, "Ten Years of War Correspondence," "The Future of the Wounded in War," "Distinguished Conduct in the Field," "On the Old Warpath," "Soldiers I Have Known." This concerning MacGahan in the Turko-Russian War: "His work throughout the long campaign was singularly effective, and his physical exertions extraordinary; yet he was suffering all through with a lameness that would have disabled eleven out of twelve men. He had broken a bone in his ankle just before the declaration of war, and when I first met him the joint was encased in plaster of Paris. He insisted on accompanying Gourko's raid across the Balkans; and in the Hankioj Pass his horse slid over a precipice and fell on its rider so that his half-set bone was broken again. But the indomitable MacGahan refused to be invalided by this mishap. He quietly had himself hoisted on a tumbril, and so went through the whole adventurous expedition, being involved thus helpless in several actions, and once all but falling into the hands of the Turks. He kept the front throughout, long after I had gone home disabled by fever; he brilliantly chronicled the fall of Pleona and the surrender of Osman Pasha; he crossed the Balkans with Skobuleff in the dead of that terrible winter; and finally, at the premature age of thirty-two, he died, characteristically, a martyr to duty and to friendship. When the Russian armies lay around Constantinople waiting for the settlement of the Treaty of Berlin, typhoid fever and camp pestilences were slaying their tens of thousands. Lieutenant Greene, an American officer attached officially to the Russian army, fell sick, and MacGahan devoted himself to the task of nursing his fellow-countryman. His devotion cost him his life. As Greene was recovering MacGahan sickened of malignant typhus; and a few days later they laid him in his far-off foreign grave, around which stood weeping mourners of a dozen nationalities." To Archibald Forbes's thinking no spectacle he ever saw vied in human interest with that presented by the simple cordiality and tenderness of the arrival of the old Kaiser Wilhelm I at his Potsdam home immediately after the ending of the Franco-German war. "Long before the time named for the arrival of the royal train the platform of the Potsdamer railway station was thronged with notabilities. There were Bismarck in his white cuirassier uniform, and Moltke, and Roon, and other principal personages of the great headquarters staff. There was the venerable Marshal Wrangel, a still older soldier than his sovereign. There, too, were Vogel von Falkenstein, grim and gray, and old Steinmetz, come from his distant Posen governorship. Of ladies and children of the royal house the name was Legion. In a siding opposite the platform, whether by accident or design, had been shunted a hos-

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pital train, from the windows of which pallid faces looked out on the brilliant scene. Upon the carriage roofs clustered convalescents; and a little squad of fellows maimed at Spicheren and Borny gave Steinmetz a cheer—old 'Immer Vorwärts,' as they styled him; and so with gossip and endless kindly greetings the moments of expectancy passed. At sound of the distant whistle, out from the waiting room stalked Bismarck. Wrangel doffed his plumed helmet; a stream of ladies and children followed Bismarck's stalwart form. In two minutes more the train rolled up to the platform. Then rose a mighty shout of cheering; and there at the carriage window stood the emperor looking out on his family and servants. A moment later, and he was down the steps kissing the dowager Queen Elizabeth. It seemed as if the women of his race were mobbing him as they crowded round him for his kisses, while grandchildren hung about his knees. The old man was brushing his shaggy eyelashes with the back of his hand as he struggled through the women folk about him. In his path stood 'Papa' Wrangel, a beam from the setting sun flashing on his snow-white hair. The soldier patriarch raised his hand and tried to utter a welcome, but his voice failed him, and the tears rolled down his face. His master, not less moved, kissed his aged servant affectionately on both cheeks. The two old soldier comrades embraced, and Steinmetz's wounded fellows on the carriage roofs cheered the mutual greeting. Then the emperor grasped Bismarck by the hand and kissed him too, and old Steinmetz as well, forgiven for his waste of men on the slope over against Gravelotte; he kissed his way right through, out into the waiting room, hand in hand with the empress, who was shedding quiet tears. The scene was like an April day, showers and sunshine, tears and smiles; all state and ceremony were swept away in the gush of homely affection. When his majesty had reached the palace the cheers of his Berliners kept him long lingering on its threshold; over and over again he had to come out on the balcony with the empress; and his final appearance was at the accustomed corner window, at which he had shown himself when the declaration of war was announced. That war was now triumphantly finished, and the old Kaiser Wilhelm had come home from his last campaign."

This Goodly Frame, the Earth. By FRANCIS TIFFANY. Crown 8vo, pp. 364. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

This is a sprightly, sparkling, glowing, and buoyant book of travels, one of the most delightful of its kind, containing "strong impressions of scenes, incidents, and persons in a journey touching Japan, China, Egypt, Palestine, and Greece"—in fact, a trip around the world. There is nothing humdrum, prosy, or hackneyed in it. Chapter eighth, on Japan, begins thus: "Japan has just now reached her ebullient sophomore year in the world-university curriculum. . . . At present the Japanese are topheavily overladen with conceit. Only think of it! How comparatively few the years since the Imperial University of Tokio was founded under the actual title, 'An Institution for Examining into the Writings of the

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Barbarians'—Newton, La Place, Watt, Lyell, and Darwin, all summed up under that engaging category! Yet, already, having squeezed whatever they knew out of German, French, English, American professors, have the Japanese quickly sent home the majority of them, and themselves taken their places; as equally they have done with European railway contractors, civil engineers, shipbuilders, and locomotive builders, and are beginning to do even with Teutonic brewers of lager beer. Did the world ever see the like! Very natural the feeling that they have sucked the whole contents of the occidental scientific orange and thrown away the skin." His impressions of the Chinese are like our own: "One cannot but feel that there is latent in them the stuff of a giant future, after once the mighty throes of revolution that are at hand shall have steeped them in scalding tears and chilled them in icy waters and forged them under the trip-hammer blows of sure-coming destiny." Here is a glimpse of another race: "The Egyptians have been called the most patient of the peoples of the world. This patience, does it root in their impassive nervous fiber, or is it the result of self-control? Certain it is that one sees no end of babies of six months, their faces thick with swarming flies, and each eye itself constantly run over by the legs of at least a dozen, who never so much as wink, much less lift a tiny hand to brush the pests away. Many the minister at home, a man of ascetic moral training and high spirituality, who is yet more carnally exercised, even in the full fervor of his discourse, by a single fly persistently disporting around the sensitive flanges of his nostrils, than are these little innocents by swarms of them. Under like aggravation an American baby would make the welkin ring. The historic question inevitably precipitated by such a nervous phenomenon is whether American babies, already so high-strung and rebellious at the age of six months, could ever develop into a race capable of building the pyramids." We copy some of Mr. Tiffany's comments on the criticisers of missionary work: "As a general rule it will be found that the more dissolute and shameless the life an American, Englishman, or German is leading in Japan (or elsewhere) the more conscientiously he is opposed to missions and the lower in the scale does he rate the motives and character of missionaries. Really pathetic, for example, is it to hear him enlarge on the cruelty of introducing the standards of our severe and ascetic American sisters among these unconscious children of nature, their eyes not yet open to the fatal knowledge of good and evil. Along with these stanch champions of the primitive Eden before the fall into the lost innocency of moral distinctions, one encounters another class equally severe on missionaries. It consists of hypersensitive, æsthetic natures so ethereally organized as to live in perpetual danger of 'dying of a rose in aromatic pain.' They tremble lest under the sirocco breath of the missionary the aroma will be dispelled from the flower, the dew exhaled from the grass. As, after the most exhaustive investigation, I could never discover that any representative of either of these classes had ever been near a mission, I was forced to the conclusion that their judgments were either too dissolutely or too æsthetically *a priori* to be

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entitled to great weight." "It is a bit exasperating to read much that has been written by Americans, who, perhaps, were scientifically keen-eyed, but with about the religious endowment of monkeys, on the absurdity and futility of every kind of mission." "Like every other nation, Japan is indebted to missions for its highest religious and material development." Of the contempt of the Chinese for foreigners and their civilization he says: "It is a contempt Atlas in height, continental in breadth, oceanic in depth—a contempt *in sæcula sæculorum*. One is awed by it. One yearns for a massiveness of nature capable of so Mont Blanc a solidity of contempt-sensation. I repeat it. Something sublime is there in beholding for once the virtue of conservatism developed to Himalayan proportions. If Confucius really did this all of himself then I rank him next to the law of gravitation." Speaking of the filth and nastiness of Chinese cities he writes: "The one predominant feeling with my friend and myself as we emerged from the gate of Shanghai was a longing to be hung out for a month on a clothesline in a gale of wind. Carbolic acid and chloride of lime would have seemed perfumes of rarer fragrance than heliotrope or tea roses."

From Far Formosa. The Island, its People and Missions. By GEORGE LESLIE MACKAY, D.D., twenty-three years a missionary in Formosa. Edited by the Rev. J. A. MACDONALD. 8vo, pp. 346. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, buckram decorated, $2.

The author is known as the missionary hero of the Canadian Presbyterian Church. Having been educated at Toronto, Princeton, and Edinburg, he went to Formosa in 1872, when there was not one church, chapel, or native Christian to be found in its cities, on its plains, or among its mountains. Beginning as a lone stranger his mission now includes sixty organized native churches, with a baptized membership of 2,719, each church being in charge of a trained native minister. There is a training school for preachers, a school for the education of girls and the instruction of Bible women, a hospital and dispensary. The book contains, in addition to the story of apostolic missionary labors, chapters on the geology and botany of Formosa and the ethnology of its inhabitants. There is a glimpse of perils from mobs in the open streets, assassins in dark places, savage tribes known as "Black Flags" in the mountains, and their stealthy "head hunters" in the border lands. The maps and frequent illustrations add to the interest and value of the book, which is a distinct addition to missionary literature.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Victorian Anthology. Edited by EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN. Large 8vo, pp. 739. New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, gilt top, cloth, $2.50.

The selections in this volume are limited to the poetic yield of the British nation, including England's colonies during the reign of Victoria, dating from 1837 to 1895. This book is based on and its selections are

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illustrative of Mr. Stedman's previous volume, which was a critical review of British poetry during the reign of the present sovereign. As good a picture of the queen as we have ever seen prefaces the volume. The reigns of England's two great queens, Elizabeth and Victoria, are marked by unequaled imaginative fertility. Choice and typical selections from four hundred and forty-three poets of the latter reign are in this delightful and valuable book. The colonial minstrelsy of India, Australasia, and the Dominion of Canada is here also, including Toru Dutt, Rudyard Kipling, and Bliss Carman. Among our latest contemporaries in these selections are Austin Dobson, Andrew Lang, Edmund Gosse, Robert Louis Stevenson, W. J. Dawson, Eric Mackay, William Watson, Norman Gale, and Richard Le Gallienne. Alfred Austin, made Poet Laureate since this book appeared, is classed with the "composite idyllic school," and only four short selections are made from the voluminous effusions of his muse. Evidently Stedman did not rate him anywhere among England's foremost living singers. It is hardly possible to say too much for the fine taste and consummate good sense which have culled this unsurpassed collection from the flowering fields of Queen Victoria's reign and realm.

Blessed Be Drudgery. By WILLIAM C. GANNETT. 16mo, pp. 29. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. Price, paper, 10 cents.

Eighty-three thousand copies of this tract have been sold. The author offers it as a discourse on a fresh beatitude. Michael Angelo is quoted: "Nothing makes the soul so pure, so religious, as the endeavor to create something perfect; for God is perfection, and whoever strives for it strives for something that is Godlike." Two cobblers being asked how long it takes to become a good shoemaker, one said, "Six years, and then you must travel;" the other said, "All your life, sir." Maydole, the Central New-York hammer-maker, said to James Parton, "I have made hammers here for twenty-eight years." "Well, then you ought to be able to make a pretty good hammer by this time." "No sir. I *never* make a pretty good hammer. I make the best hammer in the United States." The president of the Cambria railworks in Pittsburg, employing seven thousand men, being asked the secret of such an enormous development of business, answered: "We have no secret. We always try to beat our last batch of rails. That's all the secret we have." Tracts like this cheer the world's toilers and make drudgery seem divine. It might profitably be read by eighty-three thousand more.

The Spiritual Life: Bible Lectures. By GEORGE C. NEEDHAM. 12mo, pp. 262. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Price, cloth, $1.

Fourteen chapters on the Bible and how to study it, made by an evangelist who uses the Scriptures for immediate practical effect upon the minds and hearts and lives of men.

Home Making. By IAN MACLAREN. 16mo, pp. 18. *Christ Enough.* By HANNAH W. SMITH. 16mo, pp. 14. *Joy, Rest, and Faith.* By HENRY DRUMMOND. 16mo, pp. 16. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. Price, paper, ornamental, each, 15 cts.

The quality of these booklets is defined by the well-known character of their authors.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1896.

ART. I.—THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY.

WITHIN the past seven years nearly thirty American universities have established, in connection with their departments of philosophy, laboratories equipped for the new or experimental psychology. This interesting movement is traceable to a previous but slower one in the universities of Germany, which is strongly stimulating the philosophic thought of the world. The popular interest in mental phenomena, shown by the prevalence of public hypnotic exhibitions, spiritualistic *séances*, faith healing, and similar perversions of true science, can now be gratified in a way that is wholesome yet thoroughly scientific and naturally attractive to the keen American mind. The recent publication of Dr. Scripture's readable work * in this field, and of its modest, clear, and skillfully planned predecessor, written by Dr. Sanford †—the first English book written in this newest department of psychology—has opened up a mine of valuable mental possibilities for American students and teachers.

Experimental psychology occupies in philosophy a place corresponding to that of Methodism in religion. As from the cleansing truth that "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself," and the other truth that "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved: for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness;

* *Thinking, Feeling, and Doing: A Popular Psychology*, 1895.

† *A Course in Experimental Psychology*, 1895. There is also a small French work by Binet, *Introduction a la Psychologie Expérimentelle*, Paris, 1894.

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and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation" (R. V.), experimental religion has produced the greatest spiritual renovation in modern Church history, so there is now growing up a novel and invaluable science of mind, rooted in the basal facts of repeated and accurate experiment upon every phase of mental life.

Like many other changes in philosophic thought, experimental psychology had its scientific origin in astronomy. In 1795 Maskelyne, the astronomer-royal in Greenwich Observatory, while scrutinizing the transit records of his assistant, Kinnebrook, found them constantly too slow by amounts varying from .5 to .8 of a second—a very large error in such exact work. He expostulated, but in vain. The errors continued. Finally he discharged the assistant for chronic inaccuracy. A similar difficulty was detected later by Bessel (1784–1846), the eminent astronomer at Königsberg, Prussia, who found his own transit records one second in advance of those of his contemporaries, Argelander's being one and a quarter seconds slower than his, while those of Struve were quicker. He could not understand why such errors, varying from .3 of a second to one second, could be made by such expert observers; and finding that the variations were constant in each one's records, and could not be due to the instruments or conditions of observation, which were the same for all, he correctly inferred that the errors were mental, that the minds of the observers acted at different speeds by amounts which were appreciable and measurable. This constant margin of error he called the "personal equation." It is now always calculated carefully for each observer, and must always be considered, together with corrections for atmospheric refraction and other hindrances, in order to attain absolute accuracy.

The historical origin of experimental psychology is traceable to the Kantian philosophy. The metaphysics of this unique thinker (1724–1804) terminated in a dualism of idealism and realism. The idealistic phase was expanded variously by Fichte, the subjective idealist (1762–1814), and Schelling, the objective idealist (1775–1854), and culminated in the absolute idealism of Hegel (1770–1831), beyond whom idealistic metaphysics will probably never go. The realistic phase was developed by Herbart (1776–1841), who thereby turned the thought of Ger-

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many, and therefore of the world, into its present psychological channels, and is to-day the ruling spirit of philosophical Europe. His great work, *Psychologie als Wissenschaft*, was issued in 1824. The interest in psychology which it aroused was enlarged by Lotze (1817–81), whose *Medicinische Psychologie*, published in 1852, gives due prominence to the physiological accompaniment of mental actions. Eight years later an epochal change originated with the issue in 1860 of Fechner's (1801–87) *Psycho-Physik*, in which the important discoveries of E. H. Weber (1795–1878) concerning the connection between stimuli and the resulting sensations, known as Weber's Law, were elaborated and reduced to exact formulation. Fechner emphasized the relationship of the psychical and physical factors, as his term "*psycho-physik*" implies. The interest and controversies aroused by his theories were still prevalent when Wundt (born 1832) published at Leipzig in 1874 his *Grundzüge der Physiologischen Psychologie*, combining the somewhat diverse influences of Lotze and Fechner, and showing the great value of the then recently founded science of physiological psychology. This originated in the discoveries of the physiologists Fritsch and Hitzig, who had been experimenting on the localization of function in the brains of dogs, and had found that stimulation of certain parts of the brain produced movements in corresponding parts of the dogs' bodies. Wundt accordingly saw the possibility of applying the experimental method not merely to the body but to the mind, especially the human mind. Remembering the well-known "personal equation" of the astronomers, he inferred that all mental action might perhaps be capable of similar exact measurement. He therefore started at Leipzig, in 1878, the first laboratory in the world for the experimental study of mental life.

Experimental psychology, which uses apparatus to study the mind, is thus the reverse of physics, which observes the action of natural forces by means of apparatus. The main purpose of this new science is the accurate measurement of mental acts. How long does it take to remember, to discriminate between two colors? How delicate and reliable are our space perceptions? How much energy is expended in thinking? The new psychology vouches a trustworthy answer to thousands of such questions. From a large fund of exact facts it endeavors to

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formulate reliable rules of mental life, and to generalize these into laws which can stand in sturdy independence of metaphysical vagaries with the unimpeachable declaration, "Thus saith consciousness in the name of careful, repeated, and verified experiment."

The facts of experimental psychology are best secured by the laboratory method. Each mind to be experimented on must be suitably isolated from all disturbances, especially noises and strong lights. The mental laboratory should be a small building in a secluded place, with many sound-proof rooms, and with neutral-tinted walls devoid of all adornment except, perhaps, injunctions to "silence." Obeying these, and passing through the various rooms, one sees benches and tools for repairing and constructing apparatus, tables convenient for investigations, and cabinets filled with various supplies; large squares of white, black, and colored cardboards; colored papers, gummed letters and figures, photographs and engravings, electric keys, wires, batteries, and motors; glass and rubber tubing; some chemicals; stand rods and clamps. Here are also a series of "nonsense syllables," such as ZAZ, BIF, WUL, SOS, and GUG. These are mounted on small squares of white cardboard, and being quite devoid of suggestions are invaluable in memory experiments. For similar purposes are mounted some series of grammatical forms, nouns, verbs, and conjunctions. Which can we remember best, and why? And what are the subtle processes of speech? Arranged in show cases are large elastic models of the brain, illustrating the location of cerebral function, and models of the eye, ear, and other sense organs. Here is a group of instruments for testing the time tense—pendulums, stop-watches, and the sensitive chronoscope whose dials indicate the thousandth part of a second in reaction time. For arguing the correctness of spatial judgments there are standard meters, sliding tubes, and the indispensable kymograph—a revolving drum with tracing paper for recording minute intervals and distances. The delicacy of the sense of touch and pressure is examined by many simple but important devices—corks, pins mounted in various figures, hairs, and soft brushes, weights, balances, dynamometers, and ivory-pointed compasses to be drawn slowly over the skin to test its sensitiveness in different places. Here are thermometers, metal disks, beakers, and test

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tubes for studying the temperature sense, and small pointed brass rods for detecting the peculiar hot spots and cold spots in the skin, of which many interesting maps have been made. In another show case are carefully prepared solutions of quinine, sugar, salt, and other substances used in taste sensations; and even smell, proven to be by far the keenest of all the senses, is experimentally measured by the "olfactometer," or odor measurer—a graduated tubular instrument showing the relative sensitiveness of the two nostrils to various odors.

Passing on, we notice delicate levers, arm-rests, pulleys, and many devices for observing the sense of motion and of muscular effort—a field that has yielded many precious data for the explanation of space perception. In other rooms is the apparatus for the more familiar realms of sight and hearing—prisms, lenses, spectroscopes, binoculars, and revolving disks for analyzing the phenomena of color-blindness, optical illusions, the secrets of retinal action in vision, and the beauties of color-mixing. Here are tuning forks, sonometers, resonators, and telephones for measuring delicate discriminations in pitch, the influence of auditory fatigue, the mental phenomena of harmony, and the ability to locate the origin of external sounds. Finally, we come to a "dark room," for experiments in æsthetics, seeking the standards of art, not in the old way of attempting to understand a masterly picture or statue, but by the simpler and better method of grouping the artistic elements—white lines, curves, and angles—in the most agreeable combinations, proceeding thence to colored lines and then to more complicated patterns, carefully testing and noting the artistic effect of each arrangement. Thus a true science of æsthetics is being formed, of great service to the artistic and commercial worlds.

These varieties of apparatus are used in two general kinds of tests. In individual experiments each subject works separately. In "mass" experiments a number of persons act in concert. The former is much more exact, though laborious. The mass method yields more data, but is less accurate. The best subjects for the experiments are normal adult minds, such as those of university students. But extremely important researches are being made in other directions. The abnormal or diseased minds of hospital and asylum patients furnish valu-

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able facts. Child psychology—the study of the mental peculiarities of children—is a phase of the new science which is rapidly coming into prominence, from its direct bearing upon primary schools and kindergartens. Comparative psychology—the study of the psychic life of animals—has welcomed the experimental method, and rabbits, guinea-pigs, dogs, monkeys, and even the microscopic Amœba, have been used as laboratory subjects. The facts thus secured have been of real, though collateral, service to human psychology.

Thus it is that every niche and crevice of the mental world can be searched and compelled to yield its treasures. The mental differences due to age, sex, occupation, education, environment, and heredity; the influence of fatigue, of narcotics and stimulants; the relation of mind and brain; the relative delicacy and rapidity of action of the various senses; the number of objects simultaneously perceivable; the laws of attention, imagination, memory, and association; the subtle phenomena of hypnotism; the psychic effects of the weather—these and many hundreds of similar problems are being attacked with a scientific enthusiasm, armed with the finest instruments which modern skill can devise. Nor is this all. Not appeased with their brilliant success in these more prosaic realms, the daring followers of Herbart, led by the veteran Wundt, have actually invaded the sheltered citadels of emotional life. By simple devices fastened to the finger tips, wrists, neck, and breast, and thence connected by rubber tubing and indexes to tracing paper on the revolving drum of the kymograph, these cunning inquisitors have accurately recorded and tabulated the heart throbs and sighs, the smiles and starts, of their laboratory victims while in joy, grief, fear, or surprise—emotions easily produced under laboratory conditions. And still insatiate, nor content with these achievements, the devotees of the new psychology are already bowing at the soul's inmost shrine—the will—and its mysteries are not only being unveiled, but actually scrutinized, measured, tested, and tabulated, to the wonder of spectators and to the joy of this victorious but reverent science.

Yet it is little more than one and a half decades since Wundt opened his laboratory in Leipzig. Meantime others have appeared in many universities of the world. There are eight in Ger-

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many—at Leipzig (Wundt), Berlin (Ebbinghaus, since gone to Breslau), Göttingen (Müller), Bonn (Martius), Prague (Hering), Munich (Stumpf, now at Berlin), Heidelberg (Kräpelin), and Freiburg in Baden (Münsterberg, now professor at Harvard). In France there are two—at the Collége de France (Ribot, 1886) and at the Sorbonne (Binet and Beunis, 1891). In Switzerland there is one, at Geneva (Flournoy). Italy has two—one each at Rome (Sergi) and at Florence (Mantegazza). There is one in England, at Cambridge (1891), one in Canada, at Toronto (Kirschmann), and one in Japan, at Tokio (Dr. Mortora).

The American universities lead the world, having twenty-six or more laboratories as compared with the sixteen in all other countries. The first was opened at Johns Hopkins, in 1883, by G. Stanley Hall, a pupil of Wundt, but has remained closed since his departure for the presidency of Clark University. There are now five laboratories in Massachusetts institutions. That at Harvard is the best equipped in the country, and is noted for fine graduate work. It was founded by the genial James in 1891, and is directed by the brilliant young Münsterberg, a pupil and antagonist of Wundt. Clark University (President Hall and Dr. Sanford) is doing valuable research work and publication. McLean Hospital, at Waverly (Dr. Hoch), does laboratory work in psychiatry, or mental diseases. Amherst (Professor Garman) offers undergraduate courses, and Wellesley (Professor Mary Calkins) is the only woman's college in America giving experimental training. In Connecticut, Yale (Professor Ladd and Dr. Scripture) has fifteen rooms for laboratory work, and Wesleyan (Professor Armstrong) offers demonstration courses. The laboratory of Brown University is directed by Dr. Delabarre, a pupil of Münsterberg. Columbia (Dr. Cattell) and Cornell (Dr. Titchener) have handsomely equipped laboratories, and courses are given in the University of the City of New York (Professor Bliss). Dr. J. M. Baldwin, noted for his valuable work in child psychology, superintends Princeton's laboratory, and there is a small one in the New Jersey State Normal School at Trenton (Professor Williams). The University of Pennsylvania (Dr. Witmer) has a good outfit, and experimental work is being done at the Pennsylvania State College (Dr. Runkle). In Ohio, Western Reserve (Dr. Aikins) and Deni-

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son University (Professor Herrick) have equipments. Chicago University (Professor Strong and J. Angell) has a choice assortment of apparatus, and Leland Stanford (Dr. F. Angell) has done experimental work for some years. In the Western State universities laboratories are found in Michigan (Professor Wanly), Indiana (Dr. Bryan), Illinois (Dr. Kronn, an energetic worker in child study*), Iowa (Professor Patrick), Nebraska (Dr. Wolfe), and Wisconsin (Dr. Jastrow, who was director of the psychological exhibit at the World's Fair). A fact of peculiar significance, especially to the advocates of progressive experimental religion, is that in the Roman Catholic University of Washington city, under the skillful supervision of Professor Pace, there is a well-equipped psychological laboratory, representing the very foremost advance in modern philosophic thought.

The investigations of these institutions are published on the Continent in such periodicals as Wundt's *Philosophische Studien*, the *Zeitschrift für Psychologie*, *Philosophische Monatshefte*, *Revue Philosophique*, and the recent *Année Psychologique* (edited by Binet, Paris), in *Mind* (London), and in our own country in the *American Journal of Psychology* (Clark University), the *Philosophical Review* (Cornell), and the new *Psychological Review* (edited by Drs. Baldwin and Cattell, with many associates here and abroad). Many monographs are also being privately published. From all those sources comes the material for our best text-books in psychology.

Thus is this nascent science vivifying the entire educational world. It is constructing a durable psychology over the ruins of the "mental philosophy" of a few decades ago, giving better rules for the physician, teacher, and all who deal with the mind, and having an important influence upon ethics, metaphysics, and sociology.

* See *Transactions of the Illinois Society for Child Study.*

John Bigham.

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Art. II.—JOHN KEATS—HIS CHARACTER AND WORKS.

No other name, perhaps, in the entire range of English literature is so significant of precocious genius, vivid and beautiful imagination, and unexampled word-painting. That a man dying in the twenty-sixth year of his age, after a comparatively brief season of literary activity, should leave behind him such an artistic and satisfying body of verse, is sufficiently remarkable; but when the fact is also noted that this young writer was the founder of a new school in the art of poetry—a school which to-day is most popular and flourishing—the circumstance becomes historical in its value. Despite his limited career, so rapid was the maturity of his intellectual energies that the works which John Keats has left to the world will continue to be read, wherever the English language is spoken, with renewed astonishment and delight.

To read the poems of Keats is not unlike indulging in a draught of rare old vintage; he makes his reader drunk with music; he fairly intoxicates with the richness of his song. It is impossible steadfastly to peruse such poetry; it cloys with too much melody. His finest verses are exquisitely sweet and tender, and possess a native birdlike quality that goes straight to the heart. Keats lived in a world of the past. He moved amid a troop of fantastic shadows half human, half divine, god and goddess, faun and satyr, nymph and hamadryad, until to him the unreal became the real, and "the thing that was not as the thing that was." He was bewildered in the mazes of his own imaginings; there he ranged like an uncurbed steed; yet nothing passed from under his hand that did not bear the magic impress which sealed it "a joy forever." It was a favorite idea of Goethe that what once has gladdened us can never afterward be wholly lost out of our life; so the spirit of beauty, unconsciously imbibed by Keats, grew with his growth until it found expression in other beauty, and "blossomed in delight."

His history is a melancholy one, and as a victim of literary assassination through political and personal malice it is small wonder that he was spoken of in his own day as "poor Keats." That the poet was unfavorably affected by the virulent at-

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tacks which were made upon his verse has been denied, as impeaching the robustness of his character. Yet it can scarcely be doubted that such was the mental and physical condition of the poet that the germs of disease, already latent in his constitution, were rapidly developed into activity by the suffering and disappointment he must have experienced through the injustice done to his work, as well as through his unhappy love. Shelley believed that this was so, and he certainly could not have been ignorant of the facts in the case. Taking place in literature beside those earlier and incomparable masters of song, Chaucer and Spenser, Keats in some respects seems as remote from the present time as they; yet it is little more than an old man's lifetime since an awkward, bashful youth, he sought the entrance to Hazlitt's lecture room or made his memorable journey to Scotland, Devonshire, and the Isle of Wight.

Of humble parentage, John Keats first saw the light of the natural day in London, October 29, or 31 (it is not determined which), 1795, at the house of his grandfather, who kept a large livery stable on the Pavement in Moorfields. The boy's health was always fragile, for he had been a seven-months' child, and his birth is said to have been prematurely hastened by his mother's intense love of pleasure, though in his earlier years his constitution presented but little indication of the peculiar debility attendant upon such cases. He was one of five children, Edward dying in infancy, and during his boyhood, which was spent at a good, second-class school, seems to have been notable chiefly for his warm attachment to fistic encounters. He possessed, however, an extreme facility in getting through the daily tasks of school, which seemed to make no great demand upon his attention, yet in which he never lagged behind the others. His easy skill in all manly exercises, and the complete ingenuousness of his disposition, rendered him very popular.

After remaining some time at school his intellectual ambition seemed suddenly to develop. He had been a leader in athletic sports; he now determined to capture the first prize in literature, and in this he was successful. The son of his tutor, a Mr. Clarke, of Enfield, discovered and encouraged the poetical faculty in the young poet, whom he introduced to Leigh Hunt. Hunt was ever after the warm friend of Keats, whom

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the elder poet undoubtedly brought to the notice of the public. Indeed, Hunt was to Keats what Schiller was to Körner. Our poet left school "with little Latin and less Greek." The twelve books of the "Æneid" probably constituted the limits of his Latin excursions. His acquaintance with the Greek mythology, which he afterward employed to such splendid purpose, was derived mainly from Lemprière's *Dictionary*, a volume which has not yet been superseded by some modern works of a more pretentious kind. The parents of Keats both died while he was young. His portion of the property left by them amounted to nearly two thousand pounds. It would seem that this should have sufficed to preserve the poet from financial difficulties for some time; yet we learn of his having been obliged to secure pecuniary aid almost immediately after attaining his majority. But it ought to be noted here that Keats was of a generous nature, and his purse was ever open to his friends, some of whom did not scruple to avail themselves of his free-handedness.

Just after leaving school, without his wishes having been consulted in the matter, he was apprenticed by his guardian to a surgeon at Edmonton, where Mr. Cowden Clark became his neighbor and friend. Mr. Clark introduced him to the poet, Hon. William Robert Spencer, whose writings at once exerted a most powerful and lasting effect on the plastic mind of the younger man. Chaucer was his next passion, and for a brief period he seems to have taken not a little pleasure in the stormy and lurid lines of Lord Byron. But Edmund Spenser opened to Keats a new poetic world, and he went racing through "The Faerie Queene" like a colt newly turned to pasture. Indeed, an early—if not quite the earliest—attempt of Keats at verse-making was an imitation of Spenser in the peculiar stanzaic form which was the invention of the latter poet, and to which his name has been given. In 1817 Keats, having just then come of age, published his first volume of poems, which exhibited unmistakable signs of promise and, to the unprejudiced reader, some actual performance. His most valuable acquisition in consequence of this venture was the acquaintance and friendship of Shelley, Haydon, Godwin, Basil Montagu, Hazlitt, and a few others of literary reputation and eminence. His political views were manly and inde-

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pendent, and Leigh Hunt was known to be his friend. These were sins which never could be forgiven by the *Quarterly Review*. In that partisan publication literary judgment and preferment were invariably meted out according to political congeniality of sentiments. Its writers were both servile and scurrilous, and with them a new author like Keats was but a foil for their bigotry and literary charlatanism. He was comparatively friendless and unknown, and even had he appealed to the public he could hardly have attracted notice, since he was yet but an obscure maker of verses not at all in the prevailing vogue. Hence, Gifford, the editor of the *Quarterly*, vented his spleen upon his inoffensive victim, conscious of immunity amid it all, since the object of his attack could no more than turn upon him as the worm turns beneath the foot that crushes it. A scion of the nobility, infected with *cacoethes scribendi*, might have scribbled the veriest nonsense and been certain of flattery and applause; but a singular genius, brilliant as singular, springing up of its own vitality in an out-of-the-way corner, was by all means to be extinguished. Gifford had formerly been a cobbler, and the son of the livery stable keeper was not worthy his critical sufferance. Thus it is ever with those narrow-minded persons who, by the power or caprice of accident, rise from a vulgar obscurity into the public view; they never can tolerate a brother in good fortune, much less superior force or talents in that brother.

On the publication of Keats's next work, "Endymion," Gifford attacked it with all the bitterness of which his pen was capable, and did not hesitate, before he saw the poem, to announce to the publisher his fell intention. Keats had endeavored, as much as was consistent with honesty and independence, to conciliate the critics at large, as may be observed in the brief preface to "Endymion." It seems almost incredible, at the present stage of literary progress, that such a swash-buckling style of criticism as that indulged in by *Blackwood's* and the *Quarterly Review* should have passed current with any respectable portion of an enlightened public; and to their credit be it said that here and there generous voices were raised, the kindly utterances of which must have been as balm to the hurts of the young poet's soul. He merited to be treated with lenity, not wounded with the envenomed shafts of political animosity for

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errors of literary taste which time was certain to correct. Of intense sensitiveness, and his frame already touched by a mortal distemper, he felt that his hopes were blighted and his attempts to obtain honorable public notice frustrated. Some years ago an article appeared in the *North British Review* in which the writer sought to prove that the critiques in the *Quarterly* had exerted no influence whatever in inducing the fatal disease by which Keats's earthly career was so early terminated. In more recent articles from various pens, celebrating the centennial of the birth of Keats, the same views have been advanced. But Chambers, alluding to the "Endymion," says:

> The poem was criticised in a strain of contemptuous severity by the *Quarterly Review;* and such was the sensitiveness of the young poet panting for distinction, and flattered by a few private friends, that the critique embittered his existence and induced a fatal disease.

And this is the testimony of Shelley in the days long before the present log-rolling set of London would have rendered such witness unnecessary, if not impossible:

> The first effects are described to me to have resembled insanity, and it was by assiduous watching that he was restrained from effecting purposes of suicide. The agony of his sufferings at length produced the rupture of a blood vessel in the lungs, and the usual process of consumption appears to have begun.

Shelley's fearful arraignment of Gifford in the prefatory note to "Adonais" lends additional emphasis to the foregoing words. Lord Byron, alluding to Keats in the eleventh canto of "Don Juan," says:

> Poor fellow! his was an untoward fate:
> 'Tis strange the mind, that very fiery particle,
> Should let itself be snuff'd out by an article.

Keats's book abounded with passages of rarest beauty and truest poetry, and it is difficult to decide whether the cowardice or the cruelty of the attack most deserves execration. The following lines, taken from the poem almost at random, represent Endymion as wandering in semi-madness through the underworld, and there coming unexpectedly upon the sleeping Adonis:

> After a thousand mazes overgone,
> At last, with sudden step, he came upon
> A chamber, myrtle-walled, embower'd high,
> Full of light, incense, tender minstrelsy,

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And more of beautiful and strange beside:
For on a silken couch of rosy pride,
In midst of all, there lay a sleeping youth
Of fondest beauty; fonder, in fair sooth,
Than sighs could fathom, or contentment reach;
And coverlids gold-tinted like the peach,
Or ripe October's faded marigolds,
Fell sleek about him in a thousand folds—
Not hiding up an Apollonian curve
Of neck and shoulder, nor the tenting swerve
Of knee from knee, nor ankles pointing light;
But rather giving them to the fill'd sight
Officiously. Sideway his face reposed
On one white arm, and tenderly unclosed,
By tenderest pressure, a faint damask mouth
To slumbering pout; just as the morning south
Disparts a dew-lipp'd rose. . . . Hard by
Stood serene cupids watching silently.
One, kneeling to a lyre, touched the strings,
Muffling to death the pathos with his wings,
And, ever and anon, uprose to look
At the youth's slumber; while another took
A willow bough, distilling odorous dew,
And shook it on his hair; another flew
In through the woven roof, and fluttering-wise
Rain'd violets upon his sleeping eyes.

The following stanzas from "The Eve of St. Agnes" are distinctly in advance of the previous quotation, both in manner and power of expression. Keats progressed in his art to the very period of his "taking off."

Out went the taper as she hurried in;
Its little smoke, in pallid moonshine, died:
She closed the door, she panted all akin
To spirits of the air, and visions wide:
No uttered syllable, or, woe betide!
But to her heart, her heart was voluble,
Paining with eloquence her balmy side;
As though a tongueless nightingale should swell
Her throat in vain, and die, heart stifled, in her dell.

A casement high and triple-arch'd there was,
All garlanded with carven imageries
Of fruits, and flowers, and bunches of knot-grass,
And diamonded with panes of quaint device,
Innumerable of stains and splendid dyes,
As are the tiger moth's deep-damask'd wings;
And in the midst 'mong thousand heraldries,
And twilight saints, and dim emblazonings,
A shielded scutcheon blush'd with blood of queens and kings.

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One of Keats's latest essays in poetry was the stately but incomplete "Hyperion." For powerful word-painting, gloomy grandeur of conception, and the self-poised, almost weird, skill with which the entire picture is produced stroke by stroke, it would be difficult to match the selection which follows:

Deep in the shady sadness of a vale,
Far sunken from the healthy breath of morn,
Far from the fiery noon, and eve's one star,
Sat gray-hair'd Saturn, quiet as a stone,
Still as the silence round about his lair;
Forest on forest hung about his head
Like cloud on cloud. No stir of air was there,
Not so much life as on a summer's day
Robs not one light seed from the feather'd grass,
But where the dead leaf fell, there did it rest.
A stream went voiceless by, still deadened more
By reason of his fallen divinity
Spreading a shade: the naiad, 'mid her reeds,
Press'd her cold finger closer to her lips.
Along the margin-sand large footmarks went,
No further than to where his feet had stray'd,
And slept there since. Upon the sodden ground
His old right hand lay nerveless, listless, dead,
Unsceptered; and his realmless eyes were closed;
While his bow'd head seemed list'ning to the earth,
His ancient mother, for some comfort yet.

Lord Byron, who justly regarded the death of Keats as a loss to English literature, said of the poem from which the foregoing lines are taken: "His fragment of 'Hyperion' seems actually inspired by the Titans, and is as sublime as Æschylus." Space will not permit the quotation of the subtly beautiful "Ode to the Nightingale." The intense sympathy with the great deep which seemed to possess the young poet has probably been experienced in equal degree by but one other "builder of lofty rhyme"—namely, Swinburne. This sonnet stands in evidence of the manner in which Keats could write of the sea:

It keeps eternal whisperings around
  Desolate shores, and with its mighty swell
  Gluts twice ten thousand caverns, till the spell
Of Hecate leaves them their old shadowy sound.
Often 'tis in such gentle temper found
  That scarcely will the very smallest shell
  Be moved for days from where it sometime fell
When last the winds of heaven were unbound.

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O, ye who have your eyeballs vexed and tired,
Feast them upon the wideness of the sea;
O, ye whose ears are dimmed with uproar rude,
Or fed too much with cloying melody,
Sit ye near some old cavern's mouth and brood
Until ye start, as if the sea nymphs quired.

Perhaps no other poet, save Goethe, has ever obtained such immediate entrance into the lovely and precious arcana of nature. To the eye of Keats nature unveiled her most secret charm. Let it not for a moment be believed that his extraordinary gift was but the result of an abnormal and morbid habit of sensation. Genius, whatever the forms it may assume, not seldom reaches its rarest perfection where common life is most dreary and inane. Read the riddle, ye who can. It has been said that Keats's friendships were always founded on a slight and unsubstantial basis, that his own nature was so pre-eminently selfish and his every aspiration so self-involved, that every friendship was rendered precarious which he ever formed. Schiller, in a letter to Körner, said, "O how beautiful and divine is the union of two souls which meet on their way to the Godhead!" The whole story of Keats's life determines that he felt no less the potency of a genuine friendship; otherwise it were passing strange that he should have been able to knit to himself with bands stronger than steel such a man as Severn, who, through all that prolonged tragedy of the poet's final sufferings, proved the ultimate possibilities of human devotion. In a letter to a friend Keats says:

We cannot expect to give away many hours to pleasure; circumstances are like clouds, continually gathering and bursting while we are laughing. The seed of trouble is put into the wide arable land of events; while we are laughing at sprouts it grows, and suddenly bears a poisonous fruit, which we must pluck. Even so we have leisure to reason on the misfortunes of our friends; our own touch us too nearly for words.

Here appear those rigid habits of introspection practiced by every great mind, but not that self-centering of the impulses of love so destructive of every gracious emotion. The poet well knew the value of a human soul:

That man is more than half of nature's treasure,
Of that fair beauty which no eye can see,
Of that sweet music which no ear can measure.

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About two years before the death of Keats the one great event of his life began—his love affair. A new phase is now discovered in the character of the poet, flatly contradicting those who have denied that he was capable of intense passion, thereby depriving all future works he might have produced, had he lived, of the force and substance which the works he has left us do not possess. In his letters, edited by Milnes, and published many years ago, we obtain a few distinct and vivid glimpses of the object of his desires. He writes to his sister:

> She is not a Cleopatra, but at least a Charmian; she has a rich Eastern look, she has fine eyes and manners. When she comes into the room she makes the same impression as the beauty of a leopardess; she is too fine and conscious of herself to repulse any man that may address her; from habit she thinks that *nothing particular:* I always find myself more at ease with such a woman.
>
> She is a fine thing, speaking in a worldly way, for there are two distinct tempers of mind in which we judge of things—the worldly, theatrical, pantomimical, and the unearthly, spiritual, and ethereal. In the former, Bonaparte, Lord Byron, and the Charmian hold the first place in our minds; in the latter, John Howard, Bishop Hooker, rocking his child's cradle, and you, my dear sister, are the conquering feelings. As a man of the world I love the rich talk of a Charmian; as an eternal being I love the thought of you. I should like her to ruin me, and I should like you to save me.

This concluding sentence, though sounding very much like nonsense, is nevertheless not unimportant. It is obvious that when Keats wrote it the first alternative would have seemed preferable to the second. Indeed, his subsequent story shows beyond question that the "worldly, theatrical, pantomimical" decidedly outweighed, in the poet's practical estimation, the "unearthly, spiritual, and ethereal." This "Charmian," whatever the fair qualities of mind and heart of which she may have been possessed, soon brought into captivity the profoundest impulses of her lover's nature, simply by the peculiar character of her personal attractions. Nor does it appear that Fanny Brawne scorned the advances of the ardent poet, though she seems to have been far from experiencing toward him an equal fervor of devotion. She was not inconsolable at his loss, and after his pitiful death duly settled down to the duties of a commonplace English housewife. It is almost a sarcasm of destiny that she has been preserved from oblivion alone by her associa-

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tion with the hectic, passionate, and querulous young man whose memory she evidently held in slight regard.

It may not be uninteresting to here set in juxtaposition marriage views so entirely dissimilar as those of Schiller and Keats. In a letter to a friend Schiller said:

I must marry—that is settled. All my inducements to life and activity are worn out; this is the only one which I have not tried. I must have a being near me which belongs to me, which I can and must make happy. You know how desolate is my spirit, how melancholy my ideas. If I cannot weave hope into my existence—hope which has almost deserted me—if I cannot wind up anew the run-down machinery of my thoughts and feelings, it will soon all be over with me.

Keats, whos esentiments at one time were the direct antitheses of Schiller's, wrote to a newly married brother in America:

Notwithstanding your happiness and your recommendations, I hope I shall never marry. Though the most beautiful creature were waiting for me at the end of a journey or walk, though the carpet were made of silk and the curtain of the morning clouds, the chairs and sofas stuffed with cygnet's down, the food manna, the wine beyond claret, the window opening on Windemere, I should not feel, or rather my happiness should not be so fine; and my solitude is sublime. Then, instead of what I have described, there is a sublimity to welcome me home; the roaring of the wind is my wife, the stars through my window-panes are my children. The mighty abstract idea of beauty in all things I have stifles the more divided and minute domestic happiness. An amiable wife and sweet children I contemplate as parts of that beauty, but I must have a thousand of those beautiful particles to fill up my heart. I feel more and more every day, as my imagination strengthens, that I do not live in this world alone, but in a thousand worlds. . . . Those things, combined with the opinion I have formed of the quality of women, who appear to me as children, to whom I would rather give a sugarplum than my time, form a barrier against matrimony which I rejoice in.

That Keats completely revised his judgments in the particulars of which this letter treats, the quotations previously presented abundantly prove. The following lines, addressed to Mr. J. K. Reynolds before the time the "Charmian" fever overtook him, and when his health was already failing, also denote that Keats's views of the subject had undergone a change:

One of the first pleasures I look to is your happy marriage, the more so since I have felt the pleasure of loving a sister-in-law. I did not think it possible to become so much attached in so short a time; things like

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these, and they are real, have made me resolve to have a care of my health.

Of the religious sentiments of the poet not much needs to be written. In one of his letters he thus meditates:

Though a quarrel in the streets is a thing to be hated, the energies displayed in it are fine; the commonest man shows a grace in his quarrel. By a superior being our reasonings may take the same tone; though erroneous, they may be fine.

On one occasion he falls into the vulgar impiety of juxtaposing our Saviour and Socrates. That the mind of Keats was in a transitional state is evident. Through all his spiritual mutations appear an earnestness of purpose and an unbaffled groping after a high and fleeting ideal, lovely glimpses of which have been flashed upon his inner vision. In another letter he says:

I have, of late, been molting—not for fresh feathers and wings; they are gone, and in their stead I hope to have a pair of sublunary legs. I have altered—not from a chrysalis into a butterfly, but the contrary. . . . A year ago I could not understand in the slightest degree Raphael's cartoons; now I begin to read them a little. . . . Some think I have lost that poetic fire and ardor I once had; the fact is, I perhaps have, but instead of that I hope I shall substitute a more thoughtful and quiet power.

Though the poetry of Keats is mainly objective in its character, and as such exhibits the most minute and careful observation, he did not lack those prolonged and profound inward searchings which prove to the serious and inquiring mind of how much greater interest is the esoteric than the exoteric world. The sonnet here presented reveals the undaunted and undefeated self-examinations of a courageous spirit:

Why did I laugh to-night? no voice will tell,
No God, no demon of severe response
Deigns to reply from heaven or from hell;
Then to my human heart I turn at once—
Heart! thou and I are here, sad and alone;
I say, wherefore did I laugh?—O mortal pain!
O! darkness! darkness! ever must I moan
To question heaven and hell and heart in vain—
Why did I laugh? I know this being's lease
My fancy to its utmost blisses spreads,
Yet could I on this very midnight cease,
And the world's gaudy ensigns see in shreds;
Verse, fame, and beauty are intense indeed,
But death intenser, death is life's high meed.

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The following extract from still another letter will illustrate the passionate, almost rapturous, pleasure he experienced in the composition of his works. He says:

> This morning poetry has conquered. I have relapsed into those abstractions which are my only life. I feel escaped from a new and threatening sorrow; and am thankful for it. There is an awful warmth about my heart like a load of immortality.

Of the poetical character he observes:

> It has as much delight in conceiving an Iago as an Imogene. What shocks the virtuous philosopher delights the chameleon poet. . . . A poet is the most unpoetical of anything in existence, because he has no identity; he is continually in for and filling some other body. The sun, the moon, the sea, and men and women, who are creatures of an impulse, are poetical, and have about them an unchangeable attribute; the poet has none; no identity; he is certainly the most unpoetical of all God's creatures.

That Keats was not a finished writer must, perhaps, be conceded; but that, like Körner, the poet-hero of Germany, he gave rich promise of a glorious fruitage will be granted. And they must indeed be poor judges of literature who are not delighted with what he has left.

A few words as to the temperament and personal appearance of the poet. His temper, until just before his death, always was of the gentlest description. It has already been remarked that he was a person of strong and irritable sensibilities, and so extreme was his sensitiveness that he would betray emotion even to tears on hearing of a noble action, or at the expression of a glowing thought or one of pathetic tenderness; yet both his moral and physical courage were above suspicion. The physiognomy of the poet was indicative of his character. Sensibility was predominant, but there was no lack of power in the somewhat pugnacious nose and mouth. His features were clearly defined, and delicately susceptible of every impression. His eyes were large and shadowy, his cheeks hollow and sunken, and his face pallid in repose. His hair was brown in color, and curled naturally. His head was small, and set upon broad, high shoulders, his body was long and abnormally large in proportion to his lower limbs, which, however, were not unshapely. His stature was low; and "his hands," says Leigh Hunt, "were faded, having prominent veins, which he would look upon and

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pronounce to belong to one who had seen fifty years." "There is death in that hand," said Coleridge, after having clasped the hand of Keats.

For several years before his demise the poet had felt disease creeping upon him, and knew that death was already busy in a system too imperfectly organized. He had imprudently neglected his own health to attend a dying brother, when he should have remembered it was also necessary to take care of himself. He was combating the keenness of his sorrow consequent upon his bereavement by the decease of his brother, when the Zoilus of the *Quarterly* attacked him, adding new pain to his already overwrought spirit, so that he told a friend one day, with tears, that "his heart was breaking." He was at length induced to try the climate of Italy. Thither he went to die. He was accompanied in his weakness by Severn, his valuable and attached friend and an artist of considerable talent. They first went to Naples, thence journeying to Rome, where Keats closed his eyes on this world February 24, 1821, being a little more than twenty-five years of age. He eagerly wished for death, and shortly before he died he said he "felt the daisies growing over him." "He suffered so much in his lingering," says Leigh Hunt, "that he used to watch the countenance of his physician for the favorable and fatal sentence, and express regret when he found it delayed." His remains were deposited in the cemetery of the Protestants at Rome, at the foot of the pyramid of Caius Cestius, near the Porta San Paolo. "It might make one in love with death," wrote Shelley, "to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place." A white marble tombstone, bearing a lyre, in *basso relievo*, and the following inscription—the closing words of which were his own—has been erected to his memory:

This grave contains all that was mortal of a Young English Poet, who on his deathbed, in the bitterness of his heart at the malicious power of his enemies, desired these words to be engraved on his tombstone: "Here lies one whose name was writ in water." Feb. 24th, 1821.

James B. Kenyon.

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Art. III.—AFTER CAPITALISM, WHAT?

That the Creator of man and of the world ever intended such glaring inequalities of social condition as have become a feature of our times is a proposition which healthy minds may well treat with scant courtesy. Yet, strange to say, while freely acknowledging ourselves to be "miserable offenders," because of our virtual consent to the present inequitable system of distributing the good things of this life, we go on and do just about the same as before the confession was made. But the fact is, in the case of most of us, that we cannot help ourselves. We cannot find an adequate remedy for the disease which is preying upon society, and the well-grounded fear is in our hearts that we dare not intrust the cure to any of the would-be reformers whose mutually destructive schemes have served only to accentuate the evil by fomenting the popular discontent to dangerous extremes.

The present writer is neither the discoverer nor the vender of any new specific for social maladies. That a solution of present perplexing problems will be found is morally certain. That capital will be tamed and educated into a better service of the common good, and that honest industry will not be denied the privilege of earning a comfortable support, are desirable fruits which will come to ripeness much earlier if the parties immediately interested can be led out of the smoke and din of present wasting conflicts to reason together and clearly distinguish friends from foes. Until the real solution of these grave questions shall appear above the horizon, the most useful service that most of us can render our generation may be to mitigate, as far as possible, the hardships of present industrial and social conditions—just as Christian commissions have labored first to prevent needless wars and then to stanch the flow of blood and minister every possible comfort to the victims of ambition, greed, and cruelty. It is in this spirit that the following observations are offered by one who has witnessed too many of the dire effects of selfish capitalism to become its apologist, while profoundly realizing the need of doing it justice for whatever of direct or incidental benefits it has conferred upon mankind.

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When gamblers sit down to play for the stakes piled up between them, it is evident that none of the party can gain anything except at the expense of the others. The folly, not to say the criminality, of the proceeding is that time and effort are expended, not in the production of wealth, but in putting to the hazard of play what each one already possesses, so that by this unwarranted and inequitable method of distribution some one of them or more must be impoverished to confer wealth upon others. The transaction differs from highway robbery chiefly in the fact that the parties have agreed to an arrangement by which chance is to decide which shall be the robber and which the victim. Such an award cannot in the nature of things be satisfactory. An aptitude for acquiring wealth in this way is not to be set down among either the economic or the moral virtues. If, however, the same number of men should form a partnership to found a new and needed industry which should give employment to labor and add something to the world's wealth, who does not see—in the abstract, at least—that such men are to be classed among the benefactors of the race? However defective the plan of distribution may be in the latter case, it cannot approach the former in lack of equity and economic quality. The parties are the creators of the wealth which they divide, and the usual plan of distribution is one which benefits all and impoverishes none. It is matter of profound concern that our whole industrial scheme—in the confusion of thought that has fallen upon the many—seems scarcely to be distinguished from a gambling operation in which one party must lose whatever the other party gains. The originator of a great business, the "captain of industry," is according to this view nothing more than a pirate or robber baron, against whom it is the duty of all good citizens to unite. The notion that the prosperous elements of society have acquired their wealth by the spoliation of the needy, and that the rich man is the natural enemy of the poor, has entered deep into the convictions of very many, and until it is uprooted there can be no industrial or social peace and no working together for the common good.

It seems never to have dawned upon some minds that a man may grow rich, not only without injustice, but to the positive and great advantage of his fellow-beings; and that, by

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reason of exceptional endowments, he may become a real creator of wealth both for himself and others, and thus stand in the same helpful relation to industry as do the writers of valuable books to literature, or as the discoverers of Nature's important secrets do to science. Those who contend for a common level of social condition as the ideal state have not yet been able to explain why Nature has not followed the rule of absolute equality in the bestowment of her other choice gifts. She seems to be guilty of real preferences, and her method is not satisfactory to a certain class of minds; indeed, upon their hypothesis it would seem to be both unnatural and unjust. It appears to be Nature's way to kindle great lights in the souls of the few for the illumination of the many. She has given the world just one Homer and one Shakespeare in the course of the ages. These, and a few other sons of genius, may be said to represent the "robber barons" of our literature. They tower above their fellows in honor and importance, and the multiplying ages cannot wither their fame nor reduce them to the common level. Has Nature erred in the creation of a race of intellectual princes? Or will it be contended that the world would be better off without them? Once let it be granted that Nature may bless the world by giving it a few great poets, a few great orators, a few great musicians, and it then seems not unreasonable that she may also confer blessing by creating a class of men whose special function it shall be to augment the world's wealth by discovering its secret in the mines and in the soil, and by the inception of vast manufacturing interests impossible to ordinary minds. A majority of the millionaires among us began life in poverty, and it may be safely asserted that none of them has raised himself to his present conspicuous height without at the same time lifting anywhere from a score to a thousand of his fellow-beings into better conditions than they were in when their association with him began. Nothing is more common, however, than to hear employees who have contributed only muscular effort to a great business speak of themselves as the creators of wealth, which is evermore going past them into the pockets of others who are not entitled to it. No more pernicious fallacy was ever instilled into the human mind than the dogma that the world's wealth is derived in all essential features from physical effort. Yet this postulate is the

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foundation principle on which political parties have sought the control both of state and national governments. The same doctrine taints not a little of the current literature of the day. Editorials, lectures, and formidable volumes not wanting in vigor of thought or power of statement are devoted to the doctrine that wealth may acknowledge but one parent, and his name is Labor. This contention, carried to its logical conclusion, heaps upon poverty, all unwittingly, a reproach which it does not deserve, and which might well lead the poor to pray for deliverance from such friends. It makes poverty a scandal and a shame. For, if labor may accomplish single-handed all that is claimed for it, no man can remain poor without personal discredit. If, however, there are other essential factors in the production of wealth—factors which must take the initiative, lay the plans, carry the risks, bear the losses, and give direction to labor at every step—it is nothing short of misleading and criminal folly to teach that the latter alone, or chiefly, may rightfully claim the ownership of the world's wealth.

"I shall be thankful henceforth, for the rest of my days, to the man who gives me employment and pays me regular wages," said a personal friend to the writer some time ago. He spoke out of a disappointing and disillusionizing experience in business management. As boy and man he had grown up with a manufacturing interest. As a wage-earner in that establishment he had saved money. He determined to set up for himself in the same line. "I have more capital than my employer had when he began, and a better knowledge of the business," he remarked. All this promised well, but it did not guarantee success. He had worked faithfully before, he became a slave to business now; yet he achieved only failure. He borrowed money and began again, only to fail a second time. He then returned to the ranks of the wage-earners, not only thankful for employment, but with a conviction, new to him, that a talent for managing is as much an essential of industrial enterprise as fidelity in toil, and that without the one the other is practically helpless. The world's debt is real, and far too much unrecognized, to the creators of enterprises which give employment to great numbers of men—men who are able to perform certain daily tasks, yet wholly incapable of initiative and original action, whether for themselves or for others. We have in mind

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a sleepy little village whose inhabitants for many years had been in a chronic condition of inactivity and poverty. A youth, born in that village and left an orphan, drifted into an enterprising community many miles away in search of employment. Here he became acquainted with coal and iron mining. Returning after some years to visit his native place, he discovered that the adjacent hills contained minerals of value, but found it impossible in that community to enlist the capital for the enterprise he desired to set on foot. He went elsewhere for assistance, and presently returned with partners who authorized him to open up some mines and build a furnace. In a couple of years the drowsy village was transformed into a thriving, enterprising town, where hundreds of men found employment at good wages. Men who formerly had been glad to get a dollar a day for an occasional day's work now had constant employment at twice or thrice their former rates of pay, and seemed to be reasonably sensible of their improved condition. Then came the agitator with the information that the enterprising young operator was a "robber baron." He was "exploiting" his fellow-townsmen and growing rich upon their sweat and toil. The striking mania was communicated to the workmen like a contagion. They became utterly unreasonable. All attempts at adjustment failed, and the works were at length shut down. The company, not yet reimbursed for its large outlay, was forced into bankruptcy. A blight fell on the whole community and abides on it still. Again, Hargreaves, the inventor of the spinning jenny, was counted a public enemy, his house was broken into by a mob, and his machine was destroyed. Nor could he get justice in the courts of that day. History, however, delights to write his name high up in the list of the world's real benefactors, notwithstanding the fact that his own generation spurned his invention and allowed him to die in poverty. His fellow-workmen were his worst enemies. The head and front of his offending was that his inventive genius enabled him to spin more yarn, and, therefore, to earn more money, than his neighbors.

Is it any higher motive than this which leads so many misguided people in our day to look with an evil eye on the enterprising creators of wealth, and to visit them as a class with sweeping, indiscriminate condemnation? Perhaps no industrial

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chief of our times has been more bitterly denounced than George M. Pullman, the man who popularized, if he did not invent, the sleeping car. What invention has done more to rid railway travel of its discomfort and to make long journeys possible even to invalids? In addition to providing this real comfort for the weary, Mr. Pullman's idea may be regarded as a just and honorable device for distributing the wealth of the rich and well-to-do classes among the poor, since it is the former who chiefly use these cars, while the latter find employment by the thousand in building and taking care of them on the road. Granted that Mr. Pullman is not an ideal employer of labor, it may still be well to hesitate to class him among the enemies of the poor, as we are asked to do by men who themselves have done but little to provide employment for others. It would be interesting if the history of all the thousands who have been in the employ of Mr. Pullman could be known, their manner of life and rate of wages before their association with him began, and also to what extent they have bettered their condition since leaving his service. So of all the other great creators of employment for the poor. It is only fair to take a passing glance at the class of employers represented by the late George W. Childs—a millionaire whose aim it was to illustrate the golden rule in all his dealings with his fellow-men, and to prove that this principle is not incompatible with business success. He took hold of a tottering business and placed it on a stable foundation. He paid more than the market rate of wages, and refused to reduce wages even when asked to do so by his own employees, who had become fearful that he was dividing profits with too generous a hand. His care for the sick and aged and his great gifts to public institutions are among the bright, redeeming facts in the business history of our generation. But could Mr. Childs have blessed his fellow-men in these various ways if, with all his generous impulses, he had lacked the faculty of acquisition or had been denied the right of exercising it? The true concern is not, as some insist, whether one man is richer than another in this country, but whether the dependent laborer incapable of self-help is injured or benefited by the presence of the enterprising capitalist in his community.

Observation teaches us that the most pitiful poverty is not where labor finds regular employment, even at low wages, but

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in those regions not yet invaded by the capitalist; where no intelligent effort has been put forth to cultivate the soil or to develop its mineral wealth. Yet the condition of the most backward and poverty-pinched communities of our own land is princely compared with that of the common people in the unenterprising countries of the Orient, where inventive genius is wanting and no industrial captain arises to furnish the many with employment. A fact which seems to have all the force and majesty of a great natural law may be stated thus: "No millionaires, no prosperity for the common people." It is just here that we touch the secret of the general failure of cooperative industries. A few years ago cooperation was a word to conjure with. It promised to furnish a solvent for all the difficulties that had formerly existed between employer and employee. But never were human hopes more grievously disappointed. No industrial theory is more attractive to the uninitiated, and nothing is easier to the romantic, undisciplined mind than to construct a scheme—on paper—by which every working-man shall become both capitalist and manager, or shall have a voice in the management of the business which yields him his daily bread. Such schemes have, in general, not been able to pay even common wages to labor, and their lease of life has been short. The difficulty of cooperation is the difficulty of the whole industrial situation—the inevitable conflict between the capable, managing mind and the low ideals of the average man, strong only in his jealousy and self-will. In the conduct of a great business, as in the fighting of a great battle, there are unforeseen emergencies which must be met and provided for in an instant. There is no time for parley and debate in either case; and, even if there were, the fact remains that it was not the wisdom of councils of war that made the names of Cæsar, Napoleon, and Grant illustrious. Nor can any business be a success whose every movement must be submitted to and command the assent of the average man. The case is little better where the management is committed for a given term to a single controlling mind. The initial difficulty is in securing the right man. The costly and shameful misgovernment of American cities is the monumental proof that a popular election does not always put the right man in the right place. The evidence is painfully abundant that men scantily dowered with brains, and

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near to bankruptcy in character, can get the suffrages of their fellow-men for business positions of vast responsibility. While human nature remains human nature it will probably be found impossible to keep this kind of "politics" out of cooperative enterprises.

"Profit-sharing" has made a better record, and gives more promise for the future, than cooperation. It is founded on the true economic principle which recognizes the essential partnership of all the men engaged in the prosecution of an industrial enterprise. Its superiority over cooperation lies in the fact that it leaves the management of a business concern with its originator or owner, while it gives to the humblest laborer a share—over and above his stipulated wages—of whatever profits the enterprise may earn. The attempts already made in the direction of profit-sharing have been, for the most part, crude and merely tentative, but are on the whole encouraging. They have served to bring to light both the strength and the weakness of the idea on which they are founded. They do not satisfy incapable or unreasonable men, and they emphasize the truism that there is no substitute for character and intelligence. Several difficult problems connected with profit-sharing remain yet to be settled. Among these is the old question of the relative value of mind and muscle, or in what proportion each shall share in the profits of a successful business. Another, and perhaps still more obstinate, question is the relation of the wage-earner to a losing business. It is a well-known fact that a large proportion of business ventures earn no profits at all, some of them involving their projectors in utter ruin. A partnership which becomes actual only when there are profits to divide is as unreal and unethical as it is uneconomic. To be worthy of the name a partnership must be in some sense like a true marriage, "for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer." Denounce as we may the view which regards labor as a mere commodity to be bought and sold like any other, the fact remains that it can never be anything else than a commodity until it consents to a partnership which is real in the sense of sharing risks and losses, as well as honors and profits. This problem is not easy of solution, owing to the general unwillingness, not to say the inability, of labor to assume financial responsibility, or to forego any portion of its accustomed earnings. Labor, too, can be a Shylock

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contending for its pound of flesh, when to take it is to take the life of a struggling business in the crisis of its fate. If it be contended that the wage-earner by reason of his poverty is compelled to be thus exacting, let it be borne in mind that labor frequently elects to forego its earnings for weeks and even months at a time in its quarrels with capital. We have personally known working-men, accustomed to good wages, while on a strike to support life for weeks together on corn meal and such berries as grew wild in the woods.

Such instances are not exceptional, and perhaps their chief redeeming feature is that they show how few and simple, after all, are the real necessities of existence; how senseless is the talk of the many about "starving labor;" and how cheerfully men undergo privations to serve even a desperate and doubtful cause to which they have devoted themselves. Profit-sharing is, perhaps, the best practicable solution now in sight of the industrial question. It is worthy of a fair trial. Let lawmaking bodies encourage or compel the recognition of this principle in the charters granted to corporations; and, on the other hand, let labor leaders educate their followers into a willingness to make a temporary, partial sacrifice of wages, upon occasion, to support a staggering business—just as they now frequently make a voluntary total surrender of wages to support a strike. In addition to this it is to be hoped that directors and managers will come ere long to realize the iniquity, the blistering shame, of ordering a reduction of wages in times of business depression while their own ample salaries and regular dividends are paid in full. Whenever a reduction of wages becomes necessary let it begin at the top; it will then encounter less opposition at the bottom.

It will also contribute somewhat to industrial and general peace if men can once be persuaded that absolute equality of income would do little to relieve the many who are the loudest complainers, if not the greatest sufferers, under the present *régime*. Says Mrs. Humphrey Ward in *Marcella:* "No; as I go about among these wage-earners the emphasis, do what I will, comes to lie less and less on possession, more and more on character. I go to two tenements in the same building. One is hell, the other is heaven. Why? Both belong to well-paid artisans with equal opportunities. Both, as far as I can see,

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might have a decent and pleasant life of it. But one is a man, the other, with all his belongings, will soon be a vagabond."

Never were the changes more frequently rung than in these closing years of the nineteenth century on the words of Burns,

> Man's inhumanity to man
> Makes countless thousands mourn.

The truth of this sentiment is not open to challenge. Yet one is inclined to ask, What inhumanity practiced by man on his fellow-man is so dire in its blight, so cruel, so fatal, as the shameful execution which the gifted poet wrought on himself by his slavery to drink? When Mr. Powderly, as the head of the Knights of Labor in the earlier and better days of that organization, pointed out to its members that their worst enemy is not the capitalist but the saloonist, the poverty-pinched victims of the latter set up a howl of revolt from the labor leader. His overthrow may be said to have been determined from the time when he published and reiterated from many a platform his demonstration that two thirds of the liquor bill of the State of Pennsylvania was paid by the wage-earning class. This enormous sum rightly used, Mr. Powderly contended, would lift the poorest elements above the necessity of selling their labor in the cheapest market, and until this necessity was done away no strikes or other devices could keep up the rate of wages. A wholesome doctrine this, albeit decidedly unpalatable to many who needed it most.

To conclude. If we are alarmed at the rapid accumulation and concentration of wealth which distinguishes our times we may find comfort in watching the constantly swelling refluent streams by which this wealth is returning to the community at large. This is accomplished, first, by the breaking up of most of the great fortunes which men have for a time called their own. Chauncey M. Depew says: "My experience as an attorney and counsel for men of large wealth, with an unusual clientage of that sort, and of unusual number, for the past twenty-five years, has been that eight tenths of them lose their fortunes in their lifetime." Enormous sums also find their way back to the people and into the world's deepest need through those channels of organized benevolence which distinguish our generation above all others. The era of the capitalist

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is also the era of the hospital, the asylum, the home for the aged, and of the school and college, which for the first time in the world's history have put a liberal education within easy reach of poor and rich alike. Yet it is evident that the vast and abiding benefits which have been conferred on this generation by philanthropists of the type of Peter Cooper, Philip Armour, George Peabody, and others would have been impossible if these men had lacked the power to create the wealth which they gave away.

It is not the purpose of this article to excuse the faults of men who have a genius for acquisition. They oftentimes seem strangely blind both to duty and opportunity. They are seldom either brotherly or benevolent. Many of them have a queer system of arithmetic, by which much of their wealth eludes the tax-collector. Their combinations to influence markets, courts, and legislatures are certainly not calculated to promote the general public welfare. But common observation teaches us that, despite his regretable blemishes, the millionaire employer of labor is everywhere in great demand. Communities bid against each other to secure him. His advent is hailed with joy, his departure is sincerely mourned. If he confers no benefits upon the general public and upon the wage-earning class in particular, why these popular demonstrations attendant upon his coming and going? Let us be consistent. In so far as the capitalist confers benefits, let those benefits be acknowledged. In so far as he is a criminal, let him be dealt with as other criminals.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the day is not far in the distance when no true son of industry shall find it either impossible or difficult to procure the employment necessary to earn his daily bread. In the meantime it may be the part of wisdom to distinguish more carefully than heretofore between those who help and those who hinder social progress; between the men who create profitable employment for the dependent poor and the men who in all their lives have given birth to nothing but "great swelling words."

Robt. F. Bishop

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Art. IV.—CATHOLICITY.

A CATHOLIC mind is a continual source of pleasure, a catholic taste continually enjoys it. Narrow-mindedness is a curse wherever it exists, whether in the religious, scientific, literary, or æsthetic sphere, or in the world of social intercourse; whether it dwindles religion into a dogma, or science into a formula, or literature into a style, or art into a school, or morality into a maxim. The narrow mind is like a little pond, holding the image of the moon, that dreams the orb lies hidden in its shallow water; but, as it expands, the mind grows like a far-reaching sea, which knows, however great its bounds, that the "queen of night" dwells in the heaven above, and only throws upon its upturned face some passings of her splendor.

The catholic soul will endeavor to find out the relative truth of things and to measure the comparative worth of things, always believing for the best. It makes truth, and not error, the object of its search. The man of catholic mind will not pass unmeasured condemnation on a foreign faith before he has studied its history, or anathematize a scientific speculation before it is really understood. He will not rest in doubt or vague hypothesis; he will stoutly hold to the truth that he has found and live up to the highest that he knows. But he will dare to say with one who was a pioneer in the realm of philosophic truth, "I look upon truth as a divine ventriloquist, and I care not from what source the sounds are supposed to proceed if only the utterance be intelligible and clear." He might say, for instance, "I am a Protestant; but, if a Romanist has some grain of truth to give me, I will gladly make it mine. I am a Methodist; but, if a Baptist will open to my eyes a vision of moral beauty, I will repay him with my praise. Of what significance to me is it that others do not receive my truth? Shall I not receive theirs? Shall the ignobleness of another make me less noble, or his weakness make me less strong?"

There are some things that we cannot afford to do—to act meanly to a mean man, to be unjust to a cruel antagonist, or to be uncharitable to a single soul. We must be large-hearted even to the narrow-minded. This is the struggle of the upward life, to be just, magnanimous, honorable, and true. It

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may be very much more convenient to be a sectary or a partisan because it suits the natural indolence of the mind and the selfishness of the natural disposition; but, if we aspire to be worthy of the name of "Christian," we shall not spare ourselves the effort, the weariness, or the pain of thought, that we may at last attain "the lofty table-lands" of light and love and power whereof our "God himself is sun and moon."

But the questions come to us: "Is this ideal entirely consistent with the calling of a Methodist preacher? Is not his outlook upon the world of thought necessarily restricted by the peculiar limitations of his profession, and is not his range of vision yet more restricted by his denominational relations? Must he not contract his sympathies, and narrow his human interests and associations, and forswear catholicity, or be a failure in his distinctive mission?" What is to be rightly said in reply? This, as it appears to us:

1. The Methodist preacher is, first of all and fundamentally, a man—in body and brain a man; he is related to all men, and he wrongs himself and others if he submits to mutilation of body or mind.

2. By a spiritual regeneration he is a sanctified man, a Christian man, a follower of the supreme One who, contrasting the breadth of his own humanity with the narrow incompleteness of his great forerunner, declared that "true sanctity is not by withdrawal or repression, but by the glorification of the common lot and the infusion of a higher spirit and life."

3. He is a Christian minister. Not only is he an expounder of doctrine and an administrator of affairs, but also a guide and a leader of men, and an exponent of the soul life that other men ought to live. In advance, maybe, of those he leads, he is yet in touch with them. Not all things that are lawful for him are expedient, as, for instance, certain legitimate lines of business or study. "There was a time," we are told, "when in Germany and Switzerland there were more good bee keepers to be found among the clergy than among the laity, and more capable florists and cattle raisers than capable trainers of human beings—when the greater number were more skillful in the plant nursery than in the village school, and more at home in their cattle stalls than in the sheepfold of Christ." In this instance the clergy sought not "first things first," but first things last. The

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high Pauline doctrine of expediency must in such matters be applied. From whatever is a hindrance to the preacher's chief work it is his duty to abstain, but whatever may be of helpfulness to him in his work it is his privilege to enjoy. Expediency determines, yet for both minister and people one ethical standard should prevail. If it be wrong for him to attend the theater, it is wrong for them. If they may read a given book, he has the moral right to read the same. Expediency may determine otherwise, and in particular cases the individual conscience may make distinctions, but it is safe to affirm that the minister should ask of the people nothing he would be afraid or ashamed to do himself, and that the people should do nothing which would shock the moral sense if they saw the like done by him.

4. He is a Methodist preacher, and is called to emphasize certain doctrines and phases of the Christian faith, and to advocate a particular conduct in life. He should be loyal to the ordinances of his Church, as the governor of a province should be loyal to the government he serves; yet his loyalty should be in spirit to the fulfilling of the letter, and not in the fulfilling of the letter to the violation of its spirit. There are two ways of being loyal to the Church, as of being patriotic in the service of the State. The one is by Pharisaic self-assertion, the other is by courteous and self-respecting confraternity. The traditions of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the memory of its illustrious human founder alike declare for breadth and toleration, for catholicity of life and thought, for "the use of a creed as a cord that is noosed to save, and not to be drawn so tight as to strangle."

The Methodist preacher who is no narrower than John Wesley in his religious and theological thought will be exceeding broad, and find himself among the most catholic-minded of his time. Dean Stanley, it is said, always contended that the modern broad Church, of which the dean was himself an illustrious representative, was founded by John Wesley, and the antagonism that Wesley excited among the other evangelical leaders of his time goes far to justify the contention. But how came it that John Wesley was so much in advance of his Methodist contemporaries, so much more catholic? We believe it was first of all due to the fact that he so clearly apprehended the genius of Christianity; further, because he had intense

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natural sympathy with human nature; and, lastly, because he was a man of broad culture and of wide reading.

Upon the foregoing conclusions, therefore, it is perfectly consistent to suggest to the Methodist preacher, as to any other man, *the cultivation of a catholic taste in literature.* It has been fashionable for some time past to affect a discipleship to one or another great literary master; and hence on both sides of the Atlantic we hear of Ibsen societies and Browning societies, as we before heard of Shelley and Shakespeare societies. These organizations are not without service to society in general, but literary cliques have a tendency to develop literary cant, which is as bad as cant of any other kind. Without the slightest intended disrespect to acknowledged authorities, it may truthfully be said that a sturdy independence is as healthful in our intellectual as in our moral life, for catholicity and independence go hand in hand. Only let us take care that with independence we have humility, since the independence of ignorance is often the worst intolerance.

The cultivation of a catholic taste in literature necessarily augments the pleasure of existence. We cannot read everything that is produced, or even the best of everything that may be obtainable; but we may culture ourselves to the reasonable appreciation of the greatest possible variety both in the nature of literature and its style. Of course, a reader will have his particular favorite among authors and books, as among companion souls, but with the distinct advantage that he may multiply his literary loves without fear of jealousies or self-accusings. We may revel in the luxuriance of Tennyson, and yet love the sweet simplicity of Longfellow; we may be enamored of the sensuous idealism of Shelley, and yet enjoy the healthy naturalism of Scott; we may find high enjoyment in the mysteries of Browning, and yet listen with sympathetic interest to the fancies of a "Hoosier poet;" we may regard with never-ceasing wonder the universality of Shakespeare, and yet admire Milton's sublime genius. Throughout the illimitable universe of thought catholicity is the truest wisdom.

Upon the Methodist preacher may be still further urged *the reasonableness of catholicity in relation to religion and theological thought.* Wesley, Watson, Raymond, Pope, and Miley have not exhausted the world of divinity. There are teachers

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and preachers of widely differing schools who present necessary views of truth which others have not adequately shown. It is not only eloquence, but also high wisdom, that characterized the utterance of a modern writer and preacher, who says:

> I hear the voices and I hear something of God in all. I can sit in the cloistral calm with Thomas à Kempis; I can walk in the blackness of darkness with John Bunyan; I can share the vast enthusiasms of John Wesley. I can rejoice in the sympathetic breadth of Charles Kingsley, the masculine reason of Maurice, the tenderness of George Macdonald, the insight and charm of Martineau. I can worship with the Catholic or the Salvationist; I can hear the clear chime of truth sound through the Unitarianism of Channing; and if sometimes the voice fades upon my ear I may at least believe that it speaks to some one else, for "there are many voices, and none of them is without signification."*

And what of the *relation of the Methodist preacher to the great world of human life and conduct?* In his association with human hearts and human purposes, with saints and sinners, with heretics, schismatics, and believers, shall he maintain his catholicity of spirit? Yes, for it is in these very relations that it is most needed.

The catholicity for which we plead is that which is natural to a magnanimous disposition, is consistent with keen critical discrimination, is sometimes created by education, and is always perfected by the special grace of the Holy Spirit. It seeks to win men by consulting their idiosyncrasies; it believes "men might be better if we better deemed of them;" "it thinketh no evil," yet defendeth no evil, and "while covering, rather than exposing, a multitude of sins, telleth no lies about them." It is that which would encourage Christian cooperation in any worthy work upon which men should unite, and which would courteously accept the aid of even an infidel in a matter of legislative or civic reform. It is that which moved John Wesley to assert—as Hugh Price Hughes tells us—that Mohammedanism was a probable improvement upon oriental Christianity, and that he had no doubt Marcus Antoninus was one of the "many" who should "come from the east and west" and "sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob," while the children of the kingdom—meaning nominal Christians—are "cast out;" and that led him to quote with appro-

* *The Church of To-morrow*, by W. J. Dawson, p. 34.

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bation the words of another, who said, "What the heathen call reason; Solomon, wisdom; St. Paul, grace; St. John, love; Luther, faith; and Fénelon, virtue, is all one and the same thing—the light of Christ shining in different degrees under different dispensations." It is that which prompted Bishop Brooks to support one of the Cowley fathers when nominated to a bishopric, although the father was of a party by which his own work and advancement had been bitterly antagonized. It is that which enabled "the apostle Paul to understand the apostle Peter when the apostle Peter could not understand the apostle Paul," and to rejoice whenever Christ was preached, although a personal enemy might be preaching him; that shone from the life of the Saviour, who, though saying, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire," yet in all his ways sought to save men with both their eyes and feet; and that fell in words of marvelous grace and mercy from his lips when he cried, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

How can the catholic temper be developed? To some it is a gift of nature, to some it is an acquirement of education, and to some it is alone of grace. Every man must fulfill himself along the lines of his own personality, yet no tone or temper is altogether incapable of modification or change. To beget and foster catholicity the following rules may be suggested:

1. One must exercise the critical faculty in reading and in the study of ethical problems and men. Discriminate! Discriminate!! Discriminate!!!

2. He should remember the essential truth of the Pauline declaration, "There are, it may be, so many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them is without signification." The voice for one age may not be that for the next. The code of ethics for ancient Israel is not exactly correspondent to the code for the Christian Israel of to-day. "There was a day when Diogenes was an oracle, and Anacreon a voice, and the Sibylline books were authority and guide." But, as Maurice Thompson says, "The tub is no longer habitable, and our wine gives headaches instead of joy, and we should feel like benighted children if we shaped our destiny by the directions of the Sibylline books." New

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tones, new voices, or old tones with new emphasis break from time to time on the listening ear of the Christian Church. At one time the dominant note is justification by faith; at another, the sovereignty of God; at another, the responsibility of man and the universality of salvation. Yesterday it was the fatherhood of God; to-day it is the brotherhood of man; and to-morrow it may be, with new force, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

3. He should also remember the truism of mathematics—that the whole is greater than any one of its parts, and thereby escape the fallacy of the modern decadent school of realists; and should remember the golden rule of morality, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," and thereby avoid the sin of many an erring pietist.

4. Let him also recollect that the ground of all just judgment must be upon motive and intent; and that although, "in this life, men may be judged by their works, when the counsels of the heart are examined works are to be judged by the man himself."

5. Finally, he should look to the Holy Spirit for light, wisdom, guidance, and discrimination, as well as for evangelistic power.

But what, it may be asked, should be the attitude of catholicity toward unquestioned evil? Alas! that there should be any need of answer. There are wrongs and wickedness, more than enough for all souls militant to combat—evils hoary with antiquity, and a whole brood of newly begotten horrors. The long-continued fight must go on, and the catholic spirit must never weaken our hands for the war.

We have not exalted a toleration that is pagan, but a catholicity that is Christian—a catholicity that finds its finest definition in the words of Paul: "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, . . . whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

Henry A. Reed

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Art. V.—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE SOUTH.

By the terms of the Plan of Separation adopted at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844 it became the right of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, when formed—if it should be formed agreeably to the Plan—to secure to its fellowship as many of the members of the undivided Church in the South as it could induce to go with it, from the Gulf to the line of division between slavery and freedom; while it was the right of the Methodist Episcopal Church to retain in its fellowship all whom it could induce to continue therein, in unbroken connection, by pastoral charges, districts, and Conferences, from the line of division between slavery and freedom down to the Gulf.

The line of division between the two Churches might fall anywhere south of the line of division between slavery and freedom. Perceiving this, and seeing the importance to the new organization of making the former line conform as nearly as possible to the latter, the Convention of Southern delegates, assembled in Louisville, Ky., in 1845, by which the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was formally organized, adopted a resolution looking to the accomplishment of this object; and at once efforts began to be made toward organizing Southern Methodist Episcopal churches within the bounds of the Ohio Conference, in West Virginia. Two Southern Methodist churches were also organized in Cincinnati. These two churches did not have a long life, but the will and the purpose of the Church South were clearly revealed in the fact that they were established.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was able to retain in its fellowship a considerable number of members south of the line between slavery and freedom. There was a strip of slave territory, in some places wider, in others narrower, extending in almost unbroken connection from Delaware on the east to Missouri on the west, in which the Methodist Episcopal Church never ceased to have an existence. In 1864, when the War of the Rebellion was drawing to a close, the Conferences which were located, wholly or partly, in what had been slave States

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were the Baltimore, the East Baltimore, the Central German, the Delaware, the Kentucky, the Missouri and Arkansas, the Southwestern German, the Washington, and the Western Virginia. Excluding from the calculation in which we are now engaging such parts of any of these Conferences as were situated north of slave territory, we find that the strength of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South at that time was as follows:

	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
White work	74,474	924	$1,803,415	135	$201,685
Colored work	29,664	126	195,200	.....	.....
Total	104,138	1,050	$1,998,615	135	$201,685

In 1865, the war having been brought to a close and slavery abolished, there began to be manifested a desire on the part of many persons, both white and colored, in the South, below the strip of territory on which the Methodist Episcopal Church had at that time an existence, for membership in it. In the Gulf States this desire revealed itself almost exclusively among the colored people; in the border and intermediate States it was found to exist chiefly among the white people. The leaders of the Church were not unwilling to enter the door thus opened, and began at once to arrange to extend the fellowship and the offices of the Church to all in the South who might desire to receive and enjoy them. From that time to the present the extension of the Church in a southerly direction has gone steadily forward. At first it progressed in the face of great prejudice and opposition. The success that has attended the movement has tended to lessen both the prejudice and the opposition, though they still exist to a certain extent. At times the indifference shown by brethren of our Church in the North has been scarcely less unpleasant to those engaged in the work than the unfriendly attitude with which they have been met in the South.

In 1882, because of the existence, among some of our friends in the North, of a feeling of uncertainty in regard to the progress and stability of the work among the whites of the South, the writer of this article undertook to examine and learn the strength and prospects of our Church in that section. In addition to obtaining letters from prominent ministers in the South, he

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prepared statistical tables from the Minutes of the Conferences. These tables aggregated as follows for the year 1882:

	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
Among the Whites	208,122	2,464	$6,168,129	468	$674,236
Among the Colored	189,570	1,971	1,845,233	288	107,504
Total	397,692	4,435	$8,013,362	756	$781,740

These figures were a sufficient answer to any question as to the success of the movement, and showed that no inconsiderable part of the people in the South, white as well as colored, preferred membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church to membership in any other Church that was accessible.

In 1885, influenced again by some things which had appeared in print, the writer went over the ground a second time, and found that the progress made in gathering members in this part of the country was fully equal to that made in other parts. The following was the result for 1885:

	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
Among the Whites	222,070	2,768	$7,012,755	593	$811,161
Among the Colored	208,048	2,212	2,312,867	422	175,991
Total	425,118	4,980	$9,325,622	1,015	$987,152
Increase in four years	135,564	2,595	$3,310,875	394	$416,097

Just before the last General Conference our progress in the South was again made the subject of discussion in some of our Church papers, and again appeal was made to the statistical reports, with the following results for 1891–92:

	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
Among the Whites	269,372	3,062	$8,959,222	750	$1,199,702
Among the Colored	234,036	2,692	3,062,782	643	323,382
Total	503,408	5,754	$12,022,004	1,393	$1,523,084
Increase in six years	78,290	774	2,696,382	378	535,932
Increase since 1864	399,270	4,704	$10,023,389	1,378	$1,321,399

Another quadrennium has passed, and though little has been written during the period that could be objected to, yet, for general information, and more especially in view of the possibility of something being proposed at the approaching General Conference looking to a change of relations of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, it has seemed proper again to appeal to figures; and tables of

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the most recent statistics, by Conferences, as they lie wholly or partly in the South, have been prepared, as follows:

WHITE WORK.

CONFERENCES.	Year.	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
Alabama	1895	9,149	155	$147,711	10	$5,225
Arkansas	1895	5,474	86	120,000	28	12,864
Austin	1895	1,809	30	160,165	16	21,950
Baltimore	1895	47,320	399	3,385,600	121	434,650
Blue Ridge	1894	7,908	141	88,840	20	8,100
East German	1895	368	4	67,100	3	9,050
Saint John's River	1895	1,220	32	131,450	10	31,900
Louisiana	1895	158	4	52,800	1	3,000
Missouri	1895	27,571	321	518,100	91	81,100
Saint Louis	1895	29,961	283	1,009,718	89	106,150
Virginia	1895	9,462	141	141,125	23	19,975
Wilmington	1895	41,422	383	1,561,963	131	264,515
Central German	1895	1,542	8	127,000	7	21,700
Central Tennessee	1895	6,909	134	91,416	22	12,560
Georgia	1895	3,148	77	55,440	10	4,290
Holston	1895	24,397	300	353,000	29	35,225
Kentucky	1895	24,471	268	497,430	39	59,570
Saint Louis German	1895	4,574	61	212,150	33	44,060
South German	1895	2,398	45	86,920	27	26,445
West German	1895	1,685	27	72,100	13	13,900
West Virginia	1895	48,960	589	886,305	123	160,055
Pittsburg	1894	513	5	21,600	3	2,600
Gulf Mission	1895	658	7	8,200	1	700
Western Swedish	1895	167	3	14,000	2	3,500
Total		301,234	3,503	$9,880,193	850	$1,383,094

COLORED WORK.

CONFERENCES.	Year.	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
Florida	1895	4,869	92	$79,429	19	$8,250
Lexington	1895	7,079	77	170,286	36	15,091
Little Rock	1895	5,087	89	56,445	22	8,210
Louisiana	1895	14,013	196	215,455	90	44,615
Mississippi	1895	18,122	211	121,066	52	17,268
Upper Mississippi	1895	19,506	219	107,582	38	15,075
Central Missouri	1895	6,986	115	125,800	46	14,680
North Carolina	1895	9,826	127	77,400	22	6,315
Washington	1895	30,296	312	815,541	72	70,900
Central Alabama	1895	10,884	132	93,512	35	11,365
Delaware	1895	16,554	220	264,588	63	39,265
East Tennessee	1894	5,467	86	124,000	19	7,504
Savannah	1895	21,430	226	238,911	48	20,023
Tennessee	1895	9,531	119	93,564	20	6,825
Texas	1894	15,667	201	220,650	73	26,910
West Texas	1894	11,010	125	124,440	44	11,619
South Carolina	1895	46,349	359	322,845	80	40,369
Total		252,676	2,906	$3,251,514	779	$364,504

TOTALS OF WHITE AND COLORED WORK.

CONFERENCES.	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
White work	301,234	3,503	$9,880,193	850	$1,383,094
Colored work	252,676	2,906	3,251,514	779	364,504
Grand total	553,910	6,409	$13,071,707	1,629	$1,747,598
Increase in White work since 1891	31,862	441	$960,971	100	$183,302
Increase in Colored work since 1891	18,641	214	188,732	136	41,122
Total increase for both since 1891	50,503	655	$1,049,703	236	$224,514
Increase in White work since 1864	226,760	2,579	$8,016,778	715	$1,181,409
Increase in Colored work since 1864	223,012	2,780	3,056,314	779	364,504
Total increase for both since 1864	449,772	5,359	$11,073,092	1,494	$1,545,913

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These figures show that the Church has about quadrupled its membership, with a corresponding increase of Church property, in the South since 1864. This is a much greater increase, relatively, than that of the entire Church.

OUR PROGRESS AMONG THE WHITES OF THE SOUTH.

For the reason that our work among the colored people in the South has appealed more forcibly to the sympathies of the North than has that among the white people of the South, and has been more frequently and more earnestly emphasized before the public, the latter has been less thoughtfully considered and less perfectly understood, whether as to its present strength, its prospects, or its future influence upon Southern sentiment. Many of our friends in the North, otherwise intelligent, have seemed to be ignorant of the fact that we have any hold worthy of consideration upon the white people of the South. Many of them have formed their views, in part, from what has *not* been said by agents and others when speaking before the public about the Church, its condition, and its wants in the South; and, in part, from letters written by persons who have visited the chief towns and cities in the Gulf States. The South is large, and there are many people in it who are not to be found in the extreme southern centers of population; and, besides, there are as wide differences of view in the South on all important questions as there are in the North.

In speaking of the hold which our Church has upon the white people of the South we have no desire to depreciate what has been done among the colored people, but would simply bring into clearer view that department of enterprise of our Church in the South which, we think, has not been sufficiently emphasized and understood. Our progress at first among the whites was slower than among the colored people, for reasons which are obvious. There was in the way of the whites everything in the nature of social influence to prevent them from coming; nothing brought them but preference of ideas. The colored people, on the other hand, had everything to induce them to come. In addition to the tractive power of ideas, whatever of social life there was for them was altogether among themselves, and they were all of one way of thinking; so that, in coming, they came under the impulse which moved the whole, and not

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against it. The progress, therefore, which was made in gathering colored people into the Church was easy and rapid. They came in masses.

From 1864 to 1881–82—a period of about seventeen years—the membership among the colored people ran up from 29,664 to 189,570—an increase for the period of 159,906, and an increase per year for the period of 9,406; while the membership of the whites went from 74,474 to 208,122—an increase for the period of 133,648, less by 26,258 than that of the colored membership, and an increase per year for the period of 7,861, less by 1,545 than that of the colored membership.

With the close of this period there began to be a change. The statistics for 1885 show that the colored membership ran up from 189,579 to 203,048, giving an increase for the period of 13,468, and an average increase per year of 3,867; but the white membership ran up from 208,122 to 222,070, giving an increase for the period of 13,948, and an average increase per year of 3,987, thus running a little ahead of the colored membership and, relatively with what had taken place during the preceding seventeen years, very greatly ahead of it.

During the period from 1885 to 1891 the colored membership went from 203,048 to 234,036, giving an increase for the period of 30,988, and an average increase per year of 5,164; while the white membership went up from 222,070 to 269,372, giving an increase for the period of 47,302, and an average increase per year of 7,883.

From 1891 to the present time the colored membership has gone from 234,036 to 252,676, giving an increase for the period of 18,640, and an average increase per year of 4,660; while the white membership has gone up from 269,372 to 301,234, giving an increase for the period of 31,862, and an average increase per year of 7,965. Speaking on this point, in a pamphlet which the writer published four years ago, we said: "It is reasonable to suppose that this change of relative difference of increase in favor of the whites is fixed, and that, while the colored members in the South will go on increasing, the white members will go on increasing yet more and more rapidly." The statistics for 1895 show that, so far, this supposition has proved to be correct.

The idea has prevailed, and still prevails, to a certain extent

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in the North that we have fewer white members in the South than colored. This has at no time been true; and from the relative progress among white and colored it is reasonable to suppose that it will be less and less true with each succeeding year. The reasons for this do not depend upon the disposition of the colored people toward our Church, nor upon the disposition of the Church toward them. The whole number of white members of our Church in the South in 1864 exceeded that of the colored members by 44,810. In 1881–82 this excess was greatly reduced by reason of the more rapid afflux of colored than of white members to us for the intervening period; but even at the end of this period, when the colored people had been coming to us in masses, the excess of white over colored members was 18,552. At the end of this period the change already mentioned began to take place, and in 1885 the white membership exceeded the colored by 19,022. In 1891 the excess of white over colored members was 35,336; and at the present time the excess is 48,558, or more by 3,748 than it was in 1864. So much in regard to the entire white membership in the South. As was to be expected, much the greater part of this number is found in the border States, precisely as much the greater part of the colored members is found in the Gulf States. But a very considerable part of our strength among the whites is found in the States south of the border States. Excluding from the calculation the border Conferences, and embracing only those in which, with the exception of Virginia and Arkansas, the Church had no existence in 1864, we find statistics as follows in 1895:

CONFERENCES.	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
Alabama	9,149	155	$147,711	10	$5,223
Arkansas	5,474	86	130,000	28	12,864
Austin	1,809	30	160,165	16	21,950
Blue Ridge	7,903	141	88,840	20	8,100
Saint John's River	1,220	32	131,450	10	31,900
Louisiana	153	4	52,800	1	3,000
Virginia	9,462	141	141,125	22	19,975
Central Tennessee	6,909	134	91,416	22	12,560
Georgia	3,148	77	55,440	10	4,290
Holston	24,397	300	353,000	29	35,225
South German	2,398	45	86,920	27	26,445
Gulf Mission	658	7	8,300	1	700
Totals for 1895	72,680	1,152	$1,447,247	196	$182,234
Totals for 1891	68,178	1,085	1,408,516	168	140,626
Increase in four years	4,502	67	$43,731	28	$41,608

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AS COMPARED WITH THE CHURCH SOUTH.

To aid in arriving at a true estimate of the strength of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Southern States, let us compare it with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the South. We say "in the South" for the reason that that Church has a small number of members outside of the South. The whole number of members of the Church South in the South in 1894—the most recent date for which we have been able to procure statistics of that Church—was 1,358,859. The membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South at the present time is, as has been seen, 553,743, which makes our strength in the South about two fifths that of the Church South.

In the border Conferences we have more members than the Church South, as is shown by the following figures:

BORDER CONFERENCES OF THE CHURCH SOUTH.

Conferences.	Members.	Conferences.	Members.
Baltimore	45,213	Missouri	41,283
Kentucky	28,348	Southwest Missouri	30,613
Louisville	44,008	Saint Louis	26,902
Memphis (in Kentucky)	7,553	Western Virginia	22,195
Total			246,115

BORDER CONFERENCES OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Conferences.	Members.	Conferences.	Members.
Baltimore	47,320	Saint Louis German	4,574
East German	368	Pittsburg	513
Missouri	27,571	West Virginia	48,960
Saint Louis	29,961	Lexington	7,079
Wilmington	41,422	Central Missouri	6,986
Central German	1,542	Delaware	16,554
Kentucky	24,471	Washington	30,296
Total			287,617

This gives an excess in favor of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 41,502, counting both white and colored members for both Churches, since the Church South still retains a very small number of colored members in its folds. Counting only the whites in each Church, we have for the Church South 246,036, and for the Methodist Episcopal Church 226,702, showing a difference in favor of the Church South of 19,334.

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THE CHURCH SOUTH IN THE NORTH.

The relative strength of the two Churches in the South having been shown, it will be of advantage to know the strength of the Church South in the North. The following figures for 1894 give the most recent statistics we have been able to obtain:

Conferences.	Members.	Conferences.	Members.
Columbia	1,322	Montana	781
Denver	901	New Mexico	985
East Columbia	1,645	Pacific	7,939
Illinois	7,940	Louisville (in Indiana)	190
Los Angeles	2,174		
Total			23,877

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE TWO CHURCHES.

The figures of the foreign mission work of the two Churches are important in connection with any consideration that may be given to a proposition looking to any change of relations between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has the following members in mission fields:

Missions.	Members.	Missions.	Members.
In Brazil	1,098	In China	517
In Central Mexico	3,169	In Japan	532
Total			5,316

The Methodist Episcopal Church has the following membership in its mission fields:

Missions.	Members.	Missions.	Members.
Bulgaria	233	Switzerland	6,993
Central China	586	Bengal-Burmah	979
Denmark	2,721	Bombay	836
Finland and St. Petersburg	747	Korea	241
Italy	1,525	Liberia	4,137
Japan	4,006	Malaysia	413
North China	2,838	Mexico	3,534
North Germany	5,861	North India	33,111
Norway	5,048	Northwest India	25,225
South America	3,176	South India	1,070
South Germany	6,135	Foo-Chow	3,686
Sweden	16,105		
Total			129,246

A commission was appointed by the last General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, on Federation. If the object was to take a step looking to reunion as the end it is cause of congratulation. The reunion of the Churches would

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tend to the destruction of sectionalism, and to the promotion of peace and good will between the sections. It would give a more loving and joyous spirit to the ministers and members of the reunited Churches, and would clothe the hosts of Methodism with a new panoply of power and grace. But, if the ultimate thought be not reunion, then it is worth the while of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to ask what effect anything more than fraternity, which we now have, but less than reunion might have upon that part of the Church which lies in the South, proximate to the Church South, and especially upon that part which is composed of white members in the South. Anything that would tend to cripple and weaken this part of the Church would tend to cripple and weaken the whole Church, and thus to set it back from its present limitations, which are concurrent with the boundaries of the country, and make it what it was during the days of slavery, a Church of a part of the country only.

Daniel Stevenson

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Art. VI.—THE THEORETICAL AND THE PRACTICAL.

The exaltation of duty, in distinction from dogma, has become a characteristic mark of our time. But is it an utterance from the depths of the Christian consciousness, or only obedience to a shallow fashion? Sometimes, doubtless, it expresses little but the personal equation of minds devoid of historical and philosophical perspective; sometimes it proceeds from intellectual laziness; sometimes it results from conservative disinclination to reexamine traditional beliefs. Nevertheless, this way of thinking has taken so general and apparently so firm a hold upon both the masses and their leaders, upon both the intellects and the sympathies of men, as to preclude the suspicion that it is a mere inadvertent neglect, an aberration, or a "fad." It has assumed the proportions of a great, though subtle, religious movement. The very air throbs with its spirit as with the impulse of a new reformation. We may well surmise that some truth of deep import is thus finding expression; that some part of the divine plan is being accomplished. What this plan is may not be known until the far future historian has placed our age in his just balances. But the truth that underlies this tendency is, perhaps, already accessible. At least it invites investigation, both because its intrinsic interest is great and because the maintenance of a wise equilibrium requires, in times of rapid transition, a doubly firm grasp of fundamental principles.

The great philosophical classic on the relation of theory to life was not written until about a hundred years ago. Reason and faith had indeed been a theme of discussion through all the Christian centuries, but even Aquinas had not been able to assign them their bounds. The attempt to be loyal to two authorities, or to reconcile intellectual liberty with ecclesiastical authority, had broken down of its own weight. No one had either given philosophical justification for the content of Christian faith or shown that faith could walk without the support of philosophy. Kant was the first to discover that the reason this problem of the centuries had not been solved was that the question itself had been improperly put. Faith had been treated either as a special mode of cognition, that is, conviction, concerning truth, or as cognition of a special sort of

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objects; while reason had claimed to be a superior mode of knowing, and had assumed a right to the entire realm of the knowable. The tendency of critical intellects, therefore, was to reject what was not proved; that of devout minds, to demonstrate all that they held dear. On all hands reason was acknowledged to have a secure footing of its own. Faith was always the one to have its basis, as well as content, called in question. But Kant saw clearly two things—the need of inquiring whether reason really possessed the powers hitherto attributed to it, and the fact that faith was not primarily a matter of cognition or the acceptance of a revelation, but was moral volition. Not that intellect was to be excluded from all share in determining the content of faith; but this share rather consisted in drawing out the implications of an already existing moral life than in discovering a rational basis for the moral life itself. According to Kant we do not accept moral obligation because we believe in God, but we believe in God because we accept moral obligation. The real problem, therefore, was not to determine the relation between two bodies of truth or two modes of reaching truth; but it was to determine the relation between the functions of willing and knowing, or, in Kantian phrase, between the practical and the theoretical.

We cannot better approach the answer to this question than by noting the general character and the limitation of Kant's own solution. In his Preface to the second edition of the *Critique of Pure Reason* he announces that he intends to "remove knowledge in order to make room for faith." The confidence with which both theist and atheist have gone at the deepest questionings of the human spirit he declares to be misplaced, for the reason that the human faculty is incompetent to attain knowledge on such transcendent subjects. His own conclusion, the grounds for which cannot here be even hinted at, is that knowledge, strictly so called, is limited to objects of a possible experience, that is, to the phenomenal order, observed or inferred. Realities, whether the world, the soul, or God, are conceivable but not knowable. The result is that Kant admits the existence of a theoretical reason, whose sphere, though limited, is free from admixture of practical, that is, volitional, elements. In his complementary work, the *Critique of Practical Reason*, he next labors to prove that there is also a

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practical reason, or cognitive process, mixed with, and indeed depending upon, volition. This is the faith for which he proposed to make room. The logical structure of this *Critique* may be summarized as follows: If moral obligation is rational, then freedom, God, and immortality are real (as is shown by a series of prosyllogisms). This is, of course, the beginning of a merely hypothetical syllogism; yet, since all men admit that obligation is rational, the conclusion should be acknowledged as a conviction universally human, in short, as knowledge. Nevertheless, this is not theoretical knowledge, not knowledge in the strict sense, since it rests upon a proposition merely assumed or postulated, namely, the rationality of obligation. This can be neither proved nor disproved, but only voluntarily accepted or rejected.

By stopping at this point Kant left us with an unreconciled dualism in knowledge, and with apparent internal disunion of our faculties. The theoretical reason is credited with an unclouded title within its own field, but this field holds only the seeming, not the real; while the practical reason, though it lays hold of the real, does so by violence, not by legal process. Once or twice, indeed, Kant seems to have glimpses of a unity of the two, and that not merely in the mediatorial work of the *Critique of Judgment;* for even in the *Critique of Practical Reason* he remarks that every faculty of the mind has an interest, and significantly says that the practical reason cannot be subordinated to the speculative "because all interest is, in final analysis, practical." Otherwise expressed, this is the truth, brought clearly to light through the searching analysis of later psychology, that cognition is throughout a function of will as well as of intellect; or, better, that intellect itself is conative. Pure intellect, unmixed with desire, impulse, volition, nowhere exists; nay, an intellectual event, *qua* event, whether it be an event of perception, judgment, or inference, is the utterance of some sort of impulse. It is for this reason that we can consistently speak of intellectual "tendencies," "preferences," "affinities," "impulses," "acts," and "achievements." Faust was not illogical when he proposed to read in place of "In the beginning was the Word" (*Logos*, rationality), "In the beginning was the Act," for rationality is activity, and therefore a function of will.

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So much of importance for the understanding of our problem hangs upon a clear grasp of the truth just mentioned that we shall do well to dwell upon it for a moment. The way in which the doctrine of the faculties of the mind has been handled has concealed as much truth as it has revealed. Even when the intellect has not been said to do the knowing, the sensibility the feeling, or the will the willing, an impression has been allowed to exist that functions of each sort could be performed in the absence of all the others; that, for instance, some states were pure feeling, some pure volition, and others pure intellection. A more careful analysis shows that these three functions, though discriminable, are never separate. Every state of consciousness has all three aspects. Each is intellectual, for each is a state of awareness and discrimination more or less clear; each is sensitive by virtue of its feeling-tone; each is conative, for attention in greater or less degree is always present. The bearing of this upon the theory of knowledge and faith will be perceived by asking for the ultimate grounds of any judgment. Undertake to prove anything completely, and one will sooner or later discover that he knows something that is not and cannot be proved. This unprovable knowledge will be found to consist of universal judgments, such as the laws of thought or the assertion that there is an external world, and particular judgments of perception and introspection, such as the assertion that one object is harder or softer than another. Now, if we are asked how we know these ultimates of knowledge, we can only reply that there is no process, method, or ground of this knowledge; we simply perform the act of assertion, and this is the end of the matter. If the question arises whether we may with the same seeming arbitrariness assert anything whatever, we can only answer that it is not in us to do this; that our nature goes out toward, and finds its own realization and satisfaction in, some assertions, but not others. The ultimates of knowledge, then, are simply acts of self-realization; they are facts of sensibility and will as well as of intellect. Now, our entire knowledge is built up of judgments, each of which is, in its own way, an ultimate. Judgments of perception, judgments of memory, and judgments of inference express the tendency or impulse of the mind at the moment of their formation. All knowledge, therefore, is an

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expression of interest more or less conscious and volitional, and "all interest," as Kant says, "is in final analysis practical." There is, then, no purely theoretical knowledge, no pure insight; but, at the foundation, knowledge is simply self-assertion. This self-assertion may indeed be self-limiting, and so law-abiding; it may set up standards, ideals, criteria for itself, but this limit is only another self-assertion of the same mind. If, therefore, faith means conviction that something unprovable is nevertheless true, knowledge itself reduces to faith.

Proofs, like this, of a "*credo ut intelligam*" have not unfrequently given great comfort to defenders of the faith—too great comfort, indeed; for, while the argument has been supposed to confirm the method of faith as against, or in contrast to, that of knowledge, it in fact denies that there is any such radical difference. We are as far as ever from justifying any article of the content of faith. For the reduction of the elements of knowledge and of faith to the same category would naturally imply that all the processes by which the mind purifies and certifies its knowledge are applicable also to its faith. As soon as we remove the partition by means of which some have tried to separate a faith compartment from the rest of the mind faith forfeits all its supposed immunities; henceforth there is no refuge from the demand for a rational justification of our beliefs; we are at liberty to hold as true only such propositions as evidence renders at least probable.

The individual or the generation that accepts this conclusion comes to a parting of the ways with respect to the religious life. Henceforth common honesty forbids both lazy acquiescence in tradition and the calming of intellectual doubts by the assumption that faith is a privileged highway to certainty. To be religious one must either become a theologian, a philosopher, or whatever else that is necessary to have critical knowledge of the things of the Spirit; or else he must find a way to be religious while being noncommittal concerning questions of fact or truth which he has not yet rationally adjusted. The Christian consciousness of to-day seems positive that it has discovered this latter way. For it is amazingly unconcerned about the party names, definitions, and formulas which were very near the center of interest even a generation ago. Two facts may seem to contradict this statement, the dogmatic spirit

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of the Roman Church, particularly as exhibited in the decree of infallibility passed in 1870, and the recent deliverance of a representative Protestant body concerning the inerrancy of the Scriptures. In spite of the Vatican decree, however, the last ten years have witnessed in this country, at least, more marks of religious sympathy, more cooperation in philanthropy and civilization, between Protestants and Catholics than ever before. Theoretical differences have been kept in the background, in the interest of practical good. As to the other fact that appears to contradict our statement, we may venture to say that the circumstances of its origin and the sentiments it has evoked indicate that, whatever Christians may privately hold as to the Scriptures, no further official definitions are called for. Along with this abeyance of theory has come a remarkable bloom of the sense of obligation. It may be doubted whether the majesty of duty and the beauty of the kingdom of love were ever preached with greater directness and positiveness than at present, or whether the laity ever cared so little for theory and so much for practice.

But how far is this separation of the two practicable? Are we certain, after all, that one can be religious without settling for oneself, either by rational investigation or by choosing sides, the great questions concerning the fundamental truths of theology? How far can religion rest on feeling or volition without becoming irrational? Of course, feelings and volitions cannot be classed with, or deduced from, thought; they are each *sui generis;* and hence, in so far as they enter into religion, religion is extrarational. Yet, inasmuch as religious states and acts have reference to an object conceived as real, while the reality of objects would seem to be a matter for knowledge and reason, must we not infer that, after all, religion is as much theoretical as practical? There are four conflicting ways of answering this question, which we propose to consider in the light of the principles already adduced.

The first concludes that we may hold as true whatever we have religious motive for asserting, provided only it does not contradict knowledge. This is the popular solution of the difficulty, but it is inadequate. Of course, we may not, even if we could, believe anything that contradicts our most certain knowledge; but, on the same grounds, we may ask how we can

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accept anything that contradicts even a slight preponderance of evidence. That for which we perceive such a preponderance is for us the probable, and is what we actually believe, as long as we continue to perceive this preponderance of evidence. And when the evidence for and against seems equal how can we incline to one side or the other without self-sophistication? If the reply be made that what is called knowledge is also in its elements assertion without grounds, the rejoinder is that, if religious truth puts itself on this basis, it must submit to rational tests and abjure the extrarational judgments for which it seems to contend. Middle ground between reason and feeling does not appear to exist.

Recognizing this difficulty, a second considerable school incline to surrender themselves to feeling and imagination, as though these were the norm of religious truth. Writers of the type of Ritschl, for instance, do not scruple to say that the unity of the world which concerns religion is "utterly indifferent to the world-order established by natural science." "The Christian idea of God," it is said, "exists only as a function of the moral nature;" and "just as certainly as volition and feeling cannot be reduced to cognition in ideas, so certain is it that the latter is not justified in imposing its laws upon them." "Religion, which presents itself in all three elementary functions of the soul, is under no obligation either to accommodate itself unqualifiedly to the logical conditions of theoretical knowledge, or to renounce itself." The defenders of this view claim that, since cognition itself exists only in response to impulses, it is only a means to a satisfactory, that is, moral, existence; and therefore that the primary thing in knowledge is moral feeling. This last then seems to be a law unto itself. Otherwise expressed, religious beliefs are founded solely on judgments of value, which have an independent right. But the difficulties of this view are near at hand. By what canons of reason are we allowed to infer that, because the belief in X has value, therefore X itself has reality? Evidently the basis of this procedure is not a judgment of value at all, but one of fact, namely, that the real universe is one of moral and æsthetic harmony. As, however, this is the very conclusion supposed to be inferred through judgments of value, the circle is obvious.

But, it will be said, since, according to the preceding analysis,

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even knowledge originates in impulse and is tested by feeling, is not the right of moral and religious impulses to assert themselves equal to the right of reason itself? The answer is, Yes; they have an equal right to assert themselves, but not to assert anything else. Confusion has arisen at this point. Since the criterion of knowledge is a judgment of value, why not hold all valuable judgments to be true? Because the criterion of knowledge certifies the process of cognition, not the content. At times we might find satisfaction in believing that God hates our enemies; but, to justify this or any belief, we must experience self-realization in the process of arriving at it, in distinction from its content.

Let us try a third view, that the rationally allowable is simply the rationally probable, and that religious feeling and volition are to stop with this. This is apparently the position of the "religion of science." Like the preceding views, it is one-sided, though in the opposite direction. It proposes that our extrarational functions shall be like flatboats towed by a steam tug; they are to have no power of motion within themselves. Yet they are as original as reason; and since reason itself is, in final analysis, merely impulse of a particular kind, there appears no ground for the assumption of superior authority.

The defects of these three views may be schematized as follows: The second allows religious feeling an undue lordship over reason; the first is loyal to knowledge in its higher degrees, but not in its lower; the third concedes the rights of knowledge in all its degrees, but places unconstitutional limitations upon other functions. A fourth adjustment, free from both kinds of one-sidedness, is still conceivable. We may recognize the exclusive authority of rational criteria in respect to all judgments, not excepting those concerning the objects of religion; but, at the same time, we may recognize the right of feeling to accent itself as feeling, of impulse to go forth as impulse, of imagination to luxuriate in its own realm, of will to assert itself as personal choice. That is, we may allow the extrarational to functionate freely, but not to invade the sphere of fact and truth. There may be wonder, awe, hope, fear, and even joyful contemplation and glad self-surrender, at the very moment we recognize the lack of even probable evidence for the existence of the objects we have conceived. Just as we can act as though

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the next premier of Great Britain would certainly be a liberal, though there is no such certainty, so we can live as though there were a God, irrespective of the fact. We can even cultivate a habit of religious feeling, as well as activity, by mere contemplation of religious ideas; just as we can enjoy music without asking whence it comes, or whether it conforms to the laws of æsthetics. In short, faith, as distinguished from knowledge, is not assertiveness concerning facts or truths, but is the living as though we knew that which we confess to ourselves we do not know. In this there is no intimation that God is unknowable, but only that religion has a basis which need not be imperiled by changes of philosophy and theology. Nor has it been intimated that suspension of judgment as to religious truth is either desirable in itself or even consistent with high religious development. On the contrary, nothing human is at its best until it is thoroughly suffused by knowledge. Our inquiry has concerned, rather, the minimum of knowledge essential to a rudimentary religious life, and this we find to be merely the perception of the desirability of the life that religion enjoins.

Even then, if the religious world should become uncertain of its theology or its philosophy, this would not necessarily indicate lack of faith. There is ground for the suspicion that those who fear that a decay of faith is setting in have not understood the signs of the times. Perhaps the emphasis our age puts upon the practical ought to distinguish it from all preceding times as the true age of faith.

George A. Coe.

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Art. VII.—THE PERSONAL ELEMENT IN SOCIAL REFORM.

One of the theories which for a long time has exercised a considerable influence upon our political thinking is that of so-called "natural rights." In substance this theory assumes that, behind all social laws and definitions, the individual, independently of the will of his fellows, is the possessor of certain inherent rights and privileges which are simply because he is a man. Belonging to him thus in the ordinary course of nature, rather than because of his personal effort to obtain them, society has no right to take them from him nor to abridge or alter them without his consent. Among these natural rights are life, personal freedom, choice of occupation, participation in making laws, and self-defense against insult or danger. "We hold these truths to be self-evident," says the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Under this theory the functions of society are such only as the individual is pleased to turn over to it, and none others, with the further important reservation that, in case of question as to the right of society to do this or that, the presumption must be in favor of the individual.

This theory of natural, inborn, and inalienable political and social rights has taken strong hold of the minds of English-speaking peoples, and seems to underlie a great amount of important legislation. But under the influence of recent social discussion the notion has received not a few rude shocks, and it is now freely intimated that before correct expression can be given to present social relations the old doctrine must be quite essentially modified, if not given up altogether. In proof of this attention is called to the undoubted historical fact that in the progress of civilization society is seen to have taken over one function after another—in each case with a consequent restriction of the field for individual activity—until, instead of the individual being looked upon as the possessor of "natural and inalienable" rights, it is actually beginning to appear that he has in fact only such rights as are granted to him by society,

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which grants may at any time be changed or limited or even withdrawn altogether. In this newer view neither individual nor social rights are conceived of as immovably fixed in the nature of things. We must "rid our minds," says Jevons, "of the idea that there are any such things in social matters as abstract rights, absolute principles, indefeasible laws, inalterable rules, or anything whatever of an eternal and inflexible nature. . . . Law knows nothing of absolute principles from which we must not diverge. It is but a series of arbitrary rules, accumulated or varied from century to century, and defining the terms on which people may best live in each other's society."

Such, in briefest outline, is the doctrine which from many quarters we are being asked to accept. It seems clear that any such change of attitude is likely to have important consequences for present-day social problems. In particular, some simple economic propositions, fundamental to every discussion of social reform, and requiring no technical knowledge to bring them within the comprehension of any intelligent person, may have to be abandoned as untenable, or else be so changed in form or substance as to be virtually new. We cannot, for example, any longer speak with certainty of a "natural" return for the use of capital. The rate of interest which should prevail is not to be determined by invoking the nature of things. A few years ago certain kinds of permanent investments yielded a net return of five or six per cent; now we are glad to get four per cent, and it looks as if before many years we should have to content ourselves with three per cent or less. In the face of a general decline in the rate of interest, who will say what rate is "natural?" More than this, it cannot be maintained—we hear this said every day—that anyone has any inherent or inalienable right to interest at all. Interest is paid only because society allows it, because society chooses to have business conducted in that way; but since the right to both charge and collect interest comes from society the right may at any time be abridged or denied. Society might tax net earnings a hundred per cent or abolish interest altogether without depriving anyone of a single "natural" or inherent right.

In like manner is there need of caution in speaking about a "natural" rate of wages, although we know that this very question is sure to be discussed in connection with strikes

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and labor disturbances of all kinds. It may, indeed, be said that the remuneration which is just sufficient to keep the laborer alive, and enable him to raise a family and maintain his own efficiency, is the "natural" wages; and there is no doubt a sense in which this is true. But, as we do not know just what or how much is required to sustain life, and have as yet come to no practical agreement as to what things are necessary to a workman's efficiency, a natural rate of wages may still be regarded, for practical men at least, as an abstract and not a definite notion. Under the newer theory which we are discussing the amount of reward to be given the laborer is not determinable by reference to any natural law, but depends simply and solely upon what society at any given time chooses to allow.

So, also, one cannot positively assert the existence of any "natural" rate of profits, or, for that matter, any indefeasible claim to profits at all. The right of a business man to all he can honestly make depends upon the attitude of society in that particular; society may compel a division of profits among the employees, or the devotion of a large portion of them to public uses, without invading any individual right. So of the accumulation and transmission of property; the right in the matter comes from society. Society might confiscate the estates of deceased persons, or tax large fortunes out of existence, and yet infringe upon no "natural" rights whatever, for the reason that we have no social rights except those which the State gives us. The right to work; the right to appropriate natural resources; the right to receive profits, rent, or interest; the right to own, accumulate, sell, or transmit property—what are these more than privileges extended to the individual by society, to be used under its supervision and modified or withdrawn at its pleasure?

To the average mind, attached to things as they are, zealous for the traditions of the elders, yet anxious for growth rather than stagnation, there is apt to be something repellent in the prospect of such a radical change in the theory of social relations. Yet it seems clear, if we may trust the signs of the times, that it is for the domination of some such theory that each of us, in his own way and according to his need, must prepare. Certainly, looking over the varied activities of life at

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the present moment, the old theory seems to find less and less application; so far, indeed, has our practice departed from it that there is no longer a clearly discernible limit to the number or kind of industrial and social functions which may be removed, in whole or in part, from individual management and placed under the control of the State. Not a year but records many such transfers. Nor is it any longer felt to be necessary to limit public ownership and control to matters in which the community has a clear advantage over the individual. A man prominent in public life has recently declared that it may be wise for the State to undertake any public business which it can carry on with success equal to that which has characterized the administration of the same business in private hands. There is little danger of putting the case too strongly in saying that every claim to the exercise of additional authority on the part of the State, be its direction what it may, is coming to be looked upon as presumptively legitimate.

Under such conditions it might be thought that the social problems of our time are to be solved without the aid of individuals, or that at best the contribution which any one person can make will be inappreciable. But, are we in truth living under a social *régime* in which the individual no longer has an opportunity? Has he no longer any duty, or office, or obligation, or responsibility? We think not; and for the reason that when we get close to the matter it will appear that in at least a few important respects the new theory is after all not so very different from the old. A commonplace truth, though one often forgotten, helps us to see this. Society is made up of individuals; the word is only a title or name for "all of us." And we are members of society, not because we want to be, or because we agree to be, or because it asks us to be, but simply because we cannot possibly be anything else; we belong to society in the nature of things. Whatever may have been true in the early history of the human race, we cannot now think of a man as by any possibility severing his connection with society. The social outcast is as much a member of the State as is the highest dignitary in it. Yet it should not be forgotten that the community is not stronger than its weakest part, and can have no virtues not possessed by its individual members. So far from its being true that the mere bringing together of a considerable number

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of persons, no one of whom has any virtues in particular, will somehow result in the formation of a strong, intelligent, and effective society, there is nothing more certain than that the only way to insure strength, intelligence, and effectiveness in the community is sedulously to cultivate those qualities in the individual; and when we lay the burden of social reform upon society—which has often meant laying it upon no one in particular—we ought to remember that *we* are society, and that no reform is possible without a type of character proportioned to the work to be done.

It devolves upon the individual member of the community, then, as it always has, to shape the ideals of society, to set in motion those connected trains of ideas which after a time come to be accepted as part of the intellectual and moral basis of a permanent and progressive state. To do this demands training, knowledge, observation, experience, culture, and clear thinking; and the opportunities for achievement in each of these directions were never greater or more readily available than they are to-day. The next step is to control, as far as possible, the practical workings of society; and here again the call is distinctly for individuals, for persons, for men. The State of its own motion has never yet made any great reform. Every advance has been preceded by the intelligent, active, and untiring efforts of a few men to impress their ideas upon the social institutions of their time, and to put into practical operation the ideas which they have conceived and expressed. Civil service reform, good city government, temperance, sound currency, arbitration, organized charity, freedom of conscience, and every other vital question which at the present time presses for consideration represents the persistent efforts of a very few persons, numerically of small account in any community, to turn society in the direction in which they would have it go; and we do well to hold in honor the few men and women of thoughtfulness, unselfishness, and faith whose work makes possible the great awakening of the civic conscience, the brave struggle for the maintenance of free government, and the bold insistence upon the rights of the many over the rights of the few, which characterize the days in which we live.

It is not enough to feel assured that the world will go right ultimately; the responsibility laid upon us is to make sure that

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it goes right in our day. And when we say that society is only another name for individuals in the aggregate, and that what the individual is society is likewise, it must be quite clear that this is only a different way of saying that, in proportion as we make of ourselves that which we wish society to become, in just that proportion will society conform to the ideals we set for it. This power of projecting ourselves into the future, thinking of ourselves as we would like to be, and so arranging the details of life as to make steadily for that end, is the great opportunity still held out to us; and there is no more hopeful sign in these discontented times than the increasing extent to which we are coming to realize that, in all matters of social welfare, our privileges and our duties very closely correspond. The theory of the superiority of social over individual rights may prevail; but to the individual the result will be gain rather than loss, if so be that from the changed relation there comes a clearer and juster view of the common life of which he is a part—which is greater than he is and whose will he must obey, but whose ideals he may fashion, for whose success he is personally responsible, and whose future, whatever its character, is in his hands whether he will or will not.

William MacDonald.

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Art. VIII.—COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

The study of comparative religion is of great importance and of increasing interest. Facilities for its study, however, are but of recent date. The steamship, the railroad, the press, the telegraph, have made all the world akin. Indeed, the world may be said to be just now coming to self-consciousness. It is taking a vast deal of interest and not a little pride in its own history, its origins, customs, civilizations, religions, arts, sciences, monuments, and even in its ruins. The solidarity of the race, the fact of the brotherhood of man, has taken such hold on us that nothing escapes notice, because there is no great nor small when the future is to come out of the present, as the present has come out of the past, and when the whole world thrills to a single touch. It is no longer a matter of indifference to us what men believe, or how they worship; nor can we afford to shut our eyes to whatever excellences of doctrinal and ethical teachings their systems of religion may contain, nor by any possibility fail to offer them in the spirit of genuine brotherhood substitutes for their teachings, modes of worship, and practical life at such points as theirs shall clearly seem to us to be inadequate. For we must regard the history and interests of humanity as a whole, and find in the fact of the fatherhood of God that religion, which is everywhere diffused, must everywhere mean something to all, and this not least of all, "that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him."

That there has been a great deal of prejudice against the Old World religions there can be no doubt. Some of it, no doubt, has been well enough founded, but the most of it has been of that ignoble type which is born of ignorance. The ignorance of the western world concerning the eastern, and still more so of the eastern concerning the western, until within a hundred years or so, was profound, and as excusable perhaps as it was profound. But the subjugation of India by Great Britain; the recovery of the Sanskrit language by Sir William Jones and other eminent scholars and investigators; the establishment of political and commercial relations with China and

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Japan; the founding of missions on a large scale by the leading Churches of Christendom among all the great oriental nations—all these events have given us access not only to the sacred books of the great religions, but also to their forms of worship, and to the social and moral condition of the people, thus enabling us to form some just opinion as to the utility of their religions. But even now we would do well to form our opinions with becoming modesty. To "see men as trees, walking," is not to see clearly, and we are not sure even yet that our vision is clearer than that in respect to the Old World religions. The Parliament of Religions, recently held in Chicago, undoubtedly did much to dissipate prejudice, but there is still too much of that rascally vice left to be credible to, or consistent with, either intelligent faith or Christian catholicity. It matters not whether it be the Archbishop of Canterbury, too bigoted to give the Parliament his influence and blessing, or some other bishop who, after such an exhibition of religious fraternity as the world had never witnessed before, could speak of the Parliament as a "masquerade of the old effete religions on the platform of our modern civilization," or words to that effect—all such narrowness and bigotry were put to shame by the brotherliness and catholicity of Mazoomdar, of the Brahmo-Somaj, of Pung Kwang Yu, the Confucianist, and of Dharmapala, the Buddhist from Ceylon. It was indeed an ecumenical council of the world's great religions, a love feast of the world's great faiths, in which Hindu and Parsee, Confucianist and Taoist, Buddhist and Mohammedan, Jew and Christian, Catholic and Protestant, met together to find that they had much in common, and this especially, "that God hath not left himself without witness in any nation." It was worth all it cost that such a truth should be so beautifully illustrated and so abundantly confirmed.

There can be little surprise that the first workers in comparative religion should have produced alarm. The idea of a science of religion implied things in common among the religions, true and false, and it implied also inheritance and evolution. Looking at it superficially, as at first we are almost certain to do, it was feared that the effect of the study would be to reduce all religions to the plane of human inventions, and so bring discredit upon all. And such, indeed, was the

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evident purpose of some who first began to investigate in this direction. But, thus far, what has been the result? Certainly not what many of the enemies of religion had expected, or what some of its friends had feared. For the highest has not been brought down, but the lower have been brought up; that is to say, instead of having shown that Christianity, the highest, is human and full of folly, it has been shown that it stands peerless among the religions of the world. At the same time it has been made clear that there is something divine, something of God, in even the lowest religions; that the All-Father has taught his children, even according to their ability, to understand him in all lands and in all the ages. How else could he show that his love is universal and that his care is over all? The science of religion, then, is vindicating God. It relieves him from the charge of partiality, and vindicates both the wisdom and goodness which provide for man according to his needs and capacity, not forgetting in our problem that capacity is largely the measure of need. In this way it finds a place for Moses as well as for Jesus, for the pedestal as well as for the topstone which is brought on with shoutings of "Grace, grace unto it."

But the great thing to be overcome in order to a profitable study of comparative religion, we must further insist, is ignorance. In so far as we approach the subject as partisans we are disqualified. A judicial frame of mind is necessary in order to a fair consideration of all the elements in the case. We must not judge any religion by its worst specimens, and certainly not by what its enemies may say of it. Even Christianity itself could not bear the test of being handled in that way. In every case doctrines and worship should be interpreted in the best sense that they bear. It is not so much what they would mean to us as it is what they mean to them. That is a vital matter, and it would seem that there can be little further excuse for misinterpretation and misapprehension, since able papers—by representative men, many of whom were commissioned, or at least selected, because of their special fitness for that work—were read in the Parliament of Religions, which expounded nearly all the faiths, little as well as great. A careful study of those papers should yield large results in the way of correcting and enlarging our views and

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opinions respecting the various religions of the world. We need not shrink from giving them each and all their full meed of praise, because to do justice to other religions is not to do injustice to our own. It is not necessary, we should think, that our religion has less truth and power because other religions have some truth. This is not a case in which others can have nothing, even if we have all. It is possible, nay, it is certain, that at many points they and we have much in common. Our thesis, "comparative religion," presupposes that there is much in common, or there could be no comparison. What is in common should be considered to have the very stamp of God on it as being fundamental, the true bread of heaven, without which the religious nature in man would perish. Where the paths diverge, there, it may be, some have lost their way. Of course, we cannot quite assume that the divergent paths are none of them essential; but we do know that, however a man may miss his way in respect to creeds and ceremonies, if he fear God and work righteousness he has kept in the middle of the road that leads to eternal life. All the great religions emphasize the necessity of a pure life. That is one thing they all have in common, and that cannot be bad in one system which is good in another. That and all other things which religions have in common are either all good or all bad, wherever one finds them. The necessity is upon us to say all good, because in no other way can we account for their universality. Man, the "religious animal," as Burke calls him, must have something to meet and satisfy the wants of his religious nature. The universality of the religious nature in man, the exponent of which is the universal hunger of the soul after God, no matter by what name he may be called, or whether he be clearly apprehended or not, has not been sufficiently noted. The universality of religion, including dogma, worship, and practice, not excluding its crudities as absurdities, is a fact that must be explained. It all means something, and it is as unscientific to pass over it without explanation as it would be to leave the mountains or any other great fact in nature unexplained in geology. The moral and religious nature of man is entitled to a soil in which to grow. The barren rocks and heaths of infidelity and agnosticism afford no such soil, and, besides being an affront to his intelligence, are repudiated by

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man's spiritual nature. The search after God is not unwarranted and not in vain; the effort to find out how best to live is not without utility; the hope of a future life is not without an inspiration that reacts favorably upon the present; and all our questionings after God, all our strivings after purity in the present life, and all our hopes for the future find their own best answer in the heart-hunger of the human soul.

In speaking of what is in common among great religions we must begin with teachings and faiths in respect to the existence of God. It has been said that no people has been found, or can be found, that is utterly atheistic. On the other hand, it has generally been claimed that Buddhism is both atheistic and nihilistic; but it may be reasonably doubted whether *Nirvana* is annihilation, and whether pantheism is not a more exact equivalent for its teaching in respect to God than is atheism. When the Buddhist teaches that there is no beginning and no end in all things, and therefore concludes there is no "one creator," he does not, as we understand him, mean to deny that there is God. The Japanese Buddhist holds that Vairokana is not the same as one creator; that is to say, though there may not be a creator, there may be God. And yet it must be acknowledged that most writers hold Buddhism to be atheistic. And again, it might seem that the old Turanian family is without any proper knowledge of God; but a closer study will convince us to the contrary. In eastern Asia, it is true, the idea generally prevails that all things are without beginning or end, and therefore that a creator without beginning or end is unnecessary and superfluous; and yet, even in that section, there is some name to represent Deity. In Chinese, "Tien," as Max Müller has shown us, originally meant the sky; but it has come to mean more than sky; it is the "one" and the "great;" and because it is one, they hence conclude that there cannot be many gods. And we further have Müller for authority that this Chinese "Tien" has passed through nearly all the phases, from the lowest to the highest; that "Dyans," the Aryan name for sky, passed in the poetry, religion, mythology, and philosophy of India and Greece. It will be a painful surprise to some to learn, though it ought not to be, that away back among some parent stock, and in some root-language from which it may be all ancient and modern languages have sprung,

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God was known and called by some name that might have meant to them exactly what our names of him mean to us. Older than the Latin, the Greek, and possibly also than the Sanskrit, is the prayer to the "Heaven-Father," the "Dyaus Pitar" of the Veda. Even Moses borrowed much from the Egyptians, and he did well to do so. His "I AM THAT I AM" is but the "Nuk pu Nuk" of the old Egyptian inscriptions. God's name is in all lands, and there has been some thought of him, however imperfect it may have been, that has everywhere and always favorably affected the great mass of mankind. And it was no disparagement of Moses that he used what he found in Egypt that was helpful any more than it was of Jesus that he taught many things after Moses. In each case it was the present legitimately building on the past.

The doctrine of the Trinity, or of three in one, variety in unity, is also common to many of the great religions. It is Egyptian as well as Hindu, and antedates in those religions by many centuries any Christian statement of that doctrine. And there were incarnations before that of Jesus—Krishna and Osiris, for example—with many incidents connected therewith, almost identical with those of the gospels. In the case of the Egyptian Osiris, he was killed, recovered from the dead, and became the judge of men. Such traditions are startling, and one's first impulse is to cry, "Myth, myth! they are all myths, not excepting the incarnation of Jesus!" But a truer, profounder view is, that as Confucius prophesied that the holy man should come from the West, so these represent the heart-longings of the world for the coming of the divine man, and are prophetic of his advent. In the same line is the fact that a doctrine of the Logos was expounded by Philo before it was by John; but it remained for John to give it such a setting, to put it in such concrete form, that it is his doctrine of the Logos that the world cares to know about, and not that of Philo, for Philo gave us an abstraction that the world cares little for, while John gave us the concrete Christ whom the world loves and adores. And, still further, as the life is more than creed or worship, there are common to all the religions moral codes which, though not identical, are approximately sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life. Even before the time of Abraham the Egyptians had a moral code which, though it may not have

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carried with it the same divine authority, did cover substantially the same ground as that delivered by Moses to the Israelites in the Ten Commandments; and Buddhism, it is claimed, though supposed to be atheistic, had the most perfect moral code in the world prior to Christianity. And the rules of Confucius for the regulation of men in all their social relations were certainly of a very high order. There is no religion, as Max Müller has said, that does not say, "Do good; avoid evil." There is none that does not contain what Rabbi Willet calls the quintessence of religion, the simple warning, "Be good, my boy." "'Be good, my boy,' may be a very short catechism; but let us add to it, 'Be good, my boy, for God's sake,' and we have in it very nearly the whole of the law and the prophets." In all religions, too, there has been consciousness of sin, penance, sacrifice, prayer, contemplation, and worship; in all a more or less well-directed effort to overcome the evil, and to raise life to its best possible conditions. We have nothing to do at present with the vagaries and incongruities of religion, with reasons for faith that are contradictory, with ideals for life that are imperfect, with forms of worship which are grotesque and foolish, or with lives that are immoral. All these things we must expect because of the limitations of the finite, for we cannot conceive how, constituted as man is, they can be avoided; but that all the religions should have so much in common that has to do with the well-being of man in the present life, not to speak now of a life beyond, bespeaks for them all not only a common but also a divine origin.

It is a wonder to many, not to say also a suspicious surprise, that the great religions do hold so much in common. It is a fact, however, that can be rationally accounted for. As the science of language points to the unity of the human race, to some far-off Akkad and Shinar where humanity was cradled, so also does the science of religion point, as we have a right to expect it would, to the unity of revelation and faith. The Aryan, Semitic, Hamitic, and Turanian peoples, all variously distributed into smaller streams, have come down to us from some primal center, and have brought along with them their mythologies and traditions, their revelations and religions, which, though variously named, are sufficiently alike to show their kinship. It is no wonder then that the Babylonian tab-

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lets and Hebrew Scriptures should have similar accounts of creation and other early events in the history of the world, and that the mythologies and anthropologies of so many nations should bear upon their very face the evident marks of a common origin. Neither is it any wonder that the invocation in the Veda to the "Heaven-Father" should find its equivalent in so many languages, or its highest and final expression in the universal prayer, "Our Father who art in heaven." It is no disparagement of Jesus that he borrowed the words "Heaven-Father," but it is his glory that he illuminated them with a meaning that they never had before. For if it does not detract from him, when teaching Semitic peoples of God, that he used the same names which were used before there were such languages as Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, and before there were such peoples as the Babylonians, the Phœnicians, and the Jews, why should it disparage him as a teacher if we find that men worshiped God under the name of the "Heaven-Father" before there were such languages as the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, and before there were such peoples as the Hindus, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutons? No matter what words were used, it is Christ alone who "hath showed us the Father." It is his glory that filled the words "Father in heaven" with a divine content, namely, the universal fatherhood of God. And, because of this, we should not let the unity of the race too largely explain the fact that the contents of religion are everywhere so much the same. Men have a common Father, and this universal Father has exercised a universal care. He has not neglected his children. Divine neglect cannot account for diverse human conditions without giving us a God whom we could neither love nor worship. But the God we love has been in the world from the beginning, and will be in it to the end. He has written his laws everywhere, and has raised up great teachers in every nation. Confucius and Buddha, Zoroaster and Socrates, Moses and Jesus, were all great religious teachers, and each taught much that was common to them all, many sayings of Buddha and Jesus even being almost identical. But as Mazoomdar has beautifully said, "In the high realm of that undying wisdom the Hebrew, the Hindu, the Mongolian, the Christian are ever as one, for that wisdom is no part of themselves, but the self-revelation of God. The Hindu books have

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not plagiarized the Bible, Christianity has not plundered Buddhism, but universal wisdom is like unto itself everywhere." God is indeed one, and his revelation is one also; that is to say, it is all in the same line. It may be differently apprehended, because his children are not of equal ability, and therefore cannot find how to understand him alike. They are not all yet able to bear his complete self-revelation. God in Christ, "reconciling the world unto himself," is the highest truth. It is the truth of God and man, not apart, but together. The great teachers are bringing men to Jesus, and Jesus is bringing them on to that. It is his glory that never man spoke like himself. We have named him along with the other great teachers, but he is too large for possible classification with any of them. The teaching of the fatherhood of God is distinctively his, as also by implication and inference, at least, is that of the brotherhood of man. He gives God and man in such relations that they can live together. He does not, with Hinduism, lose the finite in the infinite, and so rob this life of its significance; nor does he, with the Buddhist, do away with the infinite in order to make room for the finite, and so rob man of God's help to lead a virtuous life. His doctrine of sin and salvation is unique. In his view sin is a personal matter. He knows nothing about Adam or imputed sin or transmitted depravity, and so also he knows nothing about appropriating some other man's good works and righteousness in order to salvation. The difficulties in the way of the prodigal's return to the father are, in his view, not governmental, but moral. Salvation is a personal matter, and is achieved by a faith that obeys. With him obedience is salvation; or, as John puts it, "He that doeth righteousness is righteous." But, in order to this, man must be born from above, which means that God is a great factor in human salvation. The inspiration to return and the power to receive and forgive are alike in God. Hence the prayer, "Our Father who art in heaven . . . forgive us our trespasses . . . deliver us from evil."

In the hands of Jesus the present life gained tremendous significance from the life which is to come. Confucius, on being asked as to the condition of the soul after leaving this world, answered, "We do not know this life; how then can we know death?" How incomparably superior are the words of

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Jesus, "Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions." Blessed words are these, words that have filled the world with light and hope! Jesus alone "hath brought life and immortality to light." And so a comparison of Jesus with other great teachers will at all points display his unequaled and superlative greatness. Even an old truth gained new life and power and beauty by the new setting that he gave it. The so-called golden rule of Confucius is altogether another and a diviner thing in the teaching of Jesus. Changed from its negative to its positive form it marks all the difference between the doctrine of reciprocity as given by Confucius and the "new commandment" as taught by Jesus Christ—a commandment which implies a higher ethical and religious standard than was ever before known to man. It was fit that he who could teach in such a strain should give the form of prayer that was used at the World's Parliament of Religions; and that men of all nations and of all faiths in this nineteenth century of the Lord Christ should say, "Our Father who art in heaven;" for it was in itself a distinct prophecy, and in a large way also the fulfillment of the prediction that "every knee" shall bow and every tongue "confess that Jesus is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

But no study in religions can be satisfactory which does not bring them each and all to the test of experience and fruit. Jesus said, "By their fruits ye shall know them." That, after all, is the supreme test. God and man must be put into personal harmonious relations. Men, seeking after God, "if haply" they may "find him," must be found by God seeking after men. This seeking God, trying to reconcile his children, and glad to receive them when they return to him, is Christ's greatest teaching. But this at-one-ment, in order to be effective, must be to man not a mere theory, but a conscious, vitalizing fact. The birth from above, the effusion and infusion of the divine Spirit upon and into humanity, can alone insure that altruistic spirit which, whether in Jesus or in us, sacrifices self in order to the salvation of the lost. "God with us," "Christ in us," give life, experience, and power, and fully account for that characteristic of Christianity which so much distinguishes it from all other religions, namely, its vitalizing force as

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exhibited in the political, social, moral, and religious condition of the peoples when its best work has been done. The elevation of woman, the significance and sacredness of childhood, the abolition of slavery, the improved condition of the masses, the hospital for the sick, and the asylum for the unfortunate, together with other innumerable humanities, characterize everywhere Christianity's humane sway. It is no accident then that Christian nations to-day are leading the world in art and science, in inventions and humanities, in morals and religion, and are dominating it also by their power. It is no accident that India is springing out of its former darkness and chaos into the light and order and beauty of a new day, under the inspiration of Christian teaching and rule. It is no accident that Japan should have begun to put on new power since even its partial reception of Christianity. The entrance of God's pure word everywhere giveth light. Even if our Christianity, as we have it, misinterpreted and maligned, apologized for more than is needed or helpful, can do all this, what might it not do if it could only interpret the Christ so that in all minds Christ and Christianity should stand for one?

And now we are ready to accept the implied challenge of Colonel T. W. Higginson, that "the broadest religion is the best." By that very sign may we not claim that Christianity is the best? If we may not claim it for the Christianity of the Churches, the Christianity that has been corrupted and limited by the very work it has done and the victories it has won—though even that we will not concede—we may and will claim it for the Christianity of Jesus Christ. For what can be broader than the "Father in heaven," the "one God and Father of all;" than the everywhere Spirit, "a measure of which is given to every man to profit withal;" than that love for the world which gave an "only begotten Son" in order to the salvation of the lost; than the commission to go "into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;" than the invitation, "Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely?" Or, what can be broader or more catholic than the purpose to bring the "other sheep" not of this fold, that there may be "one fold and one shepherd?" Or, finally, what can be broader or better than the hope immortal, and the life eternal, for which Jesus alone lays sufficient foundation?

J. F. Schaffer

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Art. IX.—METHODS AND PRINCIPLES—A STUDY IN METHODIST POLITY.

Principles are invariable and eternal. Methods are variable and temporal. The doctrines of Methodism we hold to be scriptural, and, in the main, phrased in conformity with the large and brotherly spirit of the New Testament. The principles at the root of her economy—such as itinerancy, episcopacy, the two orders, government by laymen and pastors—while they are not of divine ordering, have, however, so well approved themselves that it may be taken for granted that there is no serious intention of disturbing or displacing them. When, however, this has been said, it still remains true that a variety of methods, customs, and practices do exist concerning which there are grave differences of opinion. As time slips by these differences are becoming more and more accentuated, and it is easy to see that the cry for change grows more clamorous every year. This is just what we should expect. Methodism at the beginning was, in the main, a change of methods. She introduced no distinctively new doctrine; she simply emphasized and brought into prominence the doctrines of the Reformation which had either been obscured or forgotten. Her methods were simply the exigencies of her condition, or, if one prefers, the providential guidings starting her on her career.

Those who oppose changes of any kind are fond of saying that "Methodism is the child of Providence." By this they seem to mean that in its initial stages Methodism was divinely guided. Men of great brain and large heart were by God called for specific work, and by his Spirit they were specially illumined. Hence arises the opposition to change and the inclination to think that whoever offers any modification of existing methods is worthy the fate of those who impiously touched the ark of Israel. What they really mean to say is that Methodism was the child of Providence, but that now Providence has withdrawn and that there is neither voice, nor sign, nor any that regards the call and cry for guidance and for light. The underlying assumption is that God has fixed once and forever the metes and bounds of our Zion, and that it only remains for us to move in the cut grooves and the well-defined orbits of

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the past. We are of those who veritably believe that Methodism not only was, but still is, the child of Providence. While we believe that John Wesley was a Spirit-guided man, we also believe that there are men to-day who are equally so guided; and we are convinced that if Mr. Wesley lived in the end of the nineteenth, rather than of the eighteenth, century he would be the last man to oppose change simply because it was change. The appeal to Wesley, then, can have no weight with thoughtful men, save as that appeal can be shown to ground itself in reason and in its adaptability to the needs of to-day. "God is not dumb, that he should speak no more."

Sixteen consecutive years in the pastorate must necessarily give any observant man a fairly correct view of the strength or weakness of our various methods. In dealing, then, with some of these methods let it be understood that we assume the pastor's standpoint and speak out of an experience born of a conscientious attempt to faithfully administer the work committed to our care.

According to our present rule no one can be admitted into full membership in our Church until he has met at least six months in class. It will be admitted, we think, that this rule, obligatory upon every church and pastor, is in many places far from being obeyed in its spirit and intent. It is not denied that we make a technical assignment, or that we organize a special probationers' class expected to go out of existence so soon as it shall have served its purpose. It is a temporary bridge across an ugly gulf. The contention here is that the rule as to class is, in very many cases, observed only by a sort of moral legerdemain, by the use of temporary makeshifts, and that when one looks closely at the present practice he is permitted to doubt whether it conduces more to a high than to a low moral tone. Instead of spending time in bewailing the decadence of the class, would it not be well to face the facts and see if it cannot be modified, improved, and adapted to present-day life? Dr. Stevens clearly shows that originally the class was not at all designed as a plan for spiritual culture. It was purely a financial plan, a good medium for collecting the "penny-a-week and shilling-a-quarter" pledges to the chapel debts. Afterward it was seen to be a good agency for heart culture, and was so used. Another thing that must not be

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forgotten is that originally the class leader was the pastor. Preachers were few, were absent on preaching tours, and if a member was absent or sick or careless the class leader visited, comforted, and counseled. If to-day the leader does not find his members in class, what does he do? Visit? No, he scolds those who are present, or he inveighs against the decadence of the class-meeting spirit. We are not at all inclined to blame the leaders, as many of them are so situated that they cannot visit. The demands of business practically prohibit them from such work. If our time were as the time of a century since, if class leaders to-day could do the work of their predecessors, old-time classes could still be profitably maintained; but since neither of these things is so, nor can be made so, it is evident that some modification needs to be made. It is little better than insincerity to laud this means of grace and make it obligatory for six months, and then to let it go by the board. In adapting our class system to the life of to-day we must remember that very many of our members, and in many sections an increasing number, make no pretense of attending class. It will not do to say that these people are formalists, worldlings, or backsliders. To so state would be to utter a gross slander and a palpable untruth. Among these nonattendants will be found some of our most intelligent and spiritual people, men and women the charm of whose companionship is their intelligent devotion to the spirit of Methodism and the evident sincerity and undoubted piety of their daily living. It will not do to thrust them aside with a pietistic sneer; nor is it wise to continue to keep them in the attitude of rule-breakers. On the other hand, every candid observer must admit that there are thousands to whom class attendance is not only a rule to be obeyed, a duty to be performed, but even more, a privilege to be enjoyed. Probably no service is capable of yielding more genuine delight than the class, when it fits into the circumstances of one's life and the aptitude of his mind. What is true of individuals is equally true with respect to churches. Some of our churches are so circumstanced, so supplied with suitable leaders, that class meetings prosper; others, again, are of such a sort that no pastor, however great his interest or enthusiasm, has been able to give to the class anything but a feeble and fitful existence. The growth of our young people's organizations was something

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that could not be foreseen a century since, and needs to be taken into consideration in any readjustment that is to be made. Of course, any change in our class rule necessitates a corresponding change in our probationary system. A proper modification, and one that would seem to meet all the requirements of the case, would be to make class attendance optional rather than obligatory. Let it be presented in the light of a most delightsome privilege, and not as a positive duty, and thus give to the individual member his choice as to methods of spiritual culture. The probationary term may then be continued as at present, or, if it seems wise, either reduced or extended, and probationers be admitted into full membership upon the recommendation of the stewards and the answering of the present disciplinary questions.

The question which, next to the class and probationary system, most taxes the ingenuity of the pastor who would at once be wise, loyal, and conscientious is probably the amusement question. Concerning this so much has already been written that there is not need of many words. Nor is there expectation of saying anything especially original. A chief indictment against ¶ 240 is that it is neither obeyed nor enforced. In its present form it is mandatory, and the member who deliberately attends a theater or a dancing party for the third time, after proper advisement, should, in conformity with the rule, be expelled. Either the rule means that or it is meaningless. Now, it is notorious that the rule is not enforced. It either should be enforced or modified. A more far-reaching objection to the rule may be found in the fact that the theory underlying it runs directly counter to the whole Protestant position. It is the essence of Romanism to deny liberty of individual judgment and to make the Church the guardian of the individual conscience. Loyalty to the mandates of the Church secures eternal blessedness, and that Church therefore logically may prescribe concerning all the *minutiæ* of a man's daily life. Not so Protestantism. With us liberty of judgment and of conscience is a cardinal principle, and we have no right to create, or attempt to create, an artificial conscience. Broad principles grounded in the word of God we may declare and maintain, but the attempt to regulate by statute the details of every man's doing is to entangle us again in the yoke of mediæval bondage. Many who

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believe the rule unwise yet hesitate to favor any change, because such action will cause us to be misunderstood and our position misinterpreted. That has happened to the Methodist Episcopal Church before, and we are well able to stand it again. It is better to be misunderstood than to be wrong. Our Church ought not to be a weather-vane. The General Conference Journal for 1892 shows that, while many petitioners prayed for the removal or the modification of the rule, not a few, including many of our young people in the West, strenuously insisted on its retention. It would seem that the matter might easily be adjusted in a satisfactory manner by the retention of our general rule on the subject of amusements and the relegation of ¶ 240, or at least the questionable and debatable portion of it, to the Appendix, as being an expression of the godly judgment of the Church concerning the questions therein discussed. The present general rule is sufficient to enable any wise pastor to weed incarnate worldliness out of the Church.

It may be taken for granted that itinerancy is a settled part of Methodist economy. While we find a few who would abolish it altogether, it is doubtless true that the rank and file, both of the ministry and of the laymen, like the system and will not consent to its destruction. This being so, it is equally true that there is a growing conviction that the principle itself must be made more flexible and less arbitrary. Holding to the principle as we do, believing it to be the best system of ministerial supply that has yet appeared, not being unmindful of the dangers and infelicities of change, none the less we think changes ought to and surely will come. Originally Methodist ministers changed about because the supply was not equal to the demand. This was true in Wesley's time, true in Asbury's day, but only partially true to-day. In the settled portions of the country there is practically a preacher for every preaching place. Thus one necessity for the old-time itinerancy has vanished, and with it one phase of itinerancy itself. We do not find men now campaigning the length of a county or of a State. Originally the itinerant preacher had a pastor in the class leader who was settled in one place; this is not now possible, and hence makes the longer stay of the preacher a greater necessity than formely.

A tendency of to-day is organization with central control.

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This is evident in industrial, civic, and literary life. It is also coming to be evident in ecclesiastical life. Conwell in Philadelphia, Dickinson in Boston, Greer in New York, are the executive heads of great institutions. The men under them may be changed, but to change them by the tick of the clock would be the height of folly. Now, the institutional church, so called, is not needed everywhere, but it is needed somewhere. And somewhere the Methodist form of it is needed. There is not a great city in the land where one or more such churches of our denomination ought not to be found; and in many a town of from twenty to thirty thousand we could capture the middle classes for the next half century if only we were equipped to do the work that should be done. The preacher of to-day is not merely a herald to call men to repentance. He is a master builder fitting stones into an enduring temple. He must touch the whole life of his town—civic, social, commercial, literary, philanthropic, and religious. Is the Methodist preacher doing this? Is it possible for him to do it under existing conditions? An answer may be found in the fact that in an elaborate illustrated article written by Mr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, entitled "The Higher Life of New York City," * there is not seen the face of a single Methodist nor the portrayal of any Methodist institution as a force in that "higher life." This is not saying that there are none worthy of a place in the pages mentioned; but it is at least an evidence that the impression made by our work and our workers is all too small. Now, it requires no great depth of thought to understand why as yet Methodism has developed no such eminently great work or workers. Many a man has been deterred from even beginning a work of the kind indicated, because he could hardly get it well begun before he would be forced to move. His successor, with the best intentions, might be woefully unqualified for such work, and what he started would stand a babel tower—a monument of his folly. No such work as has been done by Conwell or Dickinson can even be contemplated under our system of universal and arbitrary change. If the large amount of money expended in "advance movements" in New York had been put into one of our existing institutions under the control and

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management of a fit and permanent leader, would not the results have been larger and worthier?

Undoubtedly the time has come when Methodism should make some suitable provision for the enlarging of her activities and for conserving and using the power of fit men for fit work and in the fit place. It seems not a little singular that Methodism, which in the person and practice of Wesley was so far ahead of the age with respect to philanthropic work, is now a good laggard in the race. The old Foundry was the seedling of the present institutional church. It instructed and clothed children, ministered to the physical and intellectual as well as the spiritual needs of men and women, and seems to have anticipated nearly all the agencies now so effectively employed in various forward movements. Methodism has its great hold upon the middle classes, and in nearly every factory town and village it could double and treble its influence and its power if it would only do something besides preach and pray. For a long time we have despised and deprecated endowment. It is an exceedingly difficult thing to make either the ministry or the laity see that church endowment is a good thing. To endow a hospital or a college is most praiseworthy, but to endow a church is a bit of folly, we are told. Our papers nearly all take this ground, yet our Episcopalian friends evidently think differently. Could Trinity, or Grace, or St. George do their mighty works without their practical endowments in buildings and bonds? There is a great opportunity for the man who will be brave, generous, and wise enough to forever lift some Methodist church by munificent endowment out of the realm of chance with respect to its benevolent and philanthropic activities. When this is done, then it will be possible to group all philanthropic work under the church, and it will be done in the name of Christ. At present much of such work is outside of the church, and by many it is supposed to be in spite of the church. The truth is that nine tenths of the support of all such movements comes from the church, yet it gets but slight credit therefor.

For the development and carrying out of such work as has here been indicated it is evident that permanent leadership is essential. In making any modification of our itinerant system in the direction suggested two things at least are obvious. The

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first is that the Quarterly Conference should no longer be the creature of the pastor. Provision should be made for the making of that body more thoroughly representative of the membership than it now is. The second is that no radical change, such as the absolute abrogation of the limit, should be made without the consent of the laity. The ministry may and rightly should take the initiative, should reason and counsel, but it should by no means attempt to coerce the membership. If the time is not ripe for the removal it doubtless will be soon; at least it is ripe for a modification permitting some men to remain in some places, and that modification should not be delayed beyond the session of the coming General Conference.

A consideration of the composition and work of the General Conference itself gives clear evidence of the need of readjustment. The question of membership is already at the front. The inequalities of the present system are easily discernible. A Conference of only fifteen members is entitled to two delegates, a Conference of three hundred members to nine, ministerial and lay. Five small Conferences, with from seventy-five to a hundred members, can outvote a Conference with a membership of three hundred and more. The discrepancy is more evident if we take into account the number of church members. Already the size of the body makes it unwieldy and renders careful legislation very difficult. Such a body is peculiarly liable to emotional waves, and is apt to be sensitive as much to the fervency of the demagogue as to the wisdom of the statesman. It now seems evident that the lay and ministerial delegates will be equalized in number. But, even with the proposed reduction of ministerial representation to one in sixty-five, the body will be far too large for the purposes of a deliberative assembly. In the *Methodist Review* for March–April, 1891, the late Dr. Sandford Hunt considers the two-house plan as advocated in several General Conferences by Dr. W. H. Perrine. To our mind the arguments of Drs. Perrine and Hunt have not been undermined nor their positions successfully controverted. Two houses, in which the ministry and laity would meet, deliberate, and vote separately, would allow a little larger representation of each order than would be wise or practicable if they continue to sit and act as one body. It would undoubtedly

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conduce to much more wise and careful legislation. It would also place a greater responsibility upon the laity. It is a well-known fact that now it is exceedingly difficult to keep the laymen till the close of the session. Under the present system they slip out, and the ministers are sufficient to keep a quorum. Under the two-house plan, with the necessity for a quorum in each, this could not happen.

A matter that should have prompt, careful, and wise consideration is our relation to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The animating cause of the separation is nonexistent. Our presence in the Southern States is irritating, and the extension of the Southern work west and north is a growing cause of unbrotherliness. Add to this that we are in the same foreign fields, and that the only distinguishing feature is the word "South," and it is readily seen that our present relations are neither wise nor Christian. Of course the difficulty is with the black man. We of the North, however, are learning that we have not been always wise in our methods of dealing with the negro. We begin to realize that brotherly love for a negro in South Carolina is one thing and brotherly love for a negro in Brooklyn is another and vastly different thing. The one is sentimental and easily cultivated, the other is factual and calls for a strain of character not yet too common among us. In Hartford and Boston, the other day, negroes of the highest character were turned away from many hotels. The South, too, is learning. She is beginning to feel that her own salvation depends upon the salvation, education, and elevation of her wards. Such men as Bishop Galloway and the late Bishop Haygood have done much to clear the atmosphere. It is evident that we are not yet ready for organic union. To force that now would be to sacrifice the negro. And though some of our leaders seem ready to thrust the black man out, if only we may clasp the Southern white to our bosom, we do not think the sentiment of the Church is with them. Nor should it be with them. We cannot sacrifice the principle for which we have stood and still stand, even for so worthy a consummation as organic union. But, while not ready for this, we ought to be, and are, evidently ready for federation. A fair recognition of the worthy work of each should not be difficult. The younger men of each section will not much longer consent to

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fight over again the battles of the fathers. Where the Church South is in the home or foreign fields, and is doing true work, or will agree to do it, we not only should allow her so to do, but should help her in it. It hardly needs to be said that, if we are doing the work well in any spot on earth, our Southern brothers should give us all possible aid and comfort. The situation is difficult and delicate, but much can and should be done to lessen the strain. Confidence should replace suspicion, brotherly kindness recrimination, and mutual helpfulness take the place of denominational bigotry and haughty indifference. Surely, if slowly, by the way of federation and brotherly love, we should move toward the desired and ultimate goal of reunion.

There are many other questions that might well engage our attention—the episcopacy, the eldership, the constitution, the method of elections, and the consolidation of benevolences—but time and space forbid the further extension of this article. What is needed is not rash iconoclasm, but wise and conservative reforming; a building of the superstructure upon the old foundations; an adaptation of the underlying and universally accepted Methodistic principles to the needs of to-day by means of modern methods; and an abiding conviction that the divine Spirit is in the men and Church of to-day, even as he was in the men and the Church of the past. For the doing of this work may God grant us men with a sufficiency of wisdom, grace, and strength—men who will have faith in the eternity of principles, no matter how the exigencies of time may change the methods of application.

Take heart! the Waster builds again,
A charmèd life old Goodness hath,
The tares may perish—but the grain
Is not for death.

David G. Downey.

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ART. X.—HISTORY OF THE THIRD RESTRICTIVE RULE.

ALL the earlier General Conferences, from 1784 to 1808 inclusive, were simply mass meetings of Methodist traveling ministers; for, as a fact, that of 1784 had sixty-three present, or exactly three fourths of all the traveling ministers. This proportion was not much, if any, less up to 1808. The members were especially careful in these mass meeting General Conferences to guard the rights of the minority, and they were careful also to avoid all rash or ill-advised changes. They adopted and sacredly kept the agreement at all their mass meeting General Conferences not to make any changes in any received rule of Methodism without a two-third majority. All the proceedings of the eleven General Conferences of the Church from 1796 to 1836 inclusive are contained in one large octavo volume of 504 pages, while the proceedings of the General Conference of 1892 fill a large octavo volume of 776 pages; that is to say, the entire proceedings of all the General Conferences of the Church for forty years occupy a little less than two thirds of the space of the proceedings of the last General Conference.

This first volume of proceedings is an unusual book. Many of the features of those early General Conferences—as the *personnel* of the delegates, their somewhat quaint methods of parliamentary procedure, and their action upon such matters as the retailing of spirituous liquors or the purchase of lottery tickets by "our preachers and private members"—would be subjects of engaging study did opportunity permit their mention. Confining our attention, however, to one point of history—in view of recently published statements challenging the validity of the third restrictive rule—we propose to give from the Journals the facts as to the restrictive rules.

On Monday afternoon, May 9, 1808, William Phœbus moved, and the motion was seconded by Daniel Hall, "that the Conference now go into the business relative to regulating and perpetuating General Conferences in future," the subject to be taken up on the morrow. A memorial from the New York Conference was also read—unanimously adopted by that body and concurred in by the New England, Western, and South

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Carolina Conferences—on the necessity of a delegated General Conference. At the morning session of May 10, Bishop Asbury having called for "the mind of the Conference, whether any further regulations in the order of the General Conference be necessary," the question was "carried in the affirmative." Stephen G. Roszel, of Baltimore, and William Burke, of Kentucky, moved and seconded that a committee be appointed to draw up and present to the Conference "such regulations as they may think best to regulate the General Conferences," and the motion was carried. A motion being lost that the committee "consist of three members from each Annual Conference, their own members present," it was ordered that the committee "be formed by two from each of the Conferences, chosen by their respective Conferences." As there were seven Conferences, this made the "Committee of Fourteen," so called, on General Conference regulations. On Monday morning, May 16, the report of the Committee of Fourteen, "relative to regulating and perpetuating General Conferences," was read. In the afternoon the debate on the report was continued. It was moved and seconded by Ezekiel Cooper and Joshua Wells "to postpone the present question to make room for the consideration of a new resolution, as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine on the present subject." The motion was carried. Then the same gentlemen moved and seconded that, in the fifth section of the Discipline, after the question, "By whom shall the presiding elders be chosen?" the answer should be: "Answer 1. Each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose by ballot its own presiding elders." The debate on the presiding elder question continued on Monday afternoon, on Tuesday morning and afternoon, and also on Wednesday morning, when it was decided adversely by a vote of 52 yeas to 73 nays. At the close of the Wednesday afternoon session it was on motion voted that "the vote on the first resolution of the report of the Committee of Fourteen be taken by ballot." This first resolution of the report, that "the General Conference shall be composed of delegates from the Annual Conferences," was then put to vote, and was lost by 57 yeas to 74 nays. On Monday, May 23, near the close of the morning session, the Conference on motion decided to fix the time and place of the next General Conference. Then

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it was decided to lay over this motion "until it be determined who shall compose the General Conference." Then it was voted by a large majority that the ratio of representation should be "one member for every five members of each Annual Conference." It was then moved and carried that each Annual Conference should decide for itself whether it elect by seniority or by ballot. On the afternoon of the same day the quorum of the General Conference was fixed at "two thirds of the representatives of all the Annual Conferences." On Tuesday, May 24, it was moved from the chair and carried "that the report of the Committee of Review lie on the table until the regulations concerning the General Conference be determined."

The next action was as follows: "Moved by Jesse Lee, and seconded by William Burke, that the next General Conference shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away episcopacy, or to destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency. Carried." It was then moved by Stephen G. Roszel, and seconded by George Pickering, "that one of the superintendents preside in the General Conference; but in case of the absence of a superintendent the Conference shall elect a president *pro tem.*" This was carried. It was further moved by Roszel, and seconded by Nelson Reed, that the General Conference have "full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church under the following restrictions:"

1. The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our Articles of Religion, nor establish any new standard or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine.

2. They shall not allow of more than one representative for every five members of the Annual Conference, nor allow of a less number than one for every seven.

3. They shall not make or change the "General Rules of the United Societies."

4. They shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers of trial by a committee and of an appeal; neither shall they do away the privileges of our members of trial before the society, or by committee, and of an appeal.

5. They shall not appropriate the produce of the Book Concern or of the Charter Fund to any purpose other than for the benefit of the traveling, supernumerary, superannuated, and worn-out preachers, their wives, widows, and children.

These restrictions were all adopted, as also the proviso for changing any of them. At the afternoon session of the same

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day two motions about the General Conference were offered and carried—the first by Daniel Ostrander, providing for a called General Conference; and the second by the chair, declaring that the General Conference shall meet "once in four years, perpetually, at such place or places as shall be fixed on by the General Conference from time to time." On the afternoon of May 26, 1808, the last day of that General Conference, it was voted that no preacher should be sent as a delegate until he had traveled at least four full calendar years from the time of his reception on trial, he being also at the time of such election a member of an Annual Conference in full connection.

We have thus given in detail the full text of all the action of the General Conference of 1808 concerning a permanent delegated Conference. Unless in the printed Journal of the Conference of 1808 there has been serious omission or error as to the action taken at that session, the conclusion is inevitable that the equal validity of the third restrictive rule with the other restrictive rules is clearly a matter of construction. The other five restrictive rules debar any and all succeeding General Conferences from changing any and all of them, except in a certain prescribed manner. The action of the General Conference of 1808 on the third restrictive rule only restricted "the next General Conference" from changing or altering "any part or rule of our government so as to do away episcopacy, or to destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." It is the theory of some that, by the modified form of its adoption, the third restrictive rule exhausted itself with the General Conference of 1812, leaving all succeeding General Conferences to act in any manner they might choose as to the episcopacy and the itinerant general superintendency. Yet that is not our opinion.

Assuming that there is no other authentic General Conference record of 1808 than this now under review, as undoubtedly there is not, it follows that the printed record of the Conference of 1808 is unimpeachable, upon any reasonable hypothesis. The following reasons are given for this conclusion:

1. It was printed by order of the Conference of 1852.

2. If the validity of this record can be impeached, so can all our early historic documents be accounted as unreliable.

3. The loss of the manuscript Journal of the General Con-

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ference of 1808, for a few days, is attributable to the death of John Wilson, the secretary of that General Conference. It has no invalidating effect upon the record.

4. The book editor, Rev. John McClintock, D.D., who edited and published these Journals, vouches for the fidelity of the reprint, as a true copy of the manuscript Journals of 1808.

5. The printed Journals show great care and pains by the secretary to keep a correct and intelligible record of the proceedings. The minutes were approved at each session.

The failure of the third restrictive rule needs to be accounted for. Note the following facts: The Journal shows that after the report of the Committee of Fourteen had been read and discussed through two sessions, the morning and afternoon sessions of May 16, its further consideration was postponed "to make room for the consideration of a new resolution, as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine on the present subject." Thus, for some days, the regulations of the proposed General Conference were laid aside until the burning question of the election of presiding elders by the Annual Conferences was disposed of. It thus seems probable that the friends of the delegated General Conference regarded the passage of the regulations for the delegated General Conference as quite doubtful, if not impossible, until the mode of appointing presiding elders had been definitely settled. Is it not a reasonable hypothesis that Jesse Lee and William Burke, who took the third restrictive rule out of its place among the six restrictive rules, as they were reported by the Committee of Fourteen, and offered it to be binding on the next General Conference, concluded that if the next General Conference were thus estopped from infracting the episcopacy and itinerant general superintendency its permanent validity could not probably, and would not afterward, be infracted by succeeding General Conferences? If Lee and Burke so held it is not improbable that others would hold a like view. The probability of this theory is enhanced by Bishop Soule's resignation in 1820—the second General Conference thereafter—who, on being elected a bishop, declared that if he were ordained he would not regard the resolutions adopted six days before, providing for electing presiding elders by the Annual Conferences and making them the bishop's advisory council in stationing the

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preachers. Two days thereafter he declined the office altogether, and his resignation was accepted by the Conference. This shows that in Bishop Soule's judgment there was an irreconcilable antagonism between (1) the election of presiding elders and their being made an advisory council of the bishops in stationing the preachers and (2) the third restrictive rule. Dr. Nathan Bangs gives the same rendering of this action of 1808 as we have recited.* Unless there is a copy of the records of the General Conference of 1808 other and different from the one we have here considered, the third restrictive rule was never adopted, in manner or form, as the others were. If Lee's and Burke's motion inhibiting "the next General Conference" from infracting the episcopacy and general superintendency was deemed or intended by them adequate to preserve the superintendency and episcopacy unimpaired, and if that view was probably held by enough others to pass the motion, would not that state of facts render the motion binding also upon succeeding General Conferences?

It has been erroneously claimed that during the action in the General Conference of 1808 upon the proposed delegated General Conference six of the representatives from the New England Conference and two from the Western Conference became dissatisfied with the proposed restrictive rules, especially the third, and withdrew from the Conference to return to their homes. Yet the bone of contention, according to Dr. Elliott,† was not the restrictive rules at all, but was the provision reported by the committee on the General Conference in favor of representation by seniority and not by electing delegates.

To conclude, we can see no evidence of attempted tampering with the Journal of 1808, nor with the Discipline relating to the restrictions. The printed Journals bear *prima facie* evidence of entire fidelity and accuracy. At the same time, while giving full credit to the documents reviewed, we maintain the equal validity of the third restrictive rule with the other five restrictions, for the following reasons: (1) From the unchallenged recognition of the third restrictive rule in the practice and administration of the Discipline for the last eighty-eight years, since it was reported from the Committee of Fourteen,

* Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. ii, pp. 229–233.
† Elliott, *Life of the Rev. Robert R. Roberts*, pp. 158, 159.

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and since it was discussed and in a certain form adopted. (2) Ever since the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784 the third restrictive rule has been the fundamental law of the Church, unwritten from 1784 to 1808, and from that time the written law of the Church.

But if, in the judgment of a respectable minority of the ministers and laymen of our Church, the theory of this paper as to the full validity of the third restrictive rule, or any other theory put forth and held, is deemed inconclusive, the General Conference of 1896 can safely and wisely submit the third restrictive rule for adoption, or readoption, by the ministry and laity of our Church. The constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the General Conference, already submitted to the next General Conference through the Church papers by Bishop Merrill and T. B. Neely, would, if submitted by the General Conference in an overture to the laity and ministry of the Church, be adopted by an overwhelming majority.

The great body of our Church, ministers and laymen, trust and venerate our bishops. They believe in the plan of our itinerant general superintendency and in our episcopacy. They will not allow our episcopacy to be shorn of any of its vested powers. They do not want, nor will they accept, a districted or diocesan episcopacy, unless as a counterpoise and safeguard in such an arrangement the presiding elders are elective and coordinate with the bishops in stationing the preachers. We are, and we prefer and intend to remain, an episcopal copal Church. Practically we have been such for a hundred and thirty years. For all that period we have had an itinerant general superintendency. We believe our system has been demonstrated as the best form of Church polity. Beyond all precedent we have prospered, outstripping all other Churches and even the increase of our general population. We warn all profane, intermeddling iconoclasts, who would sap and subvert our Church foundations, to beware! Hands off! "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm."

Thomas H. Payne

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Art. XI.—PHASES OF FAITH.

THE VISIBLE.

Faith accepts the testimony of the senses to the reality of the material world, and is inspired to worship. It holds no theory as to "processes," but believes that monad and man, plant and planet, were born of a "spirit," and not evolved from the universal "space." Reverentially agnostic, it sees nature and says, "God"—not because, according to theosophy, the all is God, but because nature suggests God, as the Sistine Madonna suggests Raphael. Reverentially agnostic, it admits the inherent limitations of intellect, and is not egotistically defiant of that revelation which supplements thought. Seeking to understand, it masters all true sciences—chemistry, biology, astronomy, geology, and mathematics—and regards them as bibles or records of divine teachings. And having cultivated chastity of the eyes it sees the glory of Jehovah in the heavens and the earth. This vision of the visible being undistorted by error of head or heart, faith sees the cosmos as from the standpoint of God himself.

Such a spirit delivers from a cynical and sinful contempt of the world on the one hand and a sensuous submergence in its physical delights on the other. The flower that blooms in the garden, the fire that flames on the hearth, the stream that flows from the heart of the rock (without touch of a Moses's rod), the river that furrows its course through the hills, the mountains that tower in majesty above man's tiny home—these and the great realm of which they are types front the soul and awe it, if there be faith, into that spirit and act of prayer which by a glorious ministration of the Holy Ghost puts the adoring heart in accord with the heart which beats at the center of the visible world; into union with the everlasting life of the Creator, whose fiat began those motions that we now discern to be the indices of his presence. "By faith we understand that the worlds have been framed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear."

THE INVISIBLE.

The invisible is not the unseeable; it is apparent to the pure heart, its essence being divine. Yet there is an evil invisible

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from which faith shrinks or which it antagonizes, so identifying itself with God in his antipathy to the maleficent agencies of the spiritual realm. This attitude is the core of life's reality, normal and eternal. Evasion of it, is the death of spirit, animalism dominating men and they becoming as "brute beasts," "without understanding" of the inherent distinctions between the "ought" and the "ought not." That sense which is called "conscience" takes cognizance of the unseen realities of purity, peace, truth, justice, benevolence, loyalty, and righteousness—these, and not merely "persons," constituting the invisible world. Faith not only sees these, but rejoices in their beauty, and lives in them, for them, and by them. Unfaith discounts these, sneers at their dignity, spurns them. Hence, in practical life, men are divided into those who subordinate the invisible to that which is expedient and those who, like Moses, endure "as seeing Him who is invisible," judging themselves by him and conforming themselves in the conduct of life to his image.

And so, in the invisible world is a Person—and persons. We will not say what knowledge of the "persons" is possible to us who remain in the body, but surely there is a "communion of saints." All holy souls are "one family," and maintain inviolate unity despite death. To preserve this fellowship it is not essential that there be gatherings in graveyards, or *séances*, or materializations, or rappings and table-tippings—but only rapt, ecstatic prayer to the Saint of saints, the Holiest of the holy. To see him is to see and to realize the invisible world; and to realize the invisible is to complete the sphere of life, to balance the hemisphere of sense life by that of the ideal spirit life.

THE ACTUAL.

In some of its aspects the actual is mysterious, repellent, and disillusioning. To taste, see, touch, and know it is to lose faith in the wisdom and benevolence of that some one or somewhat named "God." Nature, in the merciless operation of its laws, in the pitiless play of its power, in lightning stroke, excess of heat or cold, cyclone, earthquake, flood; man, in the animal phases of his external life and the groveling deeds of his false loves—these are tests of trust. Faith is not unaware

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of the mystery, and not unconscious of the repelling elements, of existence; but, seeing God as goodness, it assumes that the so-called "dark things" of the universe have their spiritual uses, and that the spirit attains a complete culture only by a right interpretation of the actual, in whatever form it be known. If there be a death's-head everywhere faith sees beyond and above it a true and eternal life—so taking cognizance of both facts, mortality of body and vitality of spirit. Though it rain to-day there was sunshine yesterday, and there may be sunshine to-morrow. In the meantime the rain is from heaven, and, though there be immediate loss of the harvest, one may rejoice in the assurance that in the conduct of life patience of soul is greater than plenty in the garner or the bank.

Perhaps, however, the greatest test of faith is disappointment in great men. They confuse us by their failure in mental or moral apprehension. We had hoped so much and expected so much—shall we despair? Shall we be stoically indifferent? Shall we lapse into supercilious cynicism? Either attitude is false to faith. Granted that the actual in humanity so often jars upon us, one need not count the days until he shall be relieved from the need of associating with inferior and false men. Jefferson, in the presidency—the goal of his ambition—impatiently waiting the day until he should retire to Monticello, was not the man of consummate character; but rather Washington, who, cognizant of human limitations, was determined to do the best things with available men and means.

THE IDEAL.

Faith conceives the ideal not merely as an unattainable perfection, but as the morally achievable character, Jesus himself imparting his own impulses to the receptive spirit. For he it was who, having said, "I do always those things that please him [the Father]," also said, "I in them, and thou in me," so declaring the possibilities of the spiritual life. In him is consummated all moral excellence, is concentrated and focalized all spiritual victory, is incarnated the peace of an unsullied, unsulliable heart purity. In a word, in him is the moral ideal. As such faith knows him. Skepticism, it is true, ignores him, and cherishes other ideals, which are no ideals, as the gods of

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the nations were no gods, though worshiped and appealed to in the crises of existence. Unbelief neither heeds the rebuke of Jesus's supreme clarity of conduct nor feels the stirring of his inspiration to new effort after the better and the best. This is the merit and the marvel of Jesus's character and ethical teachings; they smite to the dust and burn to the core of the conscience, but they inspire to an exaltedness of hope that finds expression in a song after tears. Peter, weeping bitterly in the dark, becomes the enhaloed bearer of the keys—not alone, but typically, representatively. Augustine, with humiliating cry, "O that I had never been such!" was transformed into the saint.

If Jesus were a man we should say that he possessed a peculiar genius or aptitude for creating unrest and aspiration, for projecting into the heart a renewing desire for holiness. This, to use Peter's words descriptive of the unique quality of the primitive Christian, as contrasted with the Roman, is the "mystic attractiveness" of Jesus. Publicans and sinners, drawing near to hear him, were condemned by his searching analysis, but were quickened by his penetrating appeals to love and hope. The instincts of the spirit are corrected, and the impulses of the soul, by the impact of the Holy Spirit, are rectified. Believing thus, notwithstanding sin, in the reality of the ideal, the Christian environs himself, in the actual, with a new atmosphere; and, needing no solitude in which to front himself with the ideal, contemplates it in the commonplaces of his daily life.

G. M. Hammell.

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EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

THE sudden death, on last February 10th, of Rev. Sandford Hunt, D.D., Senior Agent of the New York Book Concern, removed from Methodism one of its most capable, faithful, and useful officers. Thirty successful years in the pastorate and presiding eldership were crowned by seventeen years in the Book Agency; in which office he was associated first with John M. Phillips, and then with Dr. Homer Eaton. A suitable biographical article, by a competent hand, will appear in the *Review*.

BOTH sound religion and strong preaching are thoughtful. This may be so because all the great subjects belong to religion, and must be so because every such subject requires silence and seclusion for its due consideration. The soul must closet itself. Reflection undisturbed and tranquil, meditation deep, long, and prayerful, shutting the man up alone hour after hour, perhaps day after day, with his great theme and the great God, are frequently necessary to the largest and best results. The most important problems, projects, and decisions require retirement for their mastering and maturing.

Carlyle tells of a rugged man who, when difficulties accumulate on him so that he is perplexed, retires silent, generally to his bed; retires thus sometimes "for three days together, that he may be in perfect privacy there and ascertain in his rough head how the difficulties can be overcome."

John Calvin went to bed with his books and papers and stayed there indefinitely when he had some great intellectual work to do, securing thus a restful and inviolable quietness, protected from the intrusions of others and from the natural uneasiness of his own propensities to restlessness.

Rufus Choate, when the day was at hand for his great argument in some important case, went to bed with his subject, locking his chamber door for the twelve or twenty-four hours just preceding his speech, and when the time came went as directly as possible from his bed to the court and made his address. Having

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soaked the subject into all the convolutions of his brain and all the tissues of his moral being, he was like a Leyden jar charged with all it could hold. The effect was electric and irresistible upon everybody who had any nerves. James Russell Lowell once wrote to a friend: "I am so occupied and bothered that I have no time to brood, which with me is as necessary a preliminary to hatching anything as with a clucking hen." President Thomas Hill, of Harvard College, said: "Intellectually man is ruminant. He gets little permanent benefit from literary browsing unless he afterward chews the cud." Henry Ward Beecher had preeminently the power to submerge himself out of sight in his subject till mind, conscience, heart, and sensibilities were saturated with it. His hours of tremendous utterance were preceded by abysmal brooding, as intolerant of intrusive approach as if it were morose; out of which he rose to his pulpit quivering, surcharged, and incandescent, with results which were seismic, inundational, volcanic, and conflagrational.

THAT America should be without universities would be discreditable to our civilization and crippling to our progress. It is necessary, however, that the proper proportion between superstructure and foundation be preserved and that in our ambition for universities we do not lose sight of the precedent importance of colleges and seminaries.

The theory that the requirements for admission to the best American colleges should be increased—say to six years' study of Latin and four years' of Greek—has some foundation in experience and reason, or it would not be propounded and advocated. But the foundation for it—a desire for conformity to a German system—is hardly adequate in our conditions. The history of American education contains some unpleasant reading. About 1850 there were many seminaries and academies and but few colleges. In 1880 we had reversed the order of the numbers and had few academies but many colleges, and, in addition, some infant universities. Now the tendency runs toward another great change—toward a decrease of colleges and an increase of universities. If this tendency persists we may find ourselves in 1950 with many half-grown universities and but few colleges. Upon the usefulness of these tendencies we may get light by remembering as we look at them that we have not been at all happy over the first great change. We are compelled to regret the decrease in academies; we feel the need of replacing those we have lost, and are actually inquir-

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ing how we may build up more strong and efficient schools of that grade. The race we ran from academy to college organizations brought us to a goal we had not desired; and in not a few cases the college found itself obliged to equip and maintain its own academy. We are by no means satisfied over the results arising from the reduction in the number and efficiency of academies. Now, the increase of about fifty per cent in the requirements for admission to college means that the college is to be a university for whose courses students are to be prepared in academies which do not exist in such numbers and excellence as to do a tenth part of this work. And the net result, if we could succeed, would be to remove the college and bring back the academy. By and by we would discover that after all we needed colleges, and by march and countermarch we would get back to the point of departure.

The three grades have with us a distinct right, sphere, and function. Academy, college, and university are alike historical and rational. We are not likely to outgrow either. If the real reason for raising the grade of college study is that we desire to raise the value of college degrees, the fitting theory is that these degrees should be conferred only by universities after a period of postcollege study. But we are not prepared for the premise. The requirements for the A. B. degree in the best American colleges are large enough.

The restlessness of men engaged in the work of education manifests itself too little in perfecting their existing methods and too much in efforts to make organic and far-reaching changes. Meanwhile there is little or no improvement in the matter of thoroughness in primary education. University method invades the high school. Zealous labor to make naturalists and chemists out of pupils who can neither compose in good English nor even spell correctly seems to be labor expended in the wrong place. Some time or other we will wake up to the importance of the foundation, and plan to begin all education by making it solid and thorough at the bottom. For the time being a fever for universities and university methods seems to be raging, as forty years ago the craze for unduly multiplying colleges prevailed. That fever cost us many promising seminaries and academies, the loss of which has been painfully felt. If the university fever runs on unchecked there is danger that it may impair the lower instrumentalities of education, so that our educational system will become top-heavy, inadequate, and feeble in its preparatory and intermediate stages.

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AN ELECTIVE JUDICIARY.

AMERICAN political institutions are an outgrowth from British, and in their home land and on American soil they have given the highest measure of well-being known in human history. The spirit which has controlled in the development of those methods of government has been a practical, not a theoretical, one. If from time to time the reform cries have taken the form of axioms, yet the axioms have been interpreted and applied with practical caution and sagacity. It is not a new thing that the American reformer is somewhat more given than his English brothers to axiomatic formulas. Within limits this method is somewhat wholesome; but no general maxim can be safely applied without the aid of experience and practical wisdom. A real reformer does not burn down the house to improve some corner of it. Even a French revolution does not thoroughly reconstruct society; and after a hundred years French radicals are still struggling vainly to realize in life the axioms of their eighteenth century reformers. Human society cannot be changed except by growth, development, progressive evolution. One proposed reform is obnoxious to the charge that it would radically and suddenly change the most conservative branch of public administration. We refer to the demand that national courts shall be created by popular election. The alleged reason for this radical departure is that judges are now partial, and are such in the interest of the wealthy and against the poor. This contention is not supported by a single clearly marked trespass upon personal rights. Complaint was made when the courts interfered to protect property against mobs in Chicago and elsewhere; but the courts in those cases only performed a most pressing and legitimate duty. If judges created by popular election are expected to refrain from enjoining and punishing people who destroy the property of others, then no sane person desires such judges. And, since this particular demand for "reform" is likely to be pressed upon the less wise citizens by the least judicious popular leaders, it is well to keep before us the real objects of the change. Those objects are to make property and life less secure and to empower mobs to control the courts before which lawbreakers may be brought to trial. The only part of our judicial system which is convicted of weakness is the popular part—the jury. We do not share the belief that the jury is a failure; but it is too often unsatisfactory. And yet this partial failure can be remedied by more

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careful methods in making up the juries. The bench has been, with a few exceptional cases, singularly strong and clean. It has not happened for a long time that a federal judge has been proved corrupt; and the charges of partiality are made, for the most part, by persons charged with grave offenses against the laws. Our sound historical theory is that courts must be kept independent of either executive or popular control. We have found that system safe in practice; and no foreign observer has failed to comment approvingly upon the confidence of Americans in their highly independent judiciary. The practical sense of our people has approved the system established by our fathers; and a demand for courts created by and dependent upon town meeting ought to arouse the indignation of good citizens. That our judges should be created by the people is sound doctrine. They are, in fact, so created. It is a very different thing to say that they ought to be named in mass meetings. The mass meeting is apt to be controlled by a very few persons, and those who wish all our interests confided to the chances of popular elections are frank enough to inform us of their purpose to control such elections.

"CHRISTIAN" RATIONALISM.

Its principal headquarters and depot of supplies is Germany. Its most eminent exponent and ablest advocate, a disciple of Baur, fills and overflows the chair of theology in the University of Berlin, whence a philosophy of religion, licensed and limited by the lowest theories of modern science and armed with the weapons of a destructive biblical criticism, sets out to dissolve the Bible and slay the supernatural.

It is asserted on respectable authority that the Established Church in Germany permits its fundamental doctrines to be denounced and destroyed by the very men appointed to teach and defend them; that its membership includes many scoffers, determined and outspoken enemies of the Lord Jesus; that from the world outside rank socialists, faithless scientists, and the secular press applaud these Church rationalists, raising an uproar about "freedom of thought" and "liberty of conscience" if anybody proposes to bring to book even the most violent and virulent inside assailants of the faith; and that those who desire to retain any faith in Christ are forced to withdraw to independent congregations, like those maintained in that country by our own Church. From a previous state of indecision and suspended opinion the conviction

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grows upon us, as we listen, read, observe, and study, that there is as much justification for our Methodist missions in Germany, because of the prevalence of a frigid, glacial, and gelatinous pseudo-Christianity, as for our work in Mexico and South America, where another and different form of corrupt and spurious Christianity is dominant. Something to raise the temperature and melt the ice is sorely needed.

Heinrich Heine was a Hebrew, but so lightly and slightly religious as to be always ready to take on new faiths, simply wearing them on the outside as men do garments. In Paris, it is related, he became a Catholic, and at Berlin a Lutheran; of which last conversion he said that he "could easily accommodate himself to the very enlightened Christianity, filtered from all superstition, that could be had in the churches of Berlin; a Christianity which was free even from the divinity of Christ." What Heine found in the churches of Berlin in his day has not yet disappeared from the churches and schools of Germany. Dangerous influences still work for the disintegration of the Christian faith. The Wellhausen-Reuss school seeks to destroy confidence in the divine inspiration and historical trustworthiness of the Holy Scriptures. Weizsäcker's young theologues go out from Tübingen to drop the creed out of the liturgy and put doubt and disrespect on the established faith of the Church. Marburg, Jena, and Heidelberg diffuse darkness rather than light. Cornill at Königsberg issues his destructive Old Testament introduction. Grafe undermines the Lord's Supper as a sacred and obligatory ordinance, and Meinhold resolves the patriarchs and their history into myths. These are sufficient samples of the destructive class, and represent a large body of sympathizers in the schools and in the churches.

General and indiscriminate censure of German universities would be both ignorant and unjust. Orthodox conservatism has more than held its own, for learning and ability, in many theological faculties, notably at Erlangen, Leipsic, Königsberg, Greifswald, and Rostock; the last named having such defenders of the faith as Diekhoff, König, and Nösgen. Even at Berlin, where such "advanced thinkers" as Kaftan, Harnack, and Pfleiderer are most conspicuous, positive theology has representatives in Slatter, and Strack, and Baetgen. At Kiel Klosterman makes powerful critical reply to the followers of Wellhausen, and Bredenkamp ably defends the Old Testament from its assailants. Zahn at Erlangen is more than a match for the liberalism of Harnack in the history of early Christianity. Some strong men who, in agreement with

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Augustine and Luther, have not held to the absolute inerrancy of the Scriptures have yet, and, as they think, the more successfully, maintained the inspired authority of the Bible and the validity of the accepted creed. Some eminent biblicists who concede something of probability to the literary critics on the Documentary Theory, the exilic origin of Isaiah, and the Maccabean origin of Daniel, nevertheless give strenuous battle against ruinous reconstructions of the Bible and the naturalizing of religion. The mediating school of theology, including such men as Tholuck, Dorner, B. Weiss, Köstlin, Beyschlag, Köhler, and Kautzsch, has done something to trim the conclusions and moderate the influence of the radical theologians, although its effort to unite opposing extremes of thought by its proposed compromises has doubtful prospect of success. Those extremes are unlikely to consent to meet and dwell together in a half-way house.

A most encouraging sign of the times is an indignant uprising of evangelical pastors and of devout and spiritually-minded members in the churches, in loud protest against the influences proceeding from the universities and the discrediting of the creed and undermining of the foundations of religion by young pastors graduating therefrom. A great conservative revival is spreading. The conservatives, under the lead of such pastors as Stöcker and von Bodelschwingh have determined to have a faculty under their own direction at Herford, in Westphalia; and the pressure of public sentiment is so strong that the Prussian government has been compelled to modify its policy by filling vacant theological chairs with positively evangelical scholars, so that several strongly conservative professors have recently been placed in ultra-liberal universities.

Nevertheless, what masquerades as "Christian" rationalism is still rampant and widely prevalent in Germany, and, without denying the world's debt to German learning and scholarship in many departments, prudence requires us to warn ourselves and each other against the insidious errors of certain well-known teachers, who, in their presuppositions and attitude, if not in set purpose, are hostile to evangelical religion. Some poisonous streams of philosophy and theology flow from Germany.

It is too clear to be denied that students at some of the German universities are in peril. A graduate of a prominent Presbyterian theological seminary in America went abroad to complete his preparations for the ministry. In Pfleiderer's lecture room in Berlin all his evangelical foundations were cut from under him, leaving

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him very soon without faith in anything. He came home an utter skeptic, a pessimistic agnostic, and is to-day a bitter blasphemer against the religion to which he once in the morning of his manhood, when the daystar was shining in his heart, dedicated with holy ardor his soul and life. The atmosphere of such lecture rooms is unfavorable to Christian faith; the walls echo and applaud the incessant negation of long-treasured and fundamental doctrines; the reasoning starts from assumptions adverse to all that the Church has believed ; it proceeds on the theory that the Christian Scriptures and traditions are untrustworthy; and the total effect is demolition, not a mere taking down preparatory to a better rebuilding, as is claimed, but distinctly and definitively fatal, absolutely deadly.

It is also too clear to be denied that the torrent of German literature which flows abroad to all the earth contains germs which may be fatal to the life of faith. The future of religion in Japan is said to be imperiled by the antisupernatural rationalism coming from Germany and accepted with the characteristic undiscriminating Japanese eagerness for change and novelty. A professor in the Imperial University of Japan finds it easy to dress up the essence of Buddhist pantheism in the garb of German rationalistic philosophy, trying to pass it off as a form of Christianity. The current literary output of Germany is reported to equal that of England, France, and America together ; a large proportion of it bears directly or indirectly upon questions of religion and theology ; the mere quantity of it makes a flood of such volume as to sweep before it whatever is not rock-founded and whoever is not firmly anchored.

It is furthermore too clear to be denied that German rationalism is assisted to assault the faith of Christendom when its ablest professors are invited to deliver in Christian universities courses of lectures like those of Pfleiderer in Scotland. Such a policy on the part of such institutions is one of immense unwisdom, and, in the case of the University of Edinburgh, of flagrant impropriety. We reiterate with increased positiveness the conviction previously expressed upon these editorial pages : " Probability warrants the presumption that such a use of the Gifford lectureship as the Berlin theologian made is in violation of the intention of the founder, an unlawful misuse and immoral perversion of the fund; for there is little room to doubt that Lord Gifford's purpose was friendly to Christianity." It has been stated in apology for the senatus which invited him that not only does the language

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of the bequest put no obstacle in the way of such lectures as Pfleiderer's, but also nothing is known concerning Lord Gifford's personal belief that makes it certain he would disapprove. In fact, the opinion has been expressed by some that he was to life's end in secret sympathy with the destructive views of the German lecturer. But positive disproof of this seems to be furnished from a competent and authoritative source. Lady Dufferin, yielding to an importunate suit which Lord Gifford had pressed for twenty years, consented to be married to him when he lay on his deathbed and after his physicians had announced that recovery was impossible. The ceremony was performed in his bedroom on October 13, 1862, and immediately thereafter they received together the holy sacrament. This is told us by her son, Lord Dufferin, in his memoir of his mother, and he adds: "Lord Gifford's taking the sacrament was a great satisfaction to her, for in earlier days he leant rather to what is now called agnosticism; but eventually under the influence of my mother's gentle teaching his doubts and difficulties disappeared, and on the 22d of December, 1862, holding the hand of her to whom he had clung for sympathy, comfort, and support from boyhood, and in the peace of God, he passed painlessly away." Everything in the later years of Lord Gifford's life goes to show that his faith became positively Christian, and that nothing could have induced him to provide in his last will and testament for anything hostile to orthodox evangelical Christianity; and materials are not lacking for an indictment against the university senatus for maladministration of the lectureship. It is clear on the one side that Gifford's purpose was thoroughly Christian, and on the other that the school of thought of which Pfleiderer is the most accomplished spokesman is thoroughly unfriendly to real Christianity, the fascinating philosopher from Berlin being more injurious and destructive than that fanatical radical who is said to have had a picture of the Christ tattooed on the sole of his foot so that he might at every step tread on the object of his hatred.

It must be admitted that Otto Pfleiderer is a gifted and highly trained intellectual architect, building his thinking up symmetrically and framing it well together; so that if the assumptions and presumptions which he uses as premises were true most of his conclusions would be also. It may be admitted that he is a philosopher and has constructed a system. Whether that system is nearer to deism or to pantheism we are neither called upon nor concerned to decide; but it is necessary to insist that it is not

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Christianity.. Despite its claiming shelter under the Christian name, his doctrine at bottom is sheer rationalism; and rationalism at bottom is naturalism; and naturalism at bottom, so far as we know, is materialism; and materialism at bottom is atheism; and the end of all is degradation for the life, blank despair for the mind, and eternal death for the soul of man. It is the moderate drinker whose influence is most pernicious, though his example seems most innocent, and it is the moderate rationalist—"Christian" he calls himself—whose inculcations are most dangerous. Professedly to lead us to God by a new way, he takes us by the hand, but in fact passes us on to conclusions which leave us where, at most, all we can see is the uncertain shadow of a distant, dim, and doubtful deity who somewhere sometime saw fit for unimaginable reasons to give a germinal origin to a living universe the purport of which is inscrutable, and who has never since touched or visited it, never shown himself or spoken; a God who or which, in Kant's phrase, "cannot interest us," and gives no sign of being interested in us. These absurdly self-named "Christian" rationalists really pitch us forward down the incline toward universal nihilism. Their doctrine is theological tobogganing, down-grade from beginning to end, and so difficult is it to find a stopping place midway that when one starts in at the top of their slide, yielding himself to their control, the merely logical probabilities predict that his mangled remains may sooner or later be looked for at the bottom.

THE RIPENING EXPERIENCE OF LIFE.

A SCIENTIST whose honorable eminence in the scientific world is unquestioned, Professor George John Romanes, yielding his mind entirely to the scientific method, came to disbelieve in free will, in the presence of mind in nature, and in 1878 argued in his essay, "A Candid Examination of Theism," that the phenomena of the universe needed no God to account for them. But before his death he became convinced that it was reasonable to be a Christian believer, and that he had made a great mistake in not believing in Christianity. He made distinct and devout profession of his acceptance of the Christian religion, and returned deliberately to full and blissful communion with the Church of Jesus Christ. He came to perceive the enormous implications of the moral nature and to trust the intuitions of the soul. Two days before his death, in 1894, he heartily com-

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mended Professor Knight's *Aspects of Theism*, which emphasizes the force of the argument from intuition, and dying he left behind him writings which argue that while the scientific reason cannot clearly perceive the realities known to religion, yet there is a spiritual necessity for faith, and our intuitions are legitimate, significant, and trustworthy; that where anything else than causation is under consideration the "appropriate organs for the ascertainment of truth are those which belong to the moral and spiritual nature," and that there is positive strength and indestructible value in the historical and spiritual evidences of Christianity. Romanes's explanation of this great reversal of opinion and resuscitation of faith suggests the theme and furnishes the title of this essay: "It does not appear to me that the modifications which my views have undergone are due so much to purely logical processes of the intellect as to the subconscious, and therefore more or less unanalyzable, influences due to the ripening experience of life."

Experience is disciplinary and educational; it makes us acquainted with the laws and facts of existence. "Contact with reality will take care of skepticism in the long run," remarks a wise philosopher. Rash radicalisms and insubordination to the constitution of things run away with us in youth. Our inexperience adopts crude theories that will not work. Then we are cuffed and tripped up and kicked about by facts because our awkward notions get crosswise of the procession of things. Moments of reflection flash on us a suspicion that our crotchet does not dovetail and adjust into the universal frame. We feel a slowly increasing respect for the solidity of the stable universe, which was here before our cradle was rocked, and which has not seen fit to retire its realities or reconstruct its plan out of deference to our infantile misconceptions. In time even the red-hottest anarchist perceives that his proposition to abolish everything is impracticable; everything holds the fort and cannot be dislodged. Successive epiphanies and revelations push us on from probability to positiveness that certain great mysterious objects which sit in shadow are not banks of mist, but mountain ranges whose primeval majesty looked down upon our birth and will cast its silent shadows across our low little graves. We come to doubt our doubts. We overhear a Frenchman saying, "There is somebody that knows more than Voltaire—*Tout le Monde!*" and we begin to pay attention to those generally accepted statements which represent the net result of the long investigation

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and experience of the race. Gradually the heavens and the earth, our own souls, and our fellow-men explain to us the incorrectness of our ideas. The pert omniscience of our youth takes on the aspect of folly. As years pass a conservative tendency sets in along the channels of the mind. The newcomer who has been here only sixty years or so reflects that perhaps he is o'er young and recent to insist upon upsetting the conclusions of the ages, and not quite numerous enough to outvote the many-millioned masses of mankind. He is less wise in his own esteem, wiser in the estimation of his fellow-men. Experience is a driver with a long whip for rounding up the thoughts of men within the confines of certain conclusions.

In human experience as a total there is a providential presence and a moral push. Only an atheist will deny that the proper work of all man's higher faculties is to bring him into right relations with God. The universe is reasonable, and human rationality delivered from perversions must lead toward recognition of and harmony with the Eternal Reason. The thought-power holds a secret purpose to fetch all honest thinking round to the Great Thinker. Even logic leads thither, not all the way, but in that direction, if it starts from true premises. Much more a moral view of anything must include belief in God; the ethical cord swings us to the theistic point of view.

God hides himself so wondrously that it is possible to start away from him, but it is not easy for any sane and half-honest human being to keep on going away from him. The mind may travel afar, and, coming to a halt in the distance, stay there inactive forever; we own the possibility. But the erring mind which keeps moving, investigating, considering, is likely to find itself turning back from farthest and darkest distance toward faith in the supernatural, in theistic conceptions, and in spiritual interpretations. Something in the shape of the system of things contributes to this result; one almost suspects that the world of thought is globular, like the planet we live on, so that very far east is west. The man who should sail east from the port of New York, to leave America as far behind as possible, would, if he traveled beyond twelve thousand miles, be heading for San Francisco and the continent he had fled. The limitations fixed around the human mind seem like a circumference, striking against which thought is reflected back along a centripetal line. At any rate, the stress of the universe and its constructive intention work to return the wanderer Godward. Man is tethered by

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some native relationship to God. Within limits, the farther that tether is stretched the harder it pulls, just as the transgressor's way becomes harder the farther he pursues it. When one casts from his hand the ball which is tied by an elastic cord to his wrist, it is the strain on the elastic which brings the ball back to the welcome of his open palm; though this is not saying that no strain can break the cord. We are born and bottomed in God; from him we come; his children we are rather than the ape's or the devil's; "in him we live, and move, and have our being." Denial of him is like denial of the air, without which we could not deny—which makes enunciation, sound, and breath possible. It is like the fish's denial of the sea, or the bird's doubt of the atmosphere; one swims in it and says, "Where is it?"—the other flies in it and says, "I perceive it not!"

The farther a man goes with doubt, denial, disobedience, so long as mind and soul remain alive, the more difficult his way becomes. Remonstrances rise out of the ground. Reproofs sting him in the face. A displeased sky mutters overhead. He loses solid footing, his steps sink in "Tremble Meadow," he mires. The system of things out-argues him and puts him to confusion. It prods him with questions he cannot answer. The universe tells him he is a fool. When the wayward, irreligious soul has run itself out of breath in God-avoiding flight and stands panting, exhausted, and empty at the end of its lane, having overtaken no good and unable to go further, it is liable there in its forlorn and hollow misery to be seized with a suspicion of the nearness of Some One who is not far from any one of us, and to find itself face to face with the Presence it so madly fled. When the disputatious denier has talked himself out and has nothing more to say, when the echoes of his futile theories and voluble but irrational, because inadequate, explanations have died away, there ensues a silence in which he is likely to hear around and above him, like the tread of thunder along eternal hills, the footfalls of the mighty truths he has denied. When the misguided man has followed fen-fires into the pitch-dark heart of a Serbonian bog, there is a divine Soul-Seeker who swings a lantern through the dark and calls, "Follow me, and I will give you rest on the solid ground of righteousness and reason."

Not untrue is Francis Thompson's confession-picture of the experience of a soul trying to flee from the pursuing Christ:

> I fled Him down the nights and down the days;
> I fled him down the arches of the years;

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I fled him down the labyrinthine ways
Of my own mind; and in the mist of tears
I hid from him, and under running laughter.
Up vistaed hopes I sped;
And shot, precipitated
Adown Titanic glooms of chasmed fears,
From those strong Feet that followed, followed after.
But with unhurrying chase,
And unperturbèd pace,
Deliberate speed, majestic instancy,
They beat—and a Voice beat
More instant than the Feet—
"All things betray thee who betrayest Me."

Abundant facts of many kinds show that the ripening experience of life, the maturing of the mind, and the progress of candid thought all tend to bring men to that Wisdom which the Book of Proverbs magnifies. For example, numerous instances confirm the truth of Lord Bacon's observation: "A little natural philosophy, and the first entrance into it, doth dispose the opinion to atheism; but much natural philosophy, and wading deep into it, will bring about men's minds to religion." Dr. Alfred Momerie contradicts this, and points in evidence to modern scientists, like Tyndall and Huxley, as having waded deep into natural philosophy without being brought about to religion. Nevertheless Bacon's maxim states the general truth. Under it are included several corroborating facts. One fact is that this class of skeptics have either superficial or one-sided learning. They are such, not by reason of superior knowledge, but by deficiency thereof, being ignorant of many things—indeed, of a whole range of facts remote from and opposite to the physical side of life. The broadening of their knowledge by multiplying their points of view will bring them in sight of some of those antipodal facts. If they knew more they would believe more. Another fact is that increase of intelligence, education, and knowledge is advantageous to, as well as promoted by, Christianity. Its motto is, "Let there be light." Religion is no fabrication of the imagination, but a knowledge of and regard for truth, and for that central and supreme Reality to which all truth relates. To knowledge enlarging beyond a segment toward the full circle, or in the segment going deeper, Christianity becomes continually more credible. But another fact is that natural scientists, failing to find evidence in proof of their antisupernatural theories, frequently confess failure and acknowledge the breakdown of materialistic explanations. The attempt to account for origins and evolutions on a purely natural basis has to be given

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up. The insufficiency and irrationality of atheistic schemes are ascertained and published. The necessity of some other theory is admitted, and Christianity's explanation is left in possession of the field, supported equally by reason and by faith.

Eminent scientists, cultivating sedulously the questioning habit of mind and failing to find physical proof of spiritual things, attract attention by the utterance of daring doubts and strident denials. But, continuing their investigations and affirmations in that spirit, they often move on into a gradual distrust of their overconfident negations. Wider study and maturer reflection upon the marvelous and mysterious facts of life diminish the positiveness of their dogmatic denials, until not infrequently in later life they write some sentence which essentially concedes Religion's whole claim. Some new point of view is reached or some overlooked consideration brings its force to bear upon the mind, so that some truth stands clearly out which is nothing less than one of the salients of Christianity ; and in giving recognition to that truth they logically surrender the whole case. Over the wall to the besiegers they throw the key of their castle gate.

Instances of an opposite character, apparently contradicting Bacon and supporting Momerie, are not denied. Darwin late in life said that those faculties on which the higher tastes depend had been gradually atrophied in him, "to the injury of the intellect and yet more of the moral character." He was entirely engrossed in physical science, as Edward A. Freeman was in the study and writing of history; so to both of them religious verities faded out of recognition, and degeneration into agnosticism ensued, until the former came near to being the typical agnostic pattern. It is not forgotten that Schopenhauer, the luxurious pessimist, knowing no better god, died with the gilded statue of Gotama Buddha looking at him from the mantelpiece. That disuse may destroy spiritual faculty, evil habits grow fixed, and disbelief unbroken become final and fatal, are awful and admonitory facts.

Yet the system of things, the voices of man's own nature, the true progress of thought, and the powerful pressure of the Holy Spirit are against such results. Romanes wrote with Bacon and against Momerie in these words: "If a little knowledge of physiology and psychology dispose men to atheism, a deeper knowledge of both, and still more a deeper thought upon their relations to one another, will lead men back to some form of religion." Did not Darwin at last concede that his doctrine of evolution was not

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verifiable, and did he not modify its statement by the hypothesis of a controlling Power? Did not John Tyndall observe that the human mind, by natural instinct, turns, with the yearning of a pilgrim for his distant home, to the mystery from which it has emerged, earnestly seeking so to fashion it as to give unity to thought and faith? And when the mind so turns to study the primal and infinite Mystery is there any way toward the desired unity of a satisfying conception except by listening to the lips which said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life;" "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father?" In Mr. Huxley's *Apologetic Irenicon* are signs that at threescore and ten the ripening experience of life has taken sobering and salutary effect on him. When Frederic Harrison flings at him the solemn questions, "What is the relation of man to the Author of the world? Is there or is there not a moral providence? Have I an immortal soul, and what becomes of it when I die?"—and insists that Mr. Huxley is bound to make some answer to these agonizing questions of the human race, Huxley says that he fully accepts a general providence which is the cause of the rational order of the universe, and with this Cause he believes man has to do. Of his own life this old man adds, "I have done my day's work, not always with a light heart, but with a sense of responsibility and a terror of that which may appear when the thick web of fiction is stripped off." Now can such a "sense of responsibility" be felt toward protoplasm or a godless universe of matter, or only toward "the Judge of all the earth?" In a manner essentially religious Mr. Huxley goes on: "I am a very strong believer in the punishment of certain kinds of actions, not only in the present but in all the future a man can have, be it long or short." "I suppose that all men with a clear sense of right and wrong have now and then descended into hell and stopped there long enough to know what infinite punishment is." "If a genuine immortality awaits us, such immortality, without some change like that depicted in the thirteenth chapter of Corinthians, must be in eternal misery." After such utterances as these Mr. Huxley expresses his scorn for the "liberalism" which makes light of serious spiritual issues, which increases the weakness of the world and "covers up the awful realities which it shudders to look at." In all this we find, it is true, no positive profession of faith, but surely it sounds inconsistent with the "gross and brutal materialism" charged upon his *Lay Sermons* twenty-five years earlier; inconsistent also with professed agnosticism. Rather does this man

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of science, bending under life's long experience, seem to be bowing his soul in the very presence of those tremendous realities which are the theme of old-fashioned orthodox religion.

In comparative theology it is as Bacon asserted it to be in natural philosophy—at last, if not before, it turns Christward. Years ago, when Max Müller issued his *Origin of Religions*, he was inclined to think that all religions had begun in nature-worship and were natural evolutions therefrom, all being therefore on a par as to their genesis and foundation. But fuller study of the comparative merits of the natural ethnic religions and Christianity brought him to so clear a conviction of the superiority of our New Testament faith that he stood before the British Bible Society with this declaration: "The Vedas, the Hindoo Puranas, the Koran, the Parsi Zend-Avesta, and the Buddhist Tripitaka all say that salvation must be purchased, the purchase-money being our good works and deservings. Our Bible is from beginning to end a protest against this doctrine. Good works are indeed enjoined, but they are only the outcome of a grateful heart, the fruits of faith. They are never the ransom money of true disciples of Christ. Let us teach Hindoo, Buddhist, Mohammedan that there is only one Sacred Book of the East that can be their mainstay in that awful hour when they pass alone into the unseen world. It is the Sacred Book which contains that faithful saying worthy to be received of all: 'Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.'" Monier-Williams, at the beginning of his study of Hindoo religions, was strongly prejudiced in their favor. But later on he could not listen with patience to those who praised them. He openly and vigorously denounced the stupid ignorance and what he called the "jelly-fish toleration" which refuse to insist upon or acknowledge the decided superiority of Christianity. At an anniversary of the Church Missionary Society he said: "After you have studied all false religions, fearlessly proclaim the plain, unchangeable, eternal facts of the Gospel; nay, its stubborn, unyielding, inexorable facts. Let it be absolutely clear that Christianity cannot, must not, be watered down to suit the palate of Hindoo, Parsi, Confucian, Buddhist, Mohammedan. Whoso wishes to pass from the false to the true religion can never hope to do so by the rickety planks of compromise." And Romanes tells us that intellectually it was in large part the science of comparative religion coupled with the study of anthropology that turned him toward faith in Christ.

Not only in natural philosophy and comparative theology,

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but in all the ways of thought, probability presses serious and maturing minds toward faith. Voltaire was brought by lengthening years to believe more and more firmly in an immortality with rewards and punishments, as Socrates in prison taught in the hour before the cup of hemlock was brought. Through Pascal's Paris life dissipation and skepticism went together. In later years, having turned from evil ways, he "faced the specters of the mind and laid them," and came to regard Christ, in his nature, teachings, and life, as the center of all knowledge, in whom was not only God reconciling the world unto himself, but the meeting point wherein all seemingly antithetical truths are reconcilable. Goethe began in revolt against Christianity, but after all his rebellious battling he wrote Jacobi: "It is altogether strange to me that I, an old heathen, should see the Cross planted in my own ground, and hear Christ's blood and wounds practically preached without its offending me. We owe this to the higher point of view to which philosophy has raised us." Carlyle, after many hesitations, megrims, and vagaries, "flung the might of his aged manhood against the 'gospel of dirt,' and came back to the catechism, learned at his mother's knee, for a true conception of the destiny of man, which is 'to glorify God and enjoy him forever.'" In like manner Edmund Yates said: "I seldom speak of religion, but I have thought a good deal about it, and what I am now trying to do is to live back to the faith of my childhood." The last friend to whom George Eliot wrote says that "at the time of her sudden and untimely death her mind was slowly reverting toward some measure of faith;" and are we not told that, nearing life's close, she kept Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* near her? Bourget, who in *Le Disciple* recommended the young to embrace the positive virtues of faith, hope, and charity, yet showed that he himself had never risen thereto, and who in *Cosmopolis* betrays the skepticism of a soul not at one with itself nor with God's world, is said to have undergone since then so great a change that he classes himself as a believer. Tolstoi, in *My Confession*, tells the story of his soul: "I have lived in this world fifty-five years; for nearly forty of those years I have been a Nihilist in the true sense of that word; not socialist and not revolutionary, according to the perverted meaning attached to it; but really Nihilist, that is, lacking in all faith, believing in nothing." "Early in life I lost my faith; I have lived like all other people among the various varieties of life. I have done something in literature, undertaking to teach

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others things of which I knew nothing. Then the Sphinx began to persecute me, saying, as to Œdipus of old, 'Guess my riddle or I will devour thee.' Human science explained to me nothing. To my incessant questions, the only ones that concerned me, 'Why do I live? What am I?' science answered by teaching me a hundred other things which were of no consequence to me." At last he turned to Christ, and, making his own interpretations, settled upon a religion having such fundamental principles as these: "Regulate your life by the evangelical precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. Shun all violence. Resist not evil. Divide the proceeds of your labor with the poor. Reverence the family—have no divorce or libertinage." The ripening experience of life took thirty years to bring about this conversion from nothing to something, from Nihilism to the Sermon on the Mount.

A man to whom in the decline of life there came through the reading of a certain book the perception of a Beauty of Truth as well as a Beauty of Goodness higher than the senses says concerning that experience, in which his idea of God grew far nearer and immeasurably grander: "I was filled with a new reverence, mixed with a fear such as one experiences when beholding through the lens of a telescope a star seen shortly before with the naked eye, but now grown to an enormous size. The last rays of evening light were dying away in my study before I finished reading. I put down the book and sat down at a window which commands a view over the plains that stretch from the Alps to the sea. From the religious emotion of that hour, as I sat listening to the murmurings and whisperings of the night, which seemed to me like living voices full of religious meaning, I felt the duty of bearing witness to the divine light which I had received."

The influence of the ripening experience of life often mellows and softens man's nature. The passionate blood is cooled, the fiery temper tamed, the haughty spirit humbled. The return of a certain childlikeness is noticed in men toward the last, very touching to see and sometimes beautiful; in place of roughness gentleness, in place of self-sufficiency a willing dependence, in place of self-will pliableness and submissiveness. A strong man temporarily ill received from a friend this discerning sentence: "It is, indeed, a change for you to like being nursed, and perhaps not altogether a bad one from a character point of view." The renascence of docile dispositions might measurably

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prepare a man to nestle like a trusting child in the bosom of the Father. The late upblooming of the pure and artless spirit of childhood from under the incrustations of inveterate worldliness is well set forth in a story about a courtier who, after truckling and crawling all his life for place and favor, sees at the end with a sick heart the worthlessness of all that tawdry tinsel, and gets back a child's joy in the simple but sweet and matchless beauties of God's own conferring. This is the poet's story:

> I helped a man to die, some few weeks since,
> Warped even from his go-cart to one end—
> The living on princes' smiles, reflected from
> A mighty herd of favorites. No mean trick
> He left untried, and truly well-nigh wormed
> All traces of God's finger out of him;
> Then died, grown old. And just an hour before,
> Having lain long with blank and soulless eyes,
> He sat up suddenly, and with natural voice
> Said that in spite of thick air and closed doors
> God told him it was June; and he knew well,
> Without such telling, harebells grew in June;
> And all that kings could ever give or take
> Would not be precious as those blooms to him.

The intimation is that when a man's heart, sickened of shams and shows and the base insincerities of courts, turns back like a child among the flowers, the banks of the River of Life might not impossibly be somewhere near where those harebells were abloom.

It is not surprising when lifelong unbelievers confess their faith in the words of Thomas, "My Lord and my God!" Ripening experience and advancing seasons bring men to solemn situations, and make trifling impossible. Supreme questions can no longer be postponed. The time when they could be debated and held in suspense is past. The peremptory hour has arrived which forces decision. The soul hears itself spoken to in the imperative mood, and must face its responsibility without evasion. Strauss wrote near the end of life: "I have reached, indeed overstepped, the threshold of old age. There every earnest man has to listen to the Voice within, 'Give an account of thy stewardship, for thou mayest be no longer steward.'" The pinch of life's ultimate exigencies is severe. The pressure, *in extremis*, must be enormous, like the weight of a thousand atmospheres on every square inch of man's rational and moral being. In a lecture by Bishop Arthur Cleveland Coxe at Kenyon College were these words:

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"Says one who knows too well the emptiness of a life shaped by other maxims, 'The most logical attitude of the *thinker*, in the presence of religion is *to act as though it were true*.' 'One should *behave* as though God and the soul existed.' Whose experience dictates this as the philosophy of life? Of course, every believer's —but, I believe in the depths of my soul, every infidel's not less, when daylight dies away from him and the shadows of the dark valley begin to appall. For he who says this is the brilliant Renan, the same unhappy man whose perpetual endeavor it has been to double damn his countrymen, delivering them over again to a reign of terror and despair." Dr. Paulus, a professor at Heidelberg, was an atheist who denied immortality and the supernatural. When his final illness began he said he was about to die, and that that would be the end of him. For hours he lay in coma—no word, no look, no sign. It was supposed he would never rouse from that stupor. All at once his eyes opened and gazed at the ceiling as if he saw something those about him could not see; raising his head, he said distinctly, "There is another life;" in a moment he was gone.

If new light ever falls upon the soul and new visions of reality are ever given, it may well be when life's experience reaches or approaches its climax and its close. The ancient Egyptians had a temple so constructed that on a certain day of the year the setting sun, as it touched the horizon, would send its rays straight through the propylæa and the long vista of walls and columns within till they fell upon the statue of the divinity in the most sacred secret place. Does the sunset hour of life send fuller light through the temple of man's soul to make more bright that image of divinity which is in him? Matthew Arnold on his last Sabbath attended the Sefton Park Presbyterian Church, Liverpool. It was sacrament morning; the sermon was on the Shadow of the Cross; and the closing hymn was,

> When I survey the wondrous cross
> On which the Prince of glory died.

At the home of his brother-in-law, after service, a servant heard him repeating to himself, on the stairs, the first lines of that hymn. At luncheon he spoke about the hymn and said he thought it the finest in the English language. When he rose from the table he went out, and in ten minutes he was dead—dead, with his mind dwelling on the cross of Christ—a *finale* hardly anticipated by readers of his books.

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THE ARENA.

DIOCESE AND DISTRICT.

Most of the criticisms which have appeared upon the article in the September *Review*, entitled "Methodist Episcopacy in Transition," have not only ignored certain patent facts, but have misstated the writer's position by using certain terms in a sense which he carefully avoided giving to them. This is specially true of the brief criticism quoted in the January number of the *Review* from the *Methodist Review* of Nashville, Tenn. The phrase "quadrennial diocesan episcopacy," although placed within quotation marks, is not mine. The words "diocese" and "diocesan," as used in this discussion, are misleading. There is hardly anything in common between the Anglican diocese and the proposed Methodist district except the fact that both have geographical boundaries. According to the Anglican theory the bishop is before, and, of course, above, the Church, and logically the diocese must take the place which the "historic" theory assigns it. The Methodist theory, on the other hand, makes the bishop the servant of the Church, and his proposed district is simply a special field of labor to which he is assigned for a given time. Extremely misleading is the constant practice of assuming that any and every proposal to introduce system into our present "systemless" usage means, and must mean, the adoption of the Protestant Episcopal diocese.

Another mistake is made by assuming that our present-day usage is identical with the original "plan" to which reference is made in the third restrictive rule. Dr. Tigert professes to be startled by the bare suggestion of a change in our modern usage, not perceiving, apparently, that this usage has nothing to do with the "plan" as it existed in the mind of Joshua Soule. Previous to 1852 the present method of making annual assignments of the bishops to the Conferences was unknown. The same bishop often retained charge of a group of Conferences for a number of successive years. In the minds of the fathers the term "plan" manifestly had no reference to the details of method adopted either by the bishop or the General Conference, but referred only to the arrangement by which an episcopacy was to be secured to the Church, which was to be unique in possessing the distinctive characteristics, "itinerant" and "general." To assume that the present absence of anything worthy of the name of plan was the thing contemplated by the authors of the restrictive rules is to give them credit for an accurate foresight of an ecclesiastical policy which had no existence at all until nearly half a century after their day.

The question at issue is a very plain one. An episcopacy was established with a proviso that it must remain permanently "itinerant" and "general." But, as a matter of fact, it has ceased to be general, in that it leaves vast sections of the Church without episcopal superintendence.

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To say that this failure is made up by the presence of presiding elders is to trifle with words. There were presiding elders in the Church when the rule was adopted, and yet it was expected that the bishops should personally visit every district. Then, as to the word "itinerant," it is no longer applied to the episcopacy in the Methodist sense of the word. It keeps the bishops in motion, it is true, but it sends them through the Church and over the world on a series of extraordinary tours, the utility of which practical men fail to see, and the nature of which is in singular contrast with the orderly methods of the itinerant system as applied elsewhere. I unhesitatingly and firmly believe in the episcopal form of government and in the itinerant Methodist system with its historic modifications. I also believe that the episcopal superintendence should be general, and for this reason I have ventured to advocate a policy which will put a Methodist bishop at every point where one is needed. and thus give the Church what she now has only in very imperfect measure, an itinerant general superintendency. When Bishop Thomson edited *The Christian Advocate* he advocated similar views, and it was from that loyal man that I learned to cherish the hope of a more excellent ecclesiastical way.

Penang, Malaysia. J. M. THOBURN.

CHURCH PAPERS FOR SUNDAY READING.

THE writer has a conviction, born both of experience and observation, that the value of the best Church paper varies according to the time of the week it reaches its readers. Let experience be heard from first. In the summer of 1893 I was stationed in Colorado, at a point where *The Christian Advocate* reached me regularly on Saturday. As a rule it was hardly more than unfolded till Sunday afternoon, most of which I had for reading. Though I had taken this paper for thirteen years I never realized what a treasure it was till I had those Sabbath afternoons to give to its perusal while, to me, it was fresh. Of especial value did I find the page on "The Christian Life." The Sunday atmosphere, after the Sunday school and Church worship of the forenoon, gave a wholesome flavor to that excellent department. I read, also, with relish and profit most of the longer articles of the paper, something I had done but rarely and irregularly in all the years I had been a subscriber. This was not the first time I had been blessed with leisure on Sunday, but as I had always lived where the paper reached me as early as Friday I had usually read the shorter articles and items at the first, and by Sunday it was laid aside for something else. Later in 1893 I moved to a point farther west, where *The Christian Advocate* did not reach me till Monday morning. Though my summer experience had taught me to value it more highly than ever before, I found it impossible to read it as much under these changed conditions as I had in the summer. It would get the old time "skimming over" when it first came; often no more. On Sunday there was seldom any disposition to hunt up a paper that had been off the presses nearly two weeks and thrown around in my study

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nearly one full week. As a result I got but little value out of one of my most valued Church papers. I was afterward relating this experience to an eminent educator in Denver, when he gave me a similar experience in connection with another New York weekly, *The Outlook*. Picking up a copy from his table, he said: "Here is a paper that regularly reaches me on Saturday evening, and I invariably read it on Sunday. If it came earlier in the week I would have no time to read it, and by Sunday its freshness would be so nearly gone I would likely have but little disposition to read it."

Distant subscribers will doubtless appreciate the fact that most religious weeklies go to press in the first part of the week chiefly for their benefit, but for "the greatest good to the greatest number" I feel warranted in advocating a change to the other end of the week, especially for all our Methodist weeklies. If all of these official papers with the date of Saturday went to press early Friday morning, and were mailed Friday evening, they could be distributed over an area having a radius of six hundred miles from each publishing center before the post offices would close on Saturday night; and as for distant subscribers, if all mailing were to stop by Saturday noon, so that no Sunday mail train would carry Methodist official literature, and no postal servant employ Sunday in handling papers that are sometimes rife with Conference resolutions against Sabbath desecration—with such an arrangement these distant subscribers would fare as well as they do now, for a New York paper delivered in Omaha on Saturday is pretty largely made up the week previous anyhow. In other words, they would fare about as the majority of subscribers now fare, getting their paper near the middle of the week.

Observation coincides with experience in support of the conviction that our Church papers are read much less than they would be if the majority of subscribers received them on the eve of the Sabbath. In most homes, Methodist with the rest, there is but little reading during the week aside from the daily newspaper. That the Church paper should aim to compete with the Sunday secular in all respects I do not advocate; but that it should use every legitimate plan to engage for itself a larger portion of the principal reading day of the week is a pressing necessity. If there is to be any check to the increasing demand for the Sunday newspaper might not the antidote be found in publishing the Church weekly and putting it into the home a little nearer the time that the secular paper is placed there? Since religious editors have a whole week to prepare one issue, while in that time the secular editors must make seven, it seems that the Church weekly ought to be able to compete with the Sunday secular in general attractiveness, at any rate in Christian homes; and if the Church paper could only be found in those homes on Sunday morning, having some of that freshness which is the chief charm of the Sunday secular, there certainly would be some chance for competition. It may be claimed by some that the news feature is the principal attraction of the Sunday paper, particularly the sensational

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news in it, and that in this feature the Church paper can never compete. But it is evident that the publishers of the Sunday paper do not regard this feature as the chief attraction, else why would they put into that paper so much matter in addition to the news? In multitudes of Christian homes there is much more time spent on the Sunday newspaper than would be required in getting the news, sensational and all the rest. Perhaps much is read in that paper which might be found in the library of those very homes, but which would not be read if not found fresh in the newspaper. In this department of general reading the Church paper certainly could compete and would have as good a chance to cultivate a taste for itself as the secular paper has, or nearly so. Of course it could never be quite as fresh as the secular paper on Sunday, but aside from the news it would appear as fresh if it were not seen in the home till Sunday morning.

If our Church papers were published late in the week it might be an experiment worth trying to send them in packages to all the large cities and have them delivered on Saturday night by private carriers. Our "officials" are numerous enough, and published at such centers as to be able to cover all their own territory, with a bare exception or two, by Saturday night if mailed on Friday night. If this, or some similar plan, were undertaken, it would be found that we have not too many official papers, and might even have to add one or two.

The alteration I suggest is certainly not a revolution. It simply asks a change in the time of going to press with our Church papers from the first end of the week to the last. From the standpoint of the subscriber and reader this suggestion seems feasible and advantageous. To editors and publishers it may seem like worthless theorizing. Nevertheless it is hereby submitted, in good faith, for general and charitable consideration.

St. Louis, Mo. COLUMBUS BRADFORD.

THE SOUL A SUBSTANTIAL ENTITY.

THE saintly and scholarly Dr. James Strong has left us the result of his readings and reflections on immortality in a little book entitled *The Doctrine of a Future Life.* In reference to "disembodied spirit" he says: "All information by observation or testimony is shut out; every avenue of external intelligence is closed. . . . No act, properly such, can be put forth by a spirit destitute of all apparatus and opportunity for it. . . . No thought or feeling will occupy the mind but gladness of review, luxury of soul communion, and rapture of anticipation." "There is," says the author, "no *tertium quid* or intermediate substance between body and spirit."

This seems a bold assertion in face of the latest announcements of science. The very corner stone of the material universe is the atom, a substance unseen; and the fluid that fills the spaces between the rolling worlds is a thing so misty and mysterious that none of the senses can come in touch with it. Who knows but that some subtle substance, al-

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ready contained within the body, may incase or clothe the soul around, and depart with it, and live with its life, inseparable from its existence? "There is a spiritual body." "We have . . . a house not made with hands." We desire not to be "unclothed but clothed upon." "Flesh and blood" are ruled out, but not spiritual, or pneumatical, substance. That all the departed saints shall wait for the resurrection without an embodying substance of some kind, as unclothed guests might wait outside a palace because unfit to enter, is a theory which is, to say the least, unproved.

The authors of that profoundly thoughtful book called *The Unseen Universe*, lay down two general conditions of organized life: "There must be an organ connecting the individual with the past, and there must be such a frame and such a universe that the living being has the power of varied action in the present. . . . We cannot imagine a finite intelligence to exist without organization." They show there is nothing in physical philosophy that can lead us to doubt the existence of immaterial substances. They take the position that, as the physical substance of the visible universe and the beginnings of life must have originated in an invisible universe, and as the present material system is tending to inevitable decay, the laws of continuity and of the conservation of energy make it probable that the available energy of the visible universe will ultimately be appropriated by the ether; and, as a separate existence, the visible universe itself may disappear, "so that we shall have no huge useless, inert mass in far-off ages to remind the passer-by of a species of matter which will then have become long since out of date and functionally effete. Why should not the universe bury its dead out of sight?"

If we are surrounded by an invisible universe it is not unscientific to suppose that souls slip from the one universe into the other, that angelic beings should come and go, and that God himself should reach out a hand divine from a world so near. Supernal forces seem to us as human forces must seem to bees in a hive when a hand intrudes, or to ants when a human footstep makes itself felt on their lowly roof. Incarnation, resurrection, ascension, providential interposition, are like gleams of sunlight through the windows of a home. The spiritual world is not an unnatural world, but an overshadowing and encircling sphere of being which receives the redeemed of earth and crowns them with fullness of life.

Such a view of the heavenly world accords with facts of Scripture and experience—Stephen's rapturous vision, John's apocalyptic glimpses of glory, Jacob's wondrous dream, the sight of celestial chariots that met the opened spiritual sense of Elisha's servant, the strange sweet recognitions of saintly men and women in all ages as they have lingered on the confines of the future world. Spirit forms may be seen by the inner sense, but not spirits without forms. Heaven is not a world of shadows, but a world of sentient, substantial souls. Innate longings go out toward a natural and human heaven—not toward a dreamy and shadowy sphere occupied by beings *in transitu*, waiting in calm and trancelike state for

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the resurrection, the second advent, and the judgment day to inaugurate their real life.

The poet Tennyson, who, in his masterpiece, "In Memoriam," shows such keen insight into humanity and its hopes, is said to have remarked: "I believe that, beside our material body, we have an immaterial body, something like what the Egyptians called the Ka. . . . The spirit flashes out of this shadow into substance." Is this not both scriptural and sensible?

Thurlow, Pa. T. M. GRIFFITH.

IS DR. WHEELER RIGHT?

ON page 169 of the January–February number, in a review of Dr. D. H. Wheeler's *Our Industrial Utopia, and Its Unhappy Citizens*, occurs this statement: "Notable, too, is his approval of the theory concerning land that it has no value except what has been put into it by labor, which of itself is a refutation of Henry George's doctrine of government ownership and the single tax." I greatly wonder that so clear a thinker as is Dr. Wheeler should fail to see the one-sidedness of the "theory" to which he gives his "approval." Land and labor depend each upon the other for its value. Labor is absolutely helpless except land supply it with raw material. Land is absolutely valueless except labor transform it into wealth. Land and labor are the two coordinated legs upon which society perambulates. No substitute for the coordination, nor for either of the legs, can be found. Destroy the coordination, and society is unbalanced; labor, and it tumbles; land, and it is helplessly crippled. In the statement under consideration let the terms "land" and "labor" exchange places, and it would be no further from the truth than as it now stands. A much nearer approach, however, to the whole truth is made in the proposition that both derive all the value they possess from association with each other. We conclude, therefore, that Dr. Wheeler has given his "approval" to a very untrustworthy "theory."

What disposition shall be made of wealth, the joint product of land and labor? Consider, in answering, that labor (brain and brawn) is the gift of God (nature) to the individual, and that land is the gift of God (nature) to the race. In order to produce profit (wages or rent) the individual and the race must form a copartnership. In the enterprise the individual must invest his worthless labor; the race, its valueless land. The profits should be divided accordingly. Wages, the profit of labor by virtue of its association with land, should accrue to the individual. See Luke x, 7. Rent, the profit of land by virtue of its association with labor, should accrue to the race. See Eccles. v, 9.

We conclude, therefore, that wages should belong to the individual producing them; that land rents should be collected by the government for the people; and that this "is of itself a" substantiation "of Henry George's doctrine of" common "ownership and the single tax." He who has a more equitable, natural, and scriptural doctrine has a great opportunity to become famous. J. L. VALLOW.

Durango, Colo.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

"BAPTIZED FOR THE DEAD."—1 COR. XV, 29.

THE passages of Scripture which perplex modern critics were equally perplexing to the early Church. One would suppose that the enlightenment and critical skill of the present age would have been successful in clearing up these difficult passages; but many problems still remain to be solved, and the work of the exegete has not been superseded. The early expositors are still the fountain whence we draw our most satisfactory explanations of Scripture.

The passage under consideration is one upon which much learning, and especially much conjecture, have been expended. "What shall they do which are baptized for the dead?" It is clear that there was in the early Church a baptism for the dead the exact nature of which has not been made known to us. An exhaustive catalogue of interpretations may be found in the critical commentaries. We give the list furnished by Dean Stanley as an example of the vagaries of exegesis. The interpretation adopted by Dean Stanley is, "Those who are baptized vicariously for the dead." Other interpretations are: 1. "What shall they gain who are baptized *for the removal of their dead works?*" 2. "What shall they gain who are baptized *for the hope of the resurrection of the dead?*" (Chrysostom.) 3. "What shall they gain who are baptized *into the death of Christ?*" 4. "What shall they gain who are *afflicted* (compare Luke xii, 50; Mark x, 38) *for the hope of the resurrection of the dead?*" 5. What shall they gain who are baptized at the moment of death, *with a view to their state when dead*" (alluding to the practice of deathbed baptisms)? 6. "What shall they gain who are baptized *into the place of the dead martyrs?*" 7. "What shall they gain who are baptized *into the name of the dead* (John and Christ)?" 8. "What shall they gain who are baptized *in order to convert those who are dead in sin?*" 9. "What shall they gain who are baptized *only to die?*" 10. "What shall they gain who are baptized *over the graves of the dead*" (that is, the martyrs, etc.)? 11. "What shall they gain who are baptized when dying, *as a sign that their dead bodies shall be raised?*" 12. "What shall they gain who are baptized *for the good of the Christian dead;* that is, *to hasten the day of the resurrection by accomplishing the number of the elect?*"

The selection among these must be largely a matter of conjecture and of greater or less probability, for none of them is entirely free from difficulties. Dean Stanley's view, that our text is an allusion to the practice of "vicarious baptism," is probably the prevalent one. It is said that there was a custom of the Corinthians of the first century, and afterward of the Marcionites, to baptize a living person in behalf of one who had died in the faith, but unbaptized. It was baptism by proxy. It is generally agreed that this is the most natural meaning of the passage. The objec-

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tion to it is not a linguistic one. It seems unreasonable that Paul would have sanctioned by an allusion even such a superstitious practice. This objection is strongly urged by Calvin and others. On the other hand, so careful and conservative an expositor as Ellicott favors this as the most tenable view, but evidently with some misgivings. He announces his decision with the statement that "the reference to a custom which, if it then existed, must have been condemned creates a real difficulty."

If this be rejected, then there are but two other interpretations which may be seriously considered —one involving an ellipsis, and the other an unusual meaning of the word "baptized." The former is that of Chrysostom. This interpretation involves an ellipsis of "the resurrection," making it read baptized "for the resurrection of the dead," showing a belief in the doctrine of the resurrection. The chief objection is that it involves a truism, and adds nothing to the force of the apostle's argument. This explanation also involves an unusual meaning of the preposition *ὑπέρ*, translated "for." The other rendering to which we have referred is the employment of the word "baptized" in a scriptural sense, and with a meaning which harmonizes with the verse following. It is the use of "are baptized" in the sense of *suffer*. "What shall they do who suffer for the dead?" The passages which illustrate this will readily occur to the reader and need not to be mentioned. The following verse seems to harmonize with this meaning, namely, "Why stand we in jeopardy every hour?" This usage of the word "baptize" is found in Mark x, 38, 39: "Ye know not what ye ask: can ye drink of the cup that I drink of? and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with? And they said unto him, We can. And Jesus said unto them, Ye shall indeed drink of the cup that I drink of; and with the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized." This passage has generally been interpreted as referring to the baptism of trial and suffering through which the apostles would be called upon to pass. This interpretation harmonizes with the verses which follow our text: "Why stand we in jeopardy every hour? I protest by your rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily." We cannot, of course, claim this as the ordinary rendering of the word "baptized," but it is a possible rendering; and, in a passage where something must be supplied, a possible meaning of a word which harmonizes with the context and gives force to the whole argument is a safe interpretation among so many conflicting opinions.

THE MINISTER AS A COMFORTER.

In that most personal and touching of all Paul's letters, his second letter to the Corinthians, he blesses God for comforting him in his tribulations, and at the same time recognizes a divine purpose in all God's consolations, namely, "that we may be able to comfort them that are in any affliction" (2 Cor. i, 4). The Greek is very beautiful and forceful: *ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει.* It is noteworthy that the word "comfort" occurs ten times from the

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third to the eighth verses of this chapter. How sore the soul to whom these words of healing were so welcome!

The doctrine of the text is that God bestows his comforts on us, not for ourselves only, but to enable us to comfort others. This thought is especially suggestive when we pause and look around us. Many changes have occurred within a brief period. Fortunes have been made and lost; reputations and positions in life have been gained or have vanished; death has moved on with steady step, and only when we review the ended year do we recognize how triumphant his march has been. One has only to note the changes that take place during a sojourn abroad for even a few months. Nor is death the only source of human sorrow. Sadness in home and in personal life whose pangs are even worse than bereavement are ever coming to our notice.

It follows that one of the highest privileges and duties of the minister is to be the bearer of consolation. The Second Epistle to the Corinthians is the expression of the heart of the great apostle. He has suffered, he has been comforted, and he recognizes an end in his consolations, namely, that he may comfort others. It may be that he includes other Christian ambassadors besides himself in the "us" of the text, for his word is a basis for that ministry of consolation which the world expects from God's servants.

The word here rendered "comfort" is opposed to "tribulation," and marks the relief which comes from the Father of mercies, who is also designated as the God of consolation. The verb *παρακαλεῖν*, "to comfort," in many passages is "the technical term for a specific kind of Christian teaching, namely, that in which beseeching (2 Cor. v, 20), admonition, and comfort predominate." It appeals to the will, rather than to the intellect, and aims to win, rather than to subdue. The noun has a similar significance. The idea of comfort by means of the Gospel is clearly set forth. "Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted" (Matt. v, 4). The Church at Antioch, when it received the letter from the first Church council at Jerusalem, "rejoiced at the consolation." The same word is employed in Acts xiii, 15, but is there rendered "exhortation." It might without impropriety be rendered, "If ye have any word of consolation for the people say on." In Rom. xii, 8, is the phrase, "He that exhorteth, on exhortation." It might be rendered, "He that comforteth, on comfort." These passages have been adduced to show how fully the Scriptures refer to consolation as one of the great offices of the Gospel, and consequently of the Gospel minister.

The Church has always regarded the characterization of Barnabas, "son of consolation," as one of the choicest eulogies of a Christian minister. This is a characteristic which receives little public recognition, but it is nevertheless a quality not to be despised. We recall a preacher of great eminence whose sermons are clothed in choicest English and whose name is a synonym for fidelity in every department of church work; but, when spoken of by those who have been nearest him, it has always been remarked as his chief glory that he has been the comforter of his troubled

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people. His name is written in the hearts of hundreds to whom he has thus brought tenderest ministrations.

This power to comfort others differs in different persons. Some are sympathetic by nature and can readily and naturally approach the troubled, while others equally ready find it difficult. There are those, too, who hesitate to offer sympathy as being an intrusion upon the sacredness of human sorrow. All this should be considered. Obtrusiveness is never more out of place than in attempting to administer consolation. Yet, though sometimes no word can be spoken, the sympathetic heart carries its message by an unseen current and reaches the heart that most needs it.

Should not this element pervade our preaching more fully than it does? Many men and women in our churches are hard worked. They find life's burden very heavy, and bring to the house of God a sense of loneliness and weariness of which they are scarcely conscious. How cheering if they can recognize in the minister's word the voice of the Master, saying, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Such a word does not always imply a formal allusion to human suffering, nor is there required any false sentimentality in dealing with the subject; but the spirit of consolation should be the atmosphere in which all the minister's work is carried forward.

We have not referred to the truths of the Gospel as the real consoling element; that is everywhere assumed. The Holy Spirit is the "Comforter." Life and immortality have been brought to light in the Gospel. It is the preacher's duty to see to it that these great grounds of consolation are not obscured, but that they find the same prominence in the Christian pulpit that they have in the word of God.

The apostle, however, alludes to a preparation for comforting others which is very sad, for it is wrought out in tears. Paul passed through it. He had been pressed without measure; "without were fightings, within were fears." He knew the bitterness of the struggle of life. He even desired "to depart, and be with Christ, which is far better." Nevertheless, he resolved that to abide in the flesh was more needful for the Church. So, when the light shone into his soul, and God came to him with his rich consolations, he burst out in thanksgiving, because thereby he would "be able to comfort them that are in any affliction." It is the joy of many ministers, as they review the sorrows and cares of the year now past, that they have thus been able to comfort the lonely and the sorrowful.

HOW TO STUDY THE BIBLE.

In all Christian countries the Bible is recognized as the source of religious teaching, and its study is enjoined by the Christian pulpit and press as one of the most sacred duties. It is nevertheless true that this study is in the main perfunctory, and that there is a gross neglect of systematic and spiritual reading of the Bible. It is, further, no contradiction to this statement to add that so profound a scholastic interest in the Bible has never existed before, and that its friends and foes were

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never so busy in forging armor, both for attack and defense, as in these closing years of the nineteenth century. Discussion of the topic, "How Shall We Study the Bible?" is always timely, and never more so than now.

It will be at once recognized as a truism that we cannot study the Bible successfully unless we have an intelligent conception of what we mean by the Bible. It is well known that the name "Bible," as applied to our sacred writings, was not introduced until the fourth century, probably by St. Chrysostom. The word originally meant the papyrus plant, the inner bark of which was used of old as a material for writing; then the name of the material on which the manuscripts were written was applied to the contents of the separate books, as "the book of Moses" (Mark xii, 26), "the book of Psalms" (Luke xx, 42); and then, after centuries, to the "entire word of God."*

The Bible differs from other books in that it was not written by one author, but by different authors, in different ages, and on various topics. It opens with the Book of Genesis, which records the origin of the material universe and of human history, and closes with the Apocalypse by St. John, which describes with symbolic splendor the final triumph of the kingdom of God. Thousands of years separate the great historical events which it narrates. The writers, too, differ from each other in style and appear in different ages and under diverse forms of civilization. Some of the books are poetical, like the Psalms; some are didactic, like the Proverbs; some are prophetic, like Isaiah and Nahum; some are doctrinal, like Romans; some practical, like James; some spiritual, like the epistles of St. John. Their coloring is largely local, and their methods and style are as varied as their topics and as the personal characteristics of their authors. The Bible seems to be a library rather than a single book. It is thus like the material universe, in which all the sciences find their roots and their expression. The same earth-crust is examined by the geologist, the mineralogist, the chemist, the antiquarian, and the philosopher. So the same Bible is investigated by the scientist, the philologist, the statesman, the philosopher, the critic, the moralist, and the human soul absorbed in the highest spiritual problems; and it is expected to yield satisfactory answers to them all.

Notwithstanding all this diversity, our Bible is one book. It has one sublime purpose—the salvation of men from sin, thus ennobling humanity. It has one author, God, by whose inspiration the various writers of the different ages have communicated to us his will. It has been demanded of this book by the critics, and the justice of the demand has been accepted by its friends, that every part shall harmonize with every other part, and that Genesis and Revelation, the Old Testament and the New, shall at no point contradict each other. At this stage the schools of attack and defense diverge. Into such discussions our topic does not call us to enter. We merely mention it to show that we claim for our Bible that its authors were inspired by God.

* Alexander, *New Testament Literature*, p. 7.

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ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

It is greatly to be regretted that we have no very ancient manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible; indeed, the oldest so far discovered is of comparatively recent origin. The earliest manuscript of any portion of the Old Testament in the Hebrew language is that called the "Later Prophets' Codex," supposed to have been written A. D. 916. The next oldest is one of the entire Old Testament, said to have been written A. D. 1009. Both of these precious documents are in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg. What is known as the "Reuchlin Codex of the Prophets," now at Carlsruhe in Germany, bears the date of A. D. 1105. The great bulk of Hebrew manuscripts originated at a much later time, somewhere between the twelfth and sixteenth century of the Christian era. According to the conservative view, the last book of the Old Testament was written at least four hundred years B. C.; and even the most liberal critic will admit that the entire Old Testament was completed before the birth of Christ. Thus, according to the most radical view, more than one thousand years had elapsed between the completion of the original autographs and the most ancient copies in our possession. During the writing of this article word comes from England that Dr. Gaster exhibited some ancient manuscripts at a recent meeting (on January 14) of the Society of Biblical Archæology in London, and at the same time read a paper entitled "Some Unique Hebrew Manuscripts of the Bible of the Ninth and Tenth Century." This paper is soon to be published in the "Proceedings" of the society. It is to be hoped that these documents will prove genuine and offer material aid to biblical textual criticism.

Such a long period having elapsed between the original autographs and oldest transcripts, it is but natural to think that the latter contain some errors. Not only have the original disappeared, but probably many copies even of copies made in that long interval have also been lost. It is more than likely that each succeeding copy would be somewhat less correct than its predecessor. For, in spite of the scrupulous care bestowed by the Hebrews upon the correct reproductions of their sacred books, a multitude of errors of one kind or another have crept in. Many of these have been pointed out by the Masorites, and supposedly more correct readings have been suggested in the footnotes found in our ordinary Hebrew Bibles. Unfortunately, these notes, though numerous, are of minor importance, for they are chiefly concerned with the accents, orthography, or pronunciation; and indeed many of them are positively wrong. Driver, in his *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, has well said: "The work of the Masorites, it should be remembered, was essentially *conservative;* their aim was not to *form* a text, but, by fixing the pronunciation and other means, to *preserve* a text which (in all essentials)

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they received already formed, from others. The antecedents of the text which thus became the basis of the Masoretic text can only be determined approximately by conjecture."

The preservation of the Hebrew Scriptures has been the marvel of the ages; for, in spite of war, captivity, and persecution, we have a goodly number of these ancient writings, mostly in language perfectly intelligible. That the sacred writings of a people subjected to so many difficulties should contain errors is natural. For, though the scribes for the most part executed their work with great conscientiousness and punctilious care, we are not to regard them as infallible or inspired. As time rolled on, and the Jews became scattered over the earth, not only would they forget their own language, but words and phrases would change their meaning, and many idiomatical expressions would become unintelligible. Hence there would arise a variety of renderings. Besides, there were men in all ages, as to-day, who used words carelessly, without trying to grasp their meaning. Were there no transcribers of this kind?

It is hardly necessary to apprise any of our readers that the Hebrew was originally written without any vowels. This must have been a fertile source of errors. Take one of the most familiar roots in the Hebrew language, פקד (pkd), just three consonants. By using the proper vowels perhaps a score of words, all differing, at least slightly, in meaning, could be formed. It would be difficult, indeed, always to strike the right meaning, the one intended by the original writer. Imagine a book of the size of the Old Testament being entirely written with consonants, without one single vowel; and imagine, further, that this book was copied and recopied age after age, for ten or fifteen hundred years, in countries widely separated, and often by copyists of little aptitude and education. Those who have been engaged in the study and teaching of dead languages know well how little insight and critical taste some people, though devout and of excellent character, possess, and how difficult it is for them to enter into the niceties of etymology and construction. Have we any business to expect more of an ancient Hebrew copyist than of modern Americans engaged in the same work?

As a specimen of a passage which has defied the translators, and which shows how little we know about its real meaning, we can do no better than call the reader's attention to Prov. xxvi, 10. This verse Canon Farrar recognizes as one of "those 'dark sayings' which were purposely intended to exercise the ingenuity." The learned canon points out the several readings. In our Authorized Version it is rendered, "The great God that formed all things both rewardeth the fool, and rewardeth transgressors." In the Revised Version it is:

> As an archer that woundeth all,
> So is he that hireth the fool and he that hireth them that pass by.

The margin again gives:

> A master worker formeth all things;
> But he that hireth the fool is as one that hireth them that pass by.

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Rosenmueller renders it:

> The mighty man causes terror;
> So does he who hireth the fool and the transgressor.

Gesenius, Hitzig, and Umbreit translate the words thus:

> Much produces all;
> But he who employs a fool is as one who employs passers-by.

Delitzsch, altering the vowel points, renders the passage thus:

> Much bringeth forth all;
> But the hire of a fool and his hirer perish.

How early vowel points were invented and came into general use is a mooted question. It is generally agreed that the Septuagint Version was made without their aid. Josephus also must have read and translated from an unpointed text, as otherwise passages quoted by him could not have been so different from the present Masoretic text. There is also evidence that Jerome, the author of the Vulgate, who died 420 A. D., used the unpointed Hebrew. It is very possible that a scribe or a rabbi here and there employed some private marks to assist correct pronunciation; but it is almost certain that vowels were not in general use till the seventh century of our era.

We must again remember that the Hebrew people did not always have the beautiful and regular square characters, such as we have at present. These are rather the products of a gradual development, an evolution from an original alphabet once common to the Semitic languages. The following, quoted by Driver from the Talmud, is of special interest: "Originally the law was given to Israel in the Hebrew character and in the sacred tongue; it was given to them again, in the days of Ezra, in the Assyrian character and in the Aramaic tongue. Israel chose for themselves the Assyrian character and the sacred tongue, and left to the ἰδιῶται the Hebrew character and the Aramaic tongue." It would be very easy to multiply quotations to prove the same fact. Whoever is curious to see the characters used by the ancient Hebrews should turn to the comparative table of ancient Semitic alphabets in Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar. Here he will find exact reproductions taken from various objects, which are now preserved in the museums, and thus will be enabled to notice the gradual development from the most ancient characters yet found to the present square letter. The oldest is the inscription found at Dibon, commonly called the Moabite Stone, belonging to the time of King Mesha (2 Kings iii, 4), who lived about 900 B. C. The most important and oldest inscription, purely Hebrew, is that found on one of the walls of the Pool of Siloam, generally supposed to belong to the time of Hezekiah (see 2 Kings xx, 20). Then we have short inscriptions on gems and stone, and still later on Hebrew coins, as of the Maccabean prince Simon (about 140 B. C.). Then there are some Aramaic manuscripts from the third century to the first B. C., and last of all some Palmyrene inscriptions from the first to the third century A. D. Thus,

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as Dillmann says, we are enabled to trace the development of the present Hebrew alphabet through a thousand years. We have entered so fully into the subject of these inscriptions in order to show how easy it would have been in this period of ever-changing alphabets for a copyist to have made some errors in transcription.

But again, even in the manuscripts which have the square characters, many of the letters resemble one another so closely as to require the most constant care in order to avoid all mistakes. Every Hebrew scholar will recall the time when he confounded some of the following letters: י, ו, ן, ך, ר, נ; ב, כ; ה, ח, ת; ש, שׁ (y, v, n, k, d, r; k, b; h, ch, t; s, sh). Add to this the similarity between sounds, as between the Hebrew for *not* and *to him*. Even in writing English, where is the man who has not sometimes written "to" for "too," "here" for "hear," etc.?

Leaving the errors that could have arisen in some of the various ways above described, it is not quite certain that the copyists always aimed at being exact. Indeed, it is possible that such work was done more conscientiously in post-biblical times than before the close of the canon. Strange as this assertion may seem, it nevertheless becomes clear that such was the case, if we compare those sections which have been repeated, as many passages in the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. Or, to be more definite, let anyone compare, verse by verse, the triumphal ode of David as given in 2 Sam. xxiv and in Psalm xviii, or Psalms xiv and liii, which are virtually the same. The differences between the two copies are quite noticeable, and cannot always be explained by the carelessness of the copyist, inasmuch as many of the changes must have been made purposely—although Dillmann may go too far in concluding from these differences that there was a time when the Hebrews regarded their sacred writings less sacred or inspired than they did ages later.

Enough has been said in the foregoing paragraph to show how mistakes could have been made and variants have arisen. That such errors and corruptions exist in the Masoretic text is a fact which even the beginner in the study of Hebrew has discovered; that some books are much more corrupt than others is also a fact that none will deny. Take, for instance, the books of Samuel. Who has not been perplexed in trying to find out the correct reading of the text as it was in the first copy? The great question now is how we can restore the original text. As we have seen, there is a gap of over one thousand years between our most ancient Hebrew manuscripts and the latest of the original autographs, and considerably over two thousand years between anything Moses could have written and the codex now found in the Museum of St. Petersburg. The most sanguine of us may still cherish the hope that the pick and the spade, or the ever-watchful eye of the excavator and archæologist, may yet in some nook or corner of some venerable ruin discover manuscripts at least as old as any we have of the New Testament. Yea, more; if such a library as the Tel-el-Amarna tablets has been found, why may we not hope and pray that the original of some, if not of all, of the Old Testament books may yet come to light?

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In the meantime the best we can do is to study patiently and compare carefully the several ancient versions or translations of the Hebrew Bible —such as the Septuagint, written at least before the birth of our Saviour, and according to the conservative view not far from three hundred years before that time, and the various versions of the Septuagint, like that of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, all written before the close of the second century of our era. Then, to say nothing of the Hebrew Targums, there are other translations and early versions, such as the Syriac, Arabic, Vulgate, etc. If the text is to be amended at all it must be done, in the absence of the original autographs, with the help of the versions above mentioned. Though several distinguished scholars have undertaken to give an improved Hebrew text of some of the Old Testament books, we have so far nothing quite complete in this line. Now, however, this gap is to be filled up, for Professor Haupt, of Johns Hopkins, with the assistance of several of the most eminent biblical scholars in this country and Europe, has commenced the publication of such a work. This new critical edition of the Hebrew text will be noticed more fully in a subsequent issue.

A RISING CONSERVATIVE BIBLICIST.

Many Americans who attended the theological department of the University of Halle, Prussia, between 1870 and 1880, will readily recall the manly form and pleasant face of Adolph Zahn, D.D., who for many years was the chief pastor of the Reformed Church, known in that famous city of theologians as the "Dom Kirche," or Cathedral. His kindness to English-speaking students was proverbial; none of them stayed any length of time in Halle without receiving an invitation to dine with the great preacher. He was drawn to them on account of their conservative views and Christian experience. Dr. Zahn is a moderate Calvinist and a great admirer of Princeton College, and especially of Dr. Green, whose views on biblical questions he accepts. Though very popular with foreigners, he was a thorn in the flesh of the great majority of his German brethren in the ministry and an object of ridicule to the theological faculty. Whenever any of the greater lights condescended to speak of him it was usually with a sneer, and the fact that Dr. Zahn held that Moses had written the Pentateuch was to them a positive proof that he pursued unscientific methods. But, notwithstanding opposition in high places, he has steadily crept up, and now holds a commanding position. His Deuteronomy made quite an impression, and his *Ernste Blicke in den Wahn der Modernen Kritik* has found a hearty reception among the more evangelical clergy. He now lectures at that once great stronghold of rationalism, the University of Tübingen, where he attracts considerable attention. One of his most ardent admirers and supporters is Pastor Rupprecht. It is a fact full of significance that the writings of these ultra-conservative theologians are coming more and more to the front and are being freely discussed, not only by the theological press of America and England, but also in the critical magazines of more radical Germany.

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MISSIONARY REVIEW.

A QUADRENNIUM OF METHODIST FOREIGN MISSIONS.

THE comparative growth of missions as shown by statistical tables is not always exact. The figures themselves are too liable to be imperfectly collected, and uniformity in tabulation is well-nigh impossible. In some instances great influences pervade society that are wanting in others; and in some cases influences are exerted a long time, and steadily, before they crystallize in the hands of statisticians, while they are far more immediate in their precipitation in other instances. Some would say that the Methodist missions in China and India illustrate these two forms of action. In China the missionaries have been slow to admit as communicants persons who in grade of information and disposition are quite similar to those admitted freely in India, and India itself illustrates the two states. Prior to 1884 a great preparatory period was experienced, which has resulted in a steady advance of ratios within the past ten years, until, of the aggregate of a little less than one hundred and fifty thousand members and probationers (147,000) on the foreign field, toward one half (67,500) are tabulated in India. China records about one fourth (16,481) as many as India. The latter country does not, however, seem to be acting with undue haste, for it records a much larger number of "adherents" than the total of its members and probationers, while China enumerates about one half as many "adherents" as members and probationers. Thus it is that the conditions of different lands cannot be paralleled, and hence we repeat that comparative statistics do not show at any one period the precise conditions and relative growth. Nor can anyone say at what hour the brethren in China may be obliged to follow the more restrictive and repressive policy; nor can he predict the effect, when once the magnitude of the movement shall influence thousands now hesitating to attach themselves to small communities, but willing to join a movement large enough to exercise a general magnetism, and shall provide a community numerically sufficient to be self-protective.

It is impossible to pursue this analysis of the several foreign missions of the Church in detail. The Scandinavian missions, within round numbers say twenty-five thousand, and the Germany and Switzerland missions, with say twenty thousand, tempt a comparison of conditions and results. While they both contend with limitations of the civil law and State Churches, nevertheless the conditions on the whole have been more favorable for success in north Europe than in central Europe.

Turning from these comparisons, there is still a more comprehensive and equally encouraging feature of our foreign fields as a whole if they be compared with themselves four years ago. The increase in American missionaries has been but very small, only fifteen more being enumerated than four years ago. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society has in-

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creased its American force about one third. The native ordained preachers have increased fifty per cent, and the unordained preachers over forty per cent. We have in the foreign field fifty-six thousand plus more Methodist members and probationers than at the last General Conference, so that now the General Conference faces the responsibility of considering the needs of nearly a hundred and fifty thousand communicants outside the United States and Territories, and an equally large community affiliated with these churches, but not yet enrolled as communicants; of over forty thousand pupils in school training, and over a hundred and fifty thousand pupils receiving religious education in their foreign Sabbath schools. These foreign churches have increased their "self-support" contributions sixty per cent within four years, and have raised for other Church purposes over a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Thus a hundred and fifty thousand communicants, composed in large part of people so poor that the home churches cannot comprehend the self-denial involved, have roundly contributed a dollar a member to their pastors and a dollar a member for Church property, besides a very creditable average *per capita* for the formal "benevolent collections" of connectional Methodism.

Surely these foreign fields, judged by these statistical summaries, which, where not exact, are approximately so, present a very creditable showing, and no part of the whole range of topics claiming the attention of the General Conference requires more thoughtful, prayerful, and statesmanlike consideration than the interests of these widely ramifying missions of the Church.

THE GERMAN WORK IN THE UNITED STATES.

One almost necessarily sympathizes with the German element in Protestantism in this country as regards several essential difficulties which are inherent in its environment. A large part of the German population coming from Europe to this country has not been trained in what in Germany is known as the "evangelical" sects. They consequently arrive in America with the religious affinities of the State Church, if, indeed, it be not with antireligious prejudice. If cultivated, they are probably largely of infidel tendency; if illiterate, they are strongly tinctured with socialism. What religion they recognize is a mild sacramentarianism, resting in the baptism of children, the occasional participation in the Lord's Supper, and the services of a minister at marriages and funerals.

We have before us an able document, probably of German authorship, which sets forth the limited facilities for work among this class of our worthy citizens, and among others the meagerness of German literature available for evangelistic purposes. Tracts are few, and more costly than those in English, even a German Testament costing more than one in English, while literature imported from Germany rarely suits the needs of the case. Added to this is the German prejudice against an "evangelical," as one of the "sects" which he considers to be apostatized and which would influence him to abandon the faith of his fathers. National assimilation works both for and against the evangelical effort. In the

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first place, outside the Churches it goes on steadily, but very slowly; inside, the nationalization process moves rapidly, but results in weakening the Churches themselves by the steady flow from the German to the English-speaking organizations, especially in the younger and more vigorous accessions to the Church communion. It is difficult to estimate the full results of the labor of the German Churches in consequence of this transfer; while of course the growth and momentum among communicants in the German Churches is materially limited.

We are not apologizing for the German Protestant Churches. The very reverse is compelled, by the success achieved in the face of these obstacles. The German Methodist Episcopal churches in the German Conferences alone, by no means all of German Methodism, in 1895, tabulated 61,061 communicants, 738 traveling preachers, $4,128,810 of Church property, 57,543 Sunday school scholars, and a missionary collection of $37,312—a vast growth from the beginning under one lone missionary sixty years before.

It must not be imagined that the Methodist Episcopal Church is the only one making impression on the German population. In a little over fifty years the German Baptists in America have grown to a membership of just 20,000, spread over 30 States and Territories and provinces; and in 1894 their 219 churches reported no less than 1,753 as the residuum after the transfer of many to their English-speaking churches. The noble giving for Church purposes observable in the German Methodist Episcopal Church seems also to mark this thrifty, economical, and benevolent part of the Baptist Church; for the *Year Book* of the denomination shows the German Baptists to have averaged for current expenses during three years $5.64 *per capita*, and for missions $1.01 *per capita*. These figures show what the German Baptists themselves give, not what is given to them. The Methodist Episcopal German members and probationers enrolled in the summary of domestic missions of the Missionary Society gave for all purposes last year a fraction over $8 *per capita*. The missionary work among the Germans in America is not the only part of our great domestic missionary labor; but it stands out prominently because of the nearly fifteen million immigrants from 1821 to 1892 nearly one third were Germans. The Scandinavian mission churches reporting directly to the Missionary Society as domestic missions show about $6 *per capita* contributed for all Church purposes, including, as before, benevolent contributions. No part of the Missionary Society's expenditure yields more certain and substantial returns than that applied to these populations. In the pamphlet already alluded to the German writer says: "To one who looks beyond the nearest range it is very doubtful if it would really serve the welfare of this country to stop immigration. Is the American stock so fertile that it will people this continent alone? Is the American youth so prone to manual labor that he will plow in the plains and delve in the mountains alone, and yet meet the world's competition? . . . Are they sure that inbreeding is the best way to keep up the national strength? Bismarck says that no nations have ever played a great part in history except those of

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mixed stock." The writer also pertinently asks, "What are Christian men going to do with a host of people who know English so imperfectly that an English Gospel is practically no Gospel to them?"

THE AMERICAN BOARD MISSION IN TURKEY.

THE Christian world has been stirred to sympathy with one of the great missionary societies of the United States—the American Board—in the disasters which have overtaken a large part of its work in the Turkish empire through the recent Armenian massacres. The board has in the course, of many years invested some six million dollars in this mission, and of late years has appropriated annually a quarter of a million of dollars to sustain and operate the "plant," which was worth at the time of the recent outbreak a million and a half dollars. The mission has been one of the most efficient of modern days. Its missionaries have been of the very highest, easily ranking among the foremost men of the times in scholarship, management, and exemplary Christian living. Any State might be proud of such ambassadors in any foreign country.

There seems little room for doubt that the very success of the missions of the American Board has largely furnished the temptation to the Turkish government to assault the populations among which the board has been specially operating. While they studiously avoid all political complications and inculcate loyalty to the government, the missionaries aim to develop a type of character and to organize a community which expresses a civilization essentially unlike that which Mohammedanism has ever produced or can produce. When, therefore, this community had become a powerful factor in the land, and was daily growing more intelligent as to its rights and increasingly likely to assert them—and when the Turk knew that all Christian sects, especially Protestants, were steadily undermining and would ultimately overthrow the Mohammedan power of the empire—the government readily appreciated that the struggle for ascendency, and possibly for existence, was upon the present administration of Hamid II. Every instinct of religion and selfishness thus compels them to the course they have followed.

It is under this inspiration that the Turkish authorities are deliberately antagonizing Protestant interests, regardless of all treaties, have organized and directed massacres, and have planned the violent robbery of a community whose thrift is the natural product of this new civilization. The American Board mission stations have, in a dozen instances, been the theater of the bloodiest demonstrations against Christians. In most of the twenty cities and towns occupied by their missionaries from America, as well as in some three hundred other centers of evangelistic and educational activity, their success is seriously impaired, if not wholly blotted out. While the secular press teems with statements of the political situation it is well that Christian people of all denominations give prayerful sympathy to such a great missionary organization as the honorable American Board in the threatened destruction of its greatest mission.

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FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Erich Haupt. The perpetual stream of thought seldom fails to bring with it studies of eschatology, that most fascinating yet most fruitless branch of theology. Haupt, in a recent work on *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den synoptischen Evanglien* (The Eschatological Utterances of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels), published at Berlin (Reuther und Reichard, 1895), spends a large part of his strength in the effort to show that those utterances are not to be taken literally. Eating and drinking and sitting at meat in the kingdom of God is only an expression for fellowship with God brought to completion. Speaking of the words in Matt. xxvi, 64, where Jesus says to the high priest, "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven," he declares that we cannot think of a physical seeing, since neither any of the Sanhedrists nor any other Jew ever saw Christ bodily as the risen one. Nor can the words mean that at the Parusia they would see him, since in that coming event Jesus is never represented as sitting in heaven but as approaching the earth. Hence, the seeing spoken of can only refer to a spiritual vision of Jesus; in other words, they would experience his heavenly kingdom. So also Haupt teaches that the coming of the Son of man cannot be understood of the local approach of Christ to the physical earth, for in Matt. xxiv, 29, it is taught that just before the coming of the Son of man the sun shall "be darkened, and the moon shall not give forth her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken." Hence, the physical universe having passed away, Christ cannot come to our physical, local earth. All this is not designed by Haupt to cast doubt on the reality of the events described, but to show that they must not be understood in a bald, literal sense. That the language of Jesus, as that of the Bible throughout, is often figurative, even where it could be interpreted literally, is evident; and we have a conspicuous instance of it in the second chapter of Acts, where Peter says that the scenes of Pentecost were the fulfillment of the prophecy of Joel, that, with the pouring out of the Spirit, there should be "wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath; blood and fire, and vapor of smoke," the sun being "turned into darkness, and the moon into blood." But, while it is possible that the utterances of Jesus have been too sensuously conceived, it is exceedingly difficult for us to find any sure method of interpretation which would bring us any nearer the truth than the literal brings us.

Johannes Weiss. Side by side with the views of Haupt as to the figurative interpretation of the words of Jesus concerning eschatological subjects it may be well to place those of Weiss relative to the manner in

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which the figures of the New Testament are to be interpreted in general. While he admits that these metaphors are not to be taken literally at all, he thinks it is different with another class of figures employed by our Lord. For example, he says that when the words "flesh and blood" are used the concrete human being is meant; it is an expression which is designed to make the idea behind it particularly clear to the understanding. In the figures employed by Jesus he thinks our Lord showed a preference for illustration by extreme cases. For example, it is declared that faith can remove mountains. This, Weiss thinks, is not so much figurative as it is the mention of the extremest possibility of faith. He takes the command of Jesus to pray in our closets, not as meaning secret prayer, but as signifying that in order to pray in secret we should be willing to have a secret place where we can lock ourselves in. Some directions he would hold to be impossible, when taken in a literal sense, and hence he distinguishes between such instances as these and those which lie within the limits of possibility. For example, the command to turn the other cheek when we are smitten is possible to us, and therefore may not be taken figuratively. Upon occasion Jesus would require us to fulfill it literally. When he spoke of our tearing out the right eye and cutting off the right hand he meant to give expression to the most extreme requirements of his law. Weiss lays it down as a rule that when the thing described is actually possible or thinkable then the language of Jesus is to be taken literally, and says it is to be understood figuratively only when, in the nature of the case, the words cannot be literally taken. This whole subject is one which should be carefully studied. It has never received a tithe of the attention it has deserved. Most readers of the Bible never even stop to think about it. In order to solve the problems involved it will be necessary to take up the entire body of the New Testament writings, and study them, first with the aid of exact rhetorical analysis, to discover what is figurative and what literal in form. Then the question should be raised as to those words which, though figurative from the standpoint of rhetoric, are intended to convey a literal meaning. For many words which are figurative in form are so modified from their etymological significance as to have been literalized. The word "dilapidated" may be taken as an example, although even here there is an aroma of its tropical significance remaining. It will also be necessary to note words which are used both literally and figuratively. Then, with a careful definition and classification of figures of speech, progress in interpretation would be possible.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Der neutestamentliche Schriftcanon und Clemens von Alexandrien" (The Canon of the New Testament and Clement of Alexandria). P. Dausch, Freiburg, i. B. Herder, 1894. The Roman Catholic writer of this book expresses the desire that his treatise may inspire other Romanists to strive after the fulfillment of the desire uttered by "our holy

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father," Leo XIII, that the extreme criticism of the Bible may be met by a sober criticism. Dausch then takes under consideration the task, the method, the sources, and the literature. This is followed by a discussion of the relations of Clement of Alexandria to the individual documents of the New Testament—the gospels (canonical and uncanonical), the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline letters and Hebrews, the letters of Peter, the letters of Jude and James, the letters of John, the Apocalypse of John and of Peter, together with the writings of the Shepherd of Hermas. In the second part Dausch takes up the view which Clement held of the character of the New Testament canon. He raises five questions: (1) Was Clement acquainted with a list of New Testament writings? (2) Was he acquainted with a collection of New Testament writings? (3) Did he know of any authority attributed to the New Testament writings? (4) Did he know of any specific authority attributed to the New Testament writings? (5) Did he recognize the exclusive authority of the Scriptures? To all these questions Dausch gives a negative answer. He sums up his conclusions as follows: (1) Clement used and reverenced a large number of Christian and heathen writings to which he gave a certain authority and inspiration. (2) He distinguished between churchly and nonchurchly literature. (3) He knew no well-defined collection of Christian churchly literature, nor was the distinction sharp between Christian and other writings. (4) He knew no exclusive authority for the Scriptures. (5) He uses the epithets "Old" and "New Testament," but without clearly designating his meaning. (6) There was a collection of writings, but not a closed canon. (7) He held to no specific apostolic or prophetic principle of canonicity. (8) He spoke in essentially the same terms of the Old and New Testament. (9) Among recognized groups are the "gospels" and the "apostles." (10) By "apostolic" he generally meant "Pauline." (11) He knew of evangelical truth outside of the gospels. (12) He recognized a formal, but not an authoritative, difference between the Old and New Testament. (13) He knew fourteen Pauline letters, and ascribed the Hebrews to Paul. (14) He knew of the Acts by Luke, and the Apocalypse by John, but did not distinguish sharply between these documents and other old Christian literature. (15) Among the Catholic epistles he knew only 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, and Jude. (16) In point of respect he held the letter of Barnabas, the first letter of Clement, and the teaching of the apostles almost as high as the canonical New Testament documents. In conclusion, Dausch claims that the strong individuality of Clement forbids that he should be taken as representative of his time, and that neither from the beginning, nor at the year 200 A. D., was there an apostolic collection of writings for the purpose of consolidating the then originating Catholic Church.

De joodsche achtergrond van den Brief aan de Romeinen (The Jewish Background of the Epistle to the Romans). By J. A. C. Van

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Leeuwen. Utrecht, Breijer, 1894. Van Manen, the principal Dutch exponent of the idea that Romans in its present form is not the work of Paul, and could not possibly have been written by a Jew, but is a Gnostic revision and enlargement of a smaller work by Paul, furnishes the suggestion which has led to the writing of this work, which was originally a "doctor-dissertation." Contrary to the view of Van Manen, Van Leeuwen, another Dutchman, maintains the impossibility of the Greek origin of Romans in its present form. Taking up the direct utterances of Romans in reference to the Jewish origin of the author, he next considers the judgments of the epistle relative to the heathen and the Jews. In treating of the latter he discusses the significance of the law and the relation of Israel to Christ. Following the older theologians he points out the numerous analogies and parallels both in matter and form, between Romans and the older rabbinic literature. By this the author does not propose to demonstrate the dependence of Paul upon this literature in specific instances, but to show that the mind of the author of Romans proved itself in every part of the epistle saturated with Jewish ideas to such a degree as would be possible only to a born Jew. That he has succeeded no fair-minded reader can doubt. This does not, of course, prove directly that Paul is the author of the epistle in its present form, but it destroys the idea that it could not have been written by Paul. The argument for the Pauline authorship will be conceded by all who believe it to have been written by a Christian Jew. Yet such is the folly of some critics that it is difficult to say what position will be next taken. The Tübingen school did not question the Pauline authorship of Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians. Since then every one of these has been challenged, and has had to fight for its life. There are critics who deny the genuineness of every book of the New Testament, and think that with every trustworthy record gone they are in a position to understand Christianity aright. Such criticism gives a bad reputation to criticism of every sort. And in fact the extreme views held in certain ages by critics, from nearly all of which the criticism of the present day has receded, raises in the minds of the thoughtful the question whether after a while the learned world will not swing back to a quiet acceptance of the Bible as our fathers knew it. Even those who find it necessary to deny the genuineness of some of the books of the New Testament would confess that it is far more sober to accept all than to reject the Pauline authorship of Romans and Galatians.

De libris prohibitis commentarii. By Augustinus Arndt, S. J. Regensburg, F. Pustet, 1895. A book by a Jesuit concerning books forbidden to be read by Romanists ought to be authoritative of Roman Catholic belief and practice. It will therefore be well to notice what is forbidden, by whom, and why. In the first part of this work the author undertakes to give every instance of forbidden books which occurred prior to the year 1000. He claims that even in the early Church the Roman see exercised the recognized right to forbid the reading of objection-

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able books, and that very early arose the practice of referring dogmatic works to the popes for approbation prior to publication. In the second part the author takes up the punishments inflicted by the Church upon those who violated the prohibition. The object of the prohibition is to prevent the faithful from reading dangerous books and to hold them to obedience, but especially to prevent heretics and other godless men from publishing works of a harmful kind. Hence the prohibition extends to those who would personally be in no danger. But when the prohibition is issued by the Index-Congregation, even at the command of the pope, it is not a papal act, and hence not infallible, although binding on the conscience. Of course all books of such heresiarchs as Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin are forbidden, together with all Protestant translations of the Bible, which are in every case dangerous. Even Roman Catholic Bible translations with notes may not be read by the Romanists without special permission from the bishop upon recommendation of the father confessor or pastor. The reading of books in the mother tongue treating of the distinctions between Romanists and Protestants may be granted with the permission of the pastor. Book dealers may not handle forbidden books. Newspapers which justify the things condemned in the Syllabus of Pius IX are classed as dangerous. The father confessor must determine whether a paper may be read or not. One may receive permission to read books, and yet not be allowed to read forbidden newspapers. Even an innkeeper may not offer forbidden papers to his guests, and may at most furnish them for the value of the advertisements. Perhaps those who have insisted on the freedom which Roman Catholics enjoy will not see how excessively paternal is that system which places even newspaper reading under control of the Church. If Rome had spent half the energy in suppressing the wickedness of her saloon keepers and drunkards which she has exerted in the vain effort to hinder freedom of thought and the spread of intelligence, she might have accomplished something valuable in the world.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

An Austrian Retrograde Political Movement. The liberal revolution in Hungary has produced a clerical reaction which threatens harm to the religious liberty of Austria. In Hungary there is perfect religious freedom, brought about by the separation of Church and State. Romanists and Protestants, Jews and Christians, are alike free before the law to worship God as they will. The recent victory of the anti-Semitic party in Vienna is likely to produce exactly the opposite condition in Austria. The mayor of Vienna is an anti-Semite, and so are more than two thirds of the members of the city council. The party propose to allow no Jew to hold public office; to prevent the making of any contract by the government with Jews, and if possible to annul all governmental contracts with Jews now in force. They also propose to exclude all Jewish children from the public schools. But the party is almost as anti-Protestant as anti-Semitic.

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Its program is to exclude all Protestant teachers from the public schools, and to restore the schools to the Roman Catholic party. It is supposed that this part of the plans of the anti-Semitics is inspired from Rome.

A New Roman Catholic Propaganda in Germany. If the Roman Catholics do not recover their power in Germany it will not be for lack of effort. By some means they have gotten lists of names and addresses of students of the gymnasia and seminaries, and, after the manner of the publishers of impure literature, they are sending to their pupils, under sealed covers, copies of tracts against Protestantism, announcing at the same time that each booklet can be had for about two cents. Special attention is called in an accompanying list of these publications, ninety-two in number, to such tracts as "Luther and Marriage," "The Blessings of the Reformation," and "Protestant Historical Lies." This is a kind of warfare which can only degrade those who engage in it. But the fact that for years the Roman Catholic Church has been compelled to resort to this and similar methods shows the desperation into which they have fallen. Yet there are people so blind to the real situation as to suppose that Roman Catholicism is only one of several equally justifiable forms of Christianity.

A Missionary Countess. The Countess Schimmelmann carries on a peculiar mission work among the laborers and fishermen of the Danish coast. At one time she lived in all the splendor of court life, but she has said farewell to the world, because it could not afford her happiness, and has consecrated herself to this missionary work among the lowliest of her people. She has purchased a pleasure boat which once belonged to Prince Waldemar, and has transformed it to suit her purposes. There is a crew of seven men. The forepart of the ship is covered with a tent, in which the Countess assembles her hearers and speaks to them. She appears dressed in a plain black garb and stands behind a small table. She there relates the circumstances of her court life, shows its hollowness and inability to bring happiness, and then explains her purpose to labor for the elevation of her hearers, and shows them how impossible it is for external circumstances to satisfy. She closes the meeting with prayer for all the unfortunate of earth. The men hear her with great attention, bid her a grateful good-bye, and quietly depart. Others come, and the scene is repeated. As many as five such meetings are held daily in some places.

Baptists of Sweden and Finland. At the beginning of the year 1895 the number in Sweden was 37,601. Twelve years ago the start was made in Finland. Rev. C. Jameson fought hard for freedom of conscience and faith. Twenty-one times he was brought by the priests before the courts, although not convicted a single time. Now Finland has 28 churches and about 1,600 members, also a preachers' seminary, and a monthly paper called the *Post*. The Baptist Missionary Society of America supports the work.

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SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

INSPIRING are the examples of many of the pioneer clergy of the United States. The names and the deeds of some of these venerable worthies are recalled by President Charles J. Little, LL.D., in the *Chautauquan* for March, as he writes of "The American Pulpit." The "lay elder Brewster" comes early in the list, "who marched to church between Governor Bradford and Miles Standish, followed by the Pilgrims three abreast, each with a musket on his shoulder." The chaplain of the company which founded Jamestown was Robert Hunt, "'an honest, religious, courageous divine,' and the mainstay of the colony. He wore out a very noble life in words and deeds of helpfulness, leaving behind him an example not easily followed by the secondhand and damaged clergymen sent out quite frequently from England—'men that wore black coats and could babble in a pulpit or roar in a tavern.'" Other preachers of righteousness in the South were Garden, for thirty years rector at St. Philip's, Charleston; Clement Hall, of North Carolina, who "wrought wonders in his journey of fourteen thousand miles;" and the Wesleys and Whitefield. In New England are recalled Dr. Fuller, "the godly physician," who ministered to the Salem Colony in 1629; Hooker, Roger Williams, and John Harvard; John Eliot, who "established 'praying towns' for the Indians and translated the Bible into the Indian tongue;" the zealous and great Jonathan Edwards; and Eleazar Wheelock, who "opened his own home for an Indian school, which developed afterwards into Dartmouth College." The frontier preacher who followed emigration across the Alleghanies; the loyal clergy of the Revolution; and the preachers of different denominations who made up the list in "the golden age of the American pulpit," between 1784 and 1868, next pass in quick review. From this enumeration of the sainted workmen of the Church the transition to the obligations of the present pulpit in America is natural. "The real business of the preacher is with the other world." Men must be made "keenly alive" to the invisible. "That which gave even Theodore Parker his tremendous influence as a prophet of righteousness was his living consciousness of God and immortality. Men nowadays do not care for creeds, but they do care for faith; they ask eagerly, as Dr. Holmes so touchingly describes, 'Have you any news?' The American pulpit stands for news—good news—news from the invisible world."

THE *Study* is a quarterly published by the faculty of the Iliff School of Theology, University of Denver, and edited by Bishop Warren. The March number (Vol. i, No. 1) contains valuable matter under the following heads: "Spiritual Dynamics," "Notes," "Great Texts," etc.; "With Books," "The School of the Prophets," "Our Own School." The quarterly takes the place of *Studies in the English Bible* which was issued from the same

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source for three years. It is offered far below cost, at twenty-five cents a year, in order to put it within reach of a host of preachers who may need its matter and profit by its stimulus. Its object is to keep before ministers the idea of continual growth by all sorts of culture, especially spiritual, thus helping to push the dead line up to where it was in the case of John Wesley at eighty-eight years of age, and of John Boanerges at nearly one hundred. The first article points out the immense resources of power waiting to be appropriated by us for the Lord's work. "There is power of every kind everywhere in plenty. All the Niagaras and Mississippis have run to waste since they began to thunder and flow. Greater power is in the wind everywhere. One can rake up enough electricity to turn all the wheels of a great city whenever he chooses to start his rake. The sky is full of Pentecosts. Power enough, but how shall we belt on? By fasting and prayer, and by willing to do the will of God. We have so much haste that we do not tarry at Jerusalem for fullness of power. We are told to pray without ceasing, and that there are kinds of devils that go not out except at the command of those who fast and pray." The aim of the paper is to make the man of God bold to undertake great things for God—conversions, purifications, missionary enlargements, business enterprises, church buildings—undertakings which he knows to be too great for himself, but which may be accomplished because there is abundance of power for spiritual victories as marvelous as any material triumphs wrought by steam and electricity. The luminous and resonant, virile and sinewy style makes it easy to know who wrote the article. We call attention to the plan operated by the Iliff School of Theology for circulating the best books among ministers not in attendance. One book a month from this circulating library is sent to each member of the circle. Any Methodist Episcopal minister in full connection, between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast, whose name appears in the official minutes, may join this circle. For $2 a year he will receive one book a month from the following list in the order given. Having kept the book one month, he must pay postage on it to the next number of the circle. The books in this series would cost him $23.80 if he bought them. 1. *The Chief End of Revelation*, Bruce. 2. *The Permanent Elements of Religion*, Bishop Carpenter. 3. *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, Fairbairn. 4. *The Johannine Theology*, George B. Stevens. 5. *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, Bruce. 6. *The Continuity of Christian Thought*, A Study of Modern Theology in the Light of its History, Allen. 7. *Bernard Clairvaux*, A Study of the Religious Life of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, Storrs. 8. *Mexico in Transition*, Transition from Jesuitism to Protestantism, Butler. 9. *Miracles of Modern Missions*, Pierson. 10. *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, Sociological, Small and Vincent. 11. *The Philosophy of Preaching*, Behrends. 12. *English Style in Public Discourse*, Phelps. For $1 and postage he will receive in order the second series (regular price, $15). 1. *Christ Enthroned in the Industrial World*, Charles Roads. 2. *The Man of Galilee*, Bishop Haygood. 3. *Imago Christi*, James Stalker. 4. *The Gospel of Common Sense*, Charles F. Deems. 5. *Social Christianity*, Hugh Price Hughes. 6. *Ruling Ideas*

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of the Present Age, Washington Gladden. 7. *A Layman's Study of the English Bible*, Francis Bowen. 8. *The Story of the Psalms*, Henry Van Dyke. 9. *Half-Hours with Saint Paul*, Daniel Steele. 10. *The Christless Nations*, Bishop Thoburn. 11. *Union with God*, J. Rendel Harris. 12. *The Witnesses to Immortality*, George A. Gordon. For $1 and postage he will receive in order, one each month, the third series (price, $15). 1. *Introduction to Browning*, Hiram Corson, with thirty-three poems. 2. *The Poetry of Tennyson*, Henry Van Dyke. 3. *Mind and Art of Shakespeare*, Edward Dowden. 4. *Poets of America*, Edmund C. Stedman. 5. *Essays and Addresses*, Phillips Brooks. 6. *My Study-Windows*, James Russell Lowell. 7. *Recollections of Eminent Men*, Edwin P. Whipple. 8. *Discourses in America*, Matthew Arnold. 9. *Sesame and Lilies*, John Ruskin. 10. *Literary and Social Essays*, George William Curtis. 11. *Fresh Fields*, John Burroughs. 12. *Quest and Vision*, Essays in Life and Literature, W. J. Dawson. Name and post office address should be sent to Rev. W. F. Steele, University Park, Colorado. The money will be called for when each circle of twelve is completed.

In the *New World* for March Thomas Wentworth Higginson writes an appreciative sketch of the late "Octavius Brooks Frothingham." As to his "whole make-up" the memoirist declares him to have been a "high-bred radical." His public oratory marked him as "the last of the Everett school;" his "most daring iconoclastic thoughts were presented with a frankness which disarmed;" his manner "was always self-controlled, symmetrical, and graceful." He had also the courage of his own convictions. "He was not only not afraid to differ from others, he cheerfully differed from himself when new light dawned, although the clearness and vigor of his mind rarely made this necessary." The following article, by John E. Russell, is entitled "Miracles and Christian Faith." The conclusion reached by the writer is that miracles "have no necessary or inseparable connection with religious faith; that faith can be attained without the evidence of miracles and can be consistently held if, for any reasons, the believer is led to doubt the historical reality of such events." In an able and discriminating paper J. W. Chadwick makes acknowledgment to the many-sidedness of "Thomas Henry Huxley"—and, passing over his career as a geologist, anthropologist, biologist, philosopher, and man of letters, aims to "duly emphasize his relation to ethical and religious problems, and his contribution to our theological development." C. De Harlez writes from the University of Louvain, Belgium, of "The Religion of the Manchu Tartars." Certain "Tendencies in Penology" are discussed by Samuel J. Barrows, who establishes his positions by allusions to the session of the Fifth International Prison Congress, and points out various methods which are developing in the treatment of crime. Under the title of "Paul's Doctrine of the Atonement," C. C. Everett briefly considers the interpretations of Professors Bruce and Briggs, and follows with his own views of the apostle's teaching, wholly giving up "any depend-

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ence upon the traditional theory which has claimed for itself the authority of Paul." John Watson next asks, in "Leibnitz and Protestant Theology," the extent to which the philosopher's "conception of God and his relation to the world can be accepted." The concluding article, by C. H. Toy, on "The Preprophetic Religion of Israel," discusses the worship of the period between Moses and Elijah, with particular reference to "the tenacity with which the Israelites held to Yahweh as the national deity."

THE *Bibliotheca Sacra* has: 1. "The Divine Origin of the Religion of the Bible," by James Monroe, LL.D.; 2. "The Builders of the Second Temple," by W. R. Betteridge; 3. "Studies in Christology, IX," by F. H. Foster, D.D.; 4. "Professor Moore's Commentary on the Book of Judges;" 5. "What the Working Classes Owe to Christianity," by G. F. Greene; 6. "The Demand for More Money," by E. W. Bemis, Ph.D.; 7. "Dr. George A. Gordon's Reconstruction of Christian Theology," by A. H. Plumb, D.D.——In the *Chautauquan* for April Professor J. A. Woodburn, Ph.D., writes of "The Tariff in Legislation;" Professor J. W. Jenks, Ph.D., of "Political Party Machinery in the United States;" and Professor W. A. Elliott of "The New Olympic Games." Mary Proctor continues "A Romance of the Stars," and Rev. S. Parkes Cadman furnishes an attractive illustrated article on "Military Bands of Europe."——The *North American* for April opens with an article by David L. Wells, LL.D., on "Great Britain and the United States: Their True Relations;" Seaton Munroe furnishes valuable reminiscences of the great tragedy of American history in his "Recollections of Lincoln's Assassination;" Senator Raines shows the merits of "The Raines Liquor-Tax Law," to which he has given his sponsorship; Admiral A. H. Markham discusses "The North Polar Problem;" and such political leaders in New York as T. C. Platt, Chauncey M. Depew, Warner Miller, Edward Lauterbach, and C. W. Hackett contribute a symposium on "Governor Morton as a Presidential Candidate."——The *New Church Review* for April opens with a paper on "The Incarnation and Evolution," by J. K. Smyth. Its succeeding articles are: "Spectrum Analysis," by L. C. Hoeck; "The Sermon on the Mount," by W. H. Mayhew; "Source of the Christ in Ancient Myths," by E. D. Daniels; "The New Churchman in the World," by H. Clinton Hay; "The Reformation and Protestantism," by James Reed; "The Value of Butler's Analogy," by T. F. Wright; and "A Significant Document of 1729," by P. B. Cabell.——*Christian Literature* for April has: "Augustine and the Pelagian Controversy, II." by B. P. Warfield; "The Rationale of the Early Persecutions;" "Bishop Butler and his Censors," by W. E. Gladstone; "Cardinal Manning and the Catholic Revival, I," by A. M. Fairbairn; "The Religion of Abraham Lincoln;" "The Salvation Army Troubles;" "The Rev. Talbot Wilson Chambers, S.T.D., LL.D.;" and "Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick," by L. W. Bacon.——The April number of the *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review* has a biographical notice of the late Bishop Wayman, in which it ranks him as "one of the most remarkable men in the history of African Methodism."

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BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The World and the Wrestlers. Personality and Responsibility. By HUGH MILLER THOMPSON. 12mo, pp. 142. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, cloth, $1.

This book, by the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Mississippi, contains the Bohlen Lectures for 1895, delivered in Philadelphia. A fund of ten thousand dollars from the estate of John Bohlen supports this annual lectureship. Bishop Thompson is evidently much sought as a lecturer, for in 1885 he delivered the Bedell Lectures, published under the title of "The World and the Logos;" in 1888, the Paddock Lectures, printed under the title of "The World and the Kingdom;" and, in 1890, the Baldwin Lectures, at Ann Arbor, Mich., issued under the title of "The World and the Man." The four lectures in this little volume are upon The Personality of Man, The Personality of God, The Responsibility of God, and The Responsibility of Man. These lectures would be more effective when delivered to a popular audience by a good speaker than when read calmly and critically in a book. They do not bear comparison with Illingsworth's Bampton Lectures on the same subject. The first two lectures are somewhat like sermons on Jacob's wrestling with his great antagonist. In the first is this blow at the so-called "higher critics:" "A critic who would spend his time on minute examination of the letters and words of Shakespeare's dramas, and who might even finally reach the conclusion that former editors were all wrong in the arrangement of the dramas, and that 'Hamlet' was written before 'Timon,' and that 'Rare Ben Jonson' redacted 'King Lear'—that, indeed, Shakespeare did not write 'Lear,' 'Macbeth,' or 'The Tempest' at all, but another man of the same name did—might be a very useful man, and, in his own opinion, imagine he had done the world a service; but, just as a bit of common sense and general usefulness, we would hardly call him a high critic, much less a 'higher' critic, than the man who taught all readers of the mass of literature we call 'Shakespeare' to find subtler meanings, deeper philosophies, profounder insight into man and nature, and the nature of the Lord of them both, than they had ever before seen or even suspected. It abides with me as one of the queer, topsy-turvy puzzles that crop up outside the country of the Sphinx that the term 'higher criticism' should have been arrogated for themselves and conceded by others to gentlemen whose business upon a body of ancient literature begins and ends with criticising its words and letters and deriving thence its supposed dates and origins, and who have never set themselves by one flash of intelligence to deal with its meaning and purpose! And this literature, mind, the unspeakably most influential, formative, commanding, and controlling literature known since time began! I concede the usefulness of the alphabet critics, but why call them 'higher critics?'

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Thomas à Kempis was a higher critic than all of them put together." In the second lecture is more on the same subject: "There is a wonderful thing extant for some years now, born in Germany—in whose theological schools Christ and his Gospel are still on trial, as if Pilate's court were a perpetually sitting tribunal—and imported, free from tariff or duty, into England and America, called by somebody—for what reason I know not—'the higher criticism.' One might ask, if this be higher criticism, What *is* lower criticism, and what the *very lowest* at last? Well, it is all pure guesswork, let me say at once, and in its most characteristic development may be understood from a learned book published in this country, called *The Shakespeare Cipher*, by a very able man; and also by a new and better *Shakespeare Cipher*, published by a learned doctor of medicine to show that the whole mass of poetry we call Shakespeare was written by Francis Bacon to abuse Queen Elizabeth, and send her down branded to all time, because she refused to acknowledge him, Francis Bacon, as her son by a secret marriage with his father when she was only the princess, the 'Lady Elizabeth.' In these two cases the Shakespearean critics know the language in which the book was written. It is their mother tongue. It was written three centuries ago. In the other case there is not a man living who could pronounce a speech in Hebrew so as to be understood by Isaiah or Daniel (supposing there ever was an Isaiah or a Daniel!). It is a sad thing to be idle, especially in a land where there are only books and pipes and beer, and where a paternal government presides over a man's birth, education, religion, occupation, marriage, sickness, death, and finally his tombstone. Turn him loose with the conception that all things—government, social order, politics, science, and the rest—are settled, untouchable even—indeed, everything taken out of the arena of intelligent discussion except Christ and the Bible—and he must necessarily turn critic, and, if he has but little to do, 'higher critic.' The point I am desirous to emphasize is that this criticism, in the necessitudes of its conclusions, requires us to believe that a great many of the ideas, influences, and practices in the Old Testament came from Egypt, Chaldea, and Persia. Of that, happily, you and I are just as able to judge as any critic; for it is not a thing of Hebrew consonants, or masoretic vowels or accents, but of history and common sense." Here is a bit on a different topic, from the third lecture: "One of the two or three most enormously and absurdly rich men in the country—dead now, and enjoying a little rest, I hope—said to me once, 'I envy you.' 'Envy *me*?' I asked. 'Yes; you are a free man, your own master, and doing and saying helpful things to people every day, and I am like a blind horse in a bark mill, tramping the same monotonous path round the safe that contains the deeds and securities.' In the kindness of my heart I offered to relieve him at once of some part of his trouble and bear his burden like a Christian brother, as St. Paul commands us. I knew exactly where *five* millions would found a university, to do enormous good and make his name a blessing forever; where another million would endow ten missionary bishoprics; where two millions would build one creditable cathedral, and

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five millions another; and ten millions would be invested so as to relieve our Missionary Committee from the stress and anxiety they suffer; and then five millions more could be soundly invested so as to produce a respectable sum toward the instructing and Christianizing of our seven million negroes. This would not relieve him entirely—indeed, of only a fraction—of his load. He would still have been staggering under a burden which would crush *me*. You may be surprised, but it is nevertheless the fact that he politely but peremptorily declined my kind proposal, and groaned under it till the load crushed him, and left it just as heavy for his son to sweat under till he, too, is dead! I sometimes think that nothing must so bring sorrow and pity to the sorrowful and pitiful heart of God as the sight of men like my friend, who load themselves down with such back-breaking and heart-crushing loads, and obstinately refuse help from heaven or earth! And then the idiocy of it! For they are undergoing all this to escape a possible pain! They are toiling to escape toil. They are doing slaves' work to keep themselves free! And, lo! the end comes, and their lives have had no more outcome and less enjoyment than the lives of their own grooms!" Here is another incident from life: "I was once consulted by a gentleman who was greatly troubled in his mind, almost to the brink of black doubt, because in a change he meant to make in his business he had made it the subject, as he told me, of earnest prayer, and he was clear, after that, that it was God's will that he make the change; and, behold, the change had resulted in the loss of half his fortune! He was very much annoyed about it, even somewhat indignant with God about it! I suggested that the Lord had left him, in all that kind of action, to decide for himself, having given him presumable sense and allowed him a tolerable education and some experience in his special business; and that if I were in his place I would not be angry with the Almighty because he declined to go into the wholesale grocery business with me for money in another part of the country." The Mississippi bishop leaves his readers in no doubt as to his opinion of the Chicago Parliament of Religions: "Some time ago we had in our newest city a thing called a fair—the Columbian Fair. Among the attractions to draw people, and their half dollars, there was, besides the 'Midway Plaisance,' with its alleged Turkish dancing women and alleged Hindu Nautch girls, a show called the 'World's Parliament of Religions.' Hindu yogis, Mohammedan dervishes, Roman Catholic cardinals, Buddhist bonzes from China, and 'mahatmas' (whatever they are) from Arabia, were invited to disport themselves side by side with Presbyterian and Unitarian doctors of divinity, with Mormon elders, and archbishops of the Orient, and show a waiting and eager world which religion of all had the most to say for itself, and was, on the whole, the most picturesque and pretty specimen of religion now existent. Altogether, it was the most astonishing side-show of a remarkable fair, and could have been imagined and attempted only in the freshest and youngest community on earth—a community which has not yet quite found out what itself means, is dimly groping, mostly on all-fours, toward a somewhat indistinct con-

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clusion. . . . The hungry children of the East came swarming, with all their rags and all the populations and odors thereof; Chinamen, Javanese, Spanish monks, Buddhists and Brahmans from Hindustan, picturesque and ragged Syrians from Jerusalem, and venerable rabbis from Poland, arm-in-arm with still more long-bearded and unkempt muftis from everywhere *except* Constantinople. . . . Many of us have had experience of these picturesque waifs and strays of the great fair—the flotsam and jetsam of the famous 'Parliament of Religions'—at our back doors, begging for cold victuals and old clothes, and without a solitary grain of profound Eastern psychology or any practical doctrine of reincarnation, an ounce of 'theosophy,' or a spark of 'astral spirit,' concealed about their fragrant persons!" Of a certain Swami, who still lingers and lectures in the cities of our land, the bishop writes: "One of the fragments of this drift professed to be a monk of some sort—Brahman or Buddhist, I know not which—but for the present a peculiar kind of monk, emancipated from all rules that usually govern monks. There are such 'dispensations,' I understand, among all sorts of monks. He could eat with anybody who gave him anything nice to eat, and drink anything nice that was going, and live in general intercourse with us benighted Christians and take no harm, because his ecclesiastical superior in India had dispensed him from his vows for this time and occasion only; or else because, being an 'order' of monkery all by himself, and therefore his own 'superior,' he had just dispensed himself! He was very picturesque. . . . He wore a long woolen skirt down to his heels and a roll of yellow stuff on his head, and people were interested in him on that account to start with. Women especially were interested in him. Women always are profoundly interested in monks. I think they always will be. There is here a psychological question more subtle and more interesting than any like question in Buddhism or Brahmanism. It deserves a book all by itself by some wise and learned man—so I leave it. One lady—cultivated, thoughtful, an American woman of the best type—told me how much she was impressed by this mild-eyed son of the Punjab, and how devoted and pious and spiritual-minded he seemed to be. She told me how he admired the enormous energy and victorious march of this Western civilization. To be sure, our religion was nothing—a thing of yesterday. It could have no influence on the gigantic mind of the Hindu, trained and fed on theosophy and reincarnation, and guided generally by 'mahatmas' and astral spirits—the lofty and spiritual-minded Hindu, who adored Siva and Kâlî and Juggernaut, and who was quite content to be a slave and to make slave's slaves of his women. But we *were* far before the Hindu in some things—our machinery, our steam engines, our electric dynamos, and the like. . . . I reminded my friend that of all human creatures alive the Hindu is the biggest liar (the Syrian always excepted); that he really cannot speak truth save by accident; that all writers who know our Hindu cousins testify with one voice to this, even down to Mr. R. Kipling; and that the higher his caste and the more religious the Hindu is, the more measureless liar he is." And then

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the bishop fills four pages with what he thinks ought to be said to Swami and his kind before they are sent home. It is rather more forcible and plain-spoken than anything we have quoted. One has no difficulty in understanding what the author means. Swami himself would understand. Perhaps it would make him feel homesick.

The Theology of the Old Testament. By the Rev. W. H. BENNETT, M.A., Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature, Hackney and New Colleges. 12mo, pp. 218. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

This new book by Professor Bennett, formerly a Cambridge man, but now Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature at Hackney and New Colleges, is not altogether surprising. We have known from Professor Bennett's edition of the Book of Joshua in Haupt's critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and also from his entertaining exposition of the Book of Chronicles in the *Expositor's Bible*, his general critical position. Professor Bennett has given in his adhesion very largely to the positions of a not very conservative school of higher criticism, if, indeed, it be not just to say that his attachment is to a school advanced, if not radical. It is, however, somewhat surprising to find this little treatise of his in a series of books in which the subject of Old Testament Introduction is treated by Professor C. H. H. Wright. It is only another illustration of the impossibility of editing a series of theological books in such a way as to have them all representative of one general point of view. Professor Wright's *Introduction* is a very conservative book; Professor Bennett's *Theology of the Old Testament* is an advanced book. The Preface indicates at once the point of view. It calls attention to a page which immediately follows, in which the history of Israel is divided into sections and the biblical books are assigned to the periods in which they were written. This assignment of the books is made in three columns. The first column contains the books as to which there is substantial agreement as to date. The second column contains the books assigned to periods according to the traditional view, and the third column the same books assigned to periods according to recent critical views. This little table of Professor Bennett's is altogether an interesting document. It shows clearly the great difference between traditional and critical views. Now, the Preface calmly announces that the book follows the arrangement of biblical books according to the third column. After this announcement in the Preface we are prepared for the form and general content of the book. The first chapter is purely introductory. The second chapter gives a sketch of the literary history of Israel under the title of "Israel in History." This chapter may be unhesitatingly commended to the perusal of anyone who would fain know what the school to which Professor Bennett belongs asks the Church to believe as to the age and general character of the Old Testament books. Upon the arrangement adopted in this chapter of the biblical books Professor Bennett's theology is based. The remaining chapters deal with the "Ideal Israel," "Jehovah as the God of Israel," "Israel as the people of Jehovah," "Jehovah and the Israelite," and "God and the Universe." We

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might pick out very many passages to illustrate the spirit of the book, as well as its general result. Two passages merely will suffice to make it plain. The first gives Professor Bennett's view concerning the literary activity of Israel at the period of the captivity. He says: "The Jews in Babylon confidently expected to return to Palestine and renew their old national life. Hence they were anxious to retain all extant knowledge of that life, so that the captivity was a period of great literary activity. In addition to original productions, of which we shall speak later on, older documents were combined and reedited. The interruption of local tradition by the exile gave new importance to written history, and, at the same time, the teaching of the prophets had emphasized the religious significance of history. During the captivity the ancient historical documents were combined and edited under the influence of Deuteronomy and the prophets. The ancient narratives of the Patriarchs, the Exodus, and the Conquest were combined with an enlarged edition of Josiah's Deuteronomy and Judges; Samuel and Kings were reedited as a single continuous historical work. Probably the Book of Jeremiah was edited during this period in a form substantially the same as that in which it is now extant." If this be contrasted with the traditional view of the origin of the biblical books it will at once be seen that a great gulf is fixed between these two differing ideas. A second passage gives Professor Bennett's view of the Old Testament representations concerning the moral conditions of accepted sacrifice. We are very grateful to him for the expression of these words: "The prophets and psalmists constantly repudiate the idea that sacrifices have any value apart from true moral and spiritual life. The language of the prophets does not mean that they denounced such observances; but whereas popular superstition regarded sacrifice as the most important of divine requirements, and as efficacious apart from the life and character of the offerer, the prophets assigned to sacrifice an entirely subordinate place in the religious life." Any man who has followed the history of criticism from Wellhausen's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* will see at once that Professor Bennett does not follow in this either Wellhausen or Wellhausen's immediate successors, and that the defense of the prophets by conservative schools has compelled him, and others, to give up the formerly held position that the prophets knew nothing about the sacrifices of the law. The temper of Professor Bennett's book is uniformly good. We cannot absolutely commend it to those who have not made themselves previously familiar with other views of the development of the theology of the Old Testament. It is, nevertheless, an admirable introduction to one form of recognized critical views.

The Great Meaning of Metanoia. An Undeveloped Chapter in the Life and Teaching of Christ. A new edition, with a Supplementary Essay. By TREADWELL WALDEN. 12mo, pp. xx, 166. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, cloth, $1.

Mr. Walden's contention in these essays is for a truer translation into English of the Greek New Testament words, *μετάνοια, μετανοεῖν*, rendered repentance and to repent in both the Authorized and Revised Versions.

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He clearly demonstrates—perhaps more clearly than has hitherto been done—the poverty of the English equivalents of these truly epoch-marking terms. Biblical scholars have long endeavored to remedy the evil, and it was greatly hoped that the revisers would effect at least a partial cure, but not even in the margin have they left a sign. In view of this the Protestant world has a real grievance, and can only comfort itself "with the thought that the new version is not a finality, but only tentative to that which shall yet meet the brave demand of the present age." Great embarrassment is found in the fact that our tongue contains no single synonym of either the Greek noun or verb. If the author could have been so happy as to have discovered even a perfect paraphrase of the New Testament idea he would have made multitudes of debtors. From the title of his book, as well as from his treatment of the subject—though he nowhere plainly says as much—we infer that he would solve the difficulty by making over bodily the Greek noun into English. This both De Quincey and Matthew Arnold, if our author quotes them exactly, appear to have already done. The former says (see page 36): "I understand by metanoia a revolution of thought—a great intellectual change—in accepting a new center for all moral truth from Christ;" and the latter (see page 93): "Of metanoia, as Jesus used the word, the lamenting one's sins was a small part; the main part was something far more active and fruitful—the setting up an immense new inward movement for obtaining the rule of life. And metanoia, accordingly, is a change of the inner man." As definitions of the scriptural idea it will be seen that the above are complementary the one to the other, and that, taken together, they form a practically complete statement of the doctrine of regeneration. Mr. Walden's book is a valuable contribution to the right dividing of the word, and we heartily commend it in the words of Bishop Phillips Brooks: "It is full of inspiration. It makes one think of Christian faith as positive and constructive, and not merely destructive and remedial. It makes the work of Christ seem worthy of Christ."

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Letters and Verses of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D. Between the years 1829 and 1881. Edited by ROWLAND E. PROTHERO, M.A. 8vo, pp. vii, 454. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $5.

This sumptuous volume, with uncut leaves and stiff, thick paper, shows from youth to age the quality of Stanley's mind. Born to education and refinement, the son of the Bishop of Norwich, he took on culture with avidity and with aptitude, as if by instinct. The fiber of his nature was delicate, his pursuits serious, his tastes elevated, his enthusiasms noble. Intellectual life was so easy to him that, while his diligence is manifest, there is no sign of struggle or laboriousness. He seemed from first to last a gifted favorite of fortune. He was taking prizes of many kinds all his days. He bore no scars, but was a dignified, affable, courtly, and scholarly presence in the Church and in the State. He was a liberal, broad in his

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thinking and wide in his sympathies; no warrior, no martyr, but a courteous, hospitable, and winsome gentleman, acceptable to royalty, at homes, in universities and cathedrals and palaces. From Rugby, at the age of fifteen, he writes of Dr. Arnold: "Whatever happens in the week to diminish my respect for him, it always comes back on Sunday when I hear him preaching." When Thomas Arnold preached before the university "the most cautious man in Oxford declared that the two ideas which the sight of Arnold always suggested were the ideas of truth and power." Of A. H. Clough, at Balliol, Stanley wrote: "The little I know of him has always made me think and maintain that he is the profoundest man of his years that I ever saw or that Rugby ever sent forth. His very misfortunes invest him with a kind of sacredness; for, academically speaking, who was ever so unfortunate—so able, so laborious, and yet so unaccountably failing?" This is what Dr. Arnold wrote in his private notebook at midnight, June 11, 1842, six hours before the fatal illness: "The day after to-morrow, if I am permitted to live so long, will be the birthday of my forty-seventh year. How large a portion of life is gone! In one sense, I may say already, 'Vixi.' I thank God that I believe all ambition has been mortified fully in my heart, and that I feel ready now, not to advance from my present position into higher stations, but gently to withdraw from it into humbler occupations. I pray that God will make me more zealous and humble, more gentle and patient. I have much work left to do. . . . But I pray also that God will make me ready to let it be performed by others, if that be his will." One of the things Arnold prayed in his journal to be guarded against was the use of vehement language about persons and opinions. When Arnold was in the final agonies he said, fervently, "Thank God for me." "For what?" they said. "I feel that this pain is good for me." Then he said, "If you have no chastisement, then are ye bastards, and not sons." Then he told Mrs. Arnold to read the fifty-first psalm, and repeated after her the twelfth verse. Then she read the exhortation in the "Visitation for the Sick," and again at every sentence he said, "Yes! yes!" and again repeated, "Then are ye bastards, and not sons." Also he looked up and said, "Jesus said unto Thomas, Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." When he was gone Mrs. Arnold said: "What I chiefly think of is that he is free from the sight of sin. You know how that pained him above everything else, and now he will see it no more." The sight of what he thought wicked gave him absolute suffering. Once when Mrs. Arnold spoke of a certain little boy looking so innocent and good he answered: "O, my dear, it pains me to think how the devil will put his filthy paw upon him and mar it all." When Matthew Arnold saw his father's dead body his first thought was that their sole source of information was gone, that all they had ever known was contained in that head; they had consulted him so entirely on everything, and now they were cut off forever from his knowledge and wisdom. In 1846 Dr. Buckland, the new Dean of Westminster, speaks of the disgracefully filthy condition of Westmin-

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ster School: "Counterpanes in the dormitory not washed for eleven years, schools not cleaned since Queen Elizabeth died." In Edinburgh Stanley heard Guthrie. "The extempore prayers I certainly dislike; the mouthing and repetition are very unpleasant. On the other hand, the evident devotion of the whole congregation, the psalms of the old barbarous Scotch version, sung aforetime by the Covenanters and by Cromwell's army, in which all the people joined, were very striking. Above all, I was pleased by a baptism which took place, in which the father stood up before the congregation and received an extempore address from the minister on the nature of the ceremony and the duties of Christian parents. . . . The sermon was highly figurative and imaginative, with a certain coarse imagination and a vehemence and variety of illustration which, even on a hot summer afternoon, kept my eyes open." Dr. Candlish is described as a "very shrewd, acute, narrow-minded man, who managed to unite a considerable range of general information and worldly sagacity with a set, fixed formula of Scotch Calvinistic theology and a dash of real enthusiasm against the principles of Establishment." In 1847 the Bishop of Norwich invited Jenny Lind to his palace as a tribute of respect to her character, and his son, A. P. Stanley, writes of her, it is very "rare to see anyone possessed with such a perfect consciousness that her gift is not her own, but given her by God. Hence the deep conviction of responsibility to use it for the good of others; hence the deep humility. Conceive a young girl having now for ten years lived in a whirlwind of applause, and yet apparently not in the least spoiled by it, always retiring to the lowest place, like a servant or a child. At the same time there were about her a dignity and resolution by which one could easily see at what an immeasurable distance all the evil would be kept which must otherwise be constantly in her way." On the death of Stanley's father, in 1849, Jowett writes: "I cannot sympathize in all the grounds of consolation sometimes offered on these melancholy occasions, but two things are unchangeable, first, that the dead are in the hands of God, who can do for them more than we can ask or think; and, second, with respect to ourselves, that such losses deepen our views of life and make us feel that we would not always be here." Stanley in his sorrow writes that now the speculations of books fade away, but "the words of the Bible are truly justified by their astonishing force at a time like this." Again Jowett writes: "My mind seems at times quite dried up—partly, I think, from being strained out of proportion to the physical powers. And at times I have felt an unsatisfied desire after a better and higher sort of life, which makes me impatient of the details of theology. It is from this source only that I can ever look for any 'times of refreshing.'" An old family servant tells of the last time she saw the Bishop of Norwich: "I somehow felt sure I should never see him again. It was not that he was aged. He was very cheerful, and when I stroked his hair (for it was so beautiful and white that I could not keep my hands off his head) and said, 'You are growing old,' he said, 'O yes, Ellen, we all grow older; but never mind that.' He went on to speak of angels in heaven beckoning those on

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earth, and said, 'Whichever of us is taken first must beckon the others to come too?" Grote, the historian, says: "The tendency of the present age seems to me to run rather too strongly toward the *pictorial* in history, of which Macaulay is so remarkable a specimen. . . . I have a fear of running into poetical exuberance and of overstepping what is permitted to a faithful deposing witness and a sound expository philosopher." In the Sala Regia, just outside the Sistine Chapel in Rome, Stanley notices among the frescoes which celebrate the triumphs of the papacy the representation of the massacre of St. Bartholomew: "It is at the end opposite the Pauline Chapel in three compartments, one of which exhibits the murder of Coligny; the second, the slaughter generally; the third, the justification of it to the Parliament by Charles IX." Rome perpetuates in pride her most infamous atrocities. Pius IX is described as "an aged human being, living in this passing generation of the nineteenth century, but laden with the traditions and courtesies, the superstitions and falsehoods, of fifteen hundred years." In 1853 Stanley writes of an excursion from Smyrna to Ephesus: "It was romantic, and would have been comfortable but for fleas and mosquitoes. The first night I could not sleep a wink. But it was worth the misery of the night to have the refreshment of our morning bath by a primitive mode. We stood by the fountain, and the dragoman, taking water up in a large pitcher, poured it over us again and again, sweeping away fleas innumerable and cooling countless bites." In 1857 Stanley went to hear Spurgeon, and writes: "The congregation was magnificent—ten thousand—and although secular and unattractive before the service began, exceedingly devout and decorous as soon as Spurgeon appeared, joining in the hymn with great and general fervor. His exposition of a chapter in Isaiah I thought very meager, with a few coarse and irreverent expressions. The discourse was on 'Wist ye not that I *must* be about my Father's business?' divided into three parts. Firstly, the Life of Christ, as Example, Establishment, Expiation, not particularly good, but not offensive; a slight attempt to act the crucifixion was the only theatrical part. Secondly, application of it to us: 'Tell me why Christianity has failed to do its work in the world. Mohammed, the impostor in the streets of Mecca, in a few years collected disciples; at the end of a century a million scimiters flashed from their scabbards at command of the Caliphs. . . . You, my friend, in the gallery, have your business in town, a small farm in the country, a snug investment for old age, which you leave to your bailiffs; the world is your shop; your religion is that little farm. Not that I wish to see a man bring out his religion always. *I hate cant.* I hate to see a man bring out his tracts on his counter. A minister came to me the other day and said, "Brother, let us pray together." I said, "I like to do my praying alone. . . ." Some one says, "I have no talents." Brother, have you a child? That is your opportunity. Sister, have you a husband who illtreats you? He is your opportunity of usefulness.' These are his best points. He is not to be compared for real ability or effect to Evans; no pathos, a commonplace countenance, a very powerful but not unpleasing voice. Still, a useful, humorous, sagacious dis-

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course." This is what Stanley writes of the alleged head of Cromwell: "An *embalmed* head like a mummy, with the marks of *two strokes of the ax* on the neck, and the ancient oak staff and iron spike running through its skull. The hair still remains, so that you see the mustache, beard, and *eyebrows meeting*. There is a mark of the mole on the right eyebrow. The nose is slightly turned to the left. The under jaw *is short, as was his*. A very awful apparition, and I myself believe it can be no one's but Cromwell's own." Whewell, the master of Trinity, Cambridge, was a man of encyclopedic knowledge. Sydney Smith said of him, "Science is his forte and omniscience is his foible." At the end of a social evening one of the company, a rough doctor, caught Whewell and abruptly asked him, "What is your opinion as to the best slope of the sails of a windmill?" When the man found that Whewell could not answer he said, with surprise, "O, I thought you had written a book about it. I thought you had written a book upon everything." Sir John Herschel in his old age read the "Iliad" again as he would a novel, straight through in a day and a half, and was impressed that "the one redeeming feature in the savage character of Achilles was his sense of justice." He also said, "I am convinced that if a sinner were shut up in paradise two days in the year he could not but be the better for it." In 1862 Stanley met M. Carvalho, President of the Jewish Consistory in Paris. "Though a Jew, he professed the greatest desire, not for conversion, but for reunion with Christendom. He said that the old feeling of the Jews against our Lord had entirely passed away, and that they regarded him as the greatest of their prophets, not, however, as *their* Messiah, but as the Messiah of the Gentiles. When asked whom the Jews expect as their Messiah he said there is much difference of opinion. Some think that civilization is the Messiah. When asked for the opinion of modern Jews as to the authorship of the Pentateuch, he replied that there were great differences as to date of composition, but unanimous belief that Moses wrote only a small portion of it. . . . He was a Portuguese Jew, and thirteen of his family had in former times been burnt by the Inquisition. He attributed the change of Jewish sentiment toward our Lord to the changed feeling and behavior of Christians toward the Jews, a change dating from the great French Revolution, when persecution of the Jews almost ceased." This Stanley writes of Aaron Burr, at Princeton College: "He was a boy of great abilities and firmness and powers of persuasion, but wonderfully ambitious and unprincipled. A revival took place in the college, and the head of the college talked to him seriously and apparently made a deep impression. Aaron Burr retired to his room, walked to and fro in great agitation, and then said, 'I have made my resolve: I will never think of religion again as long as I live.'" Stanley calls him "the acknowledged villain of American history." After Aaron Burr had killed Alexander Hamilton he escaped to France, and sent up his card to Talleyrand, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs. Talleyrand sent down the message: "The Minister of Foreign Affairs will be glad to see the Vice President of the United States, but M. Talleyrand begs to inform Mr. Aaron Burr that he has always the picture of Alexan-

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der Hamilton hung in his room." Here is an American story which Stanley picked up: A colored child was missed from Sunday school. A teacher going to his house finds him sitting demurely on a stool in the middle of the room. His mother, being asked why he was not at school, answered: "He went to meeting and got religion, and I was afraid he would lose it again if he went out; so I kept him in the house ever since." Remarking on the fact that the absurd English pronunciation produced by wrongly omitting and inserting the letter "h" has never taken root in America, Stanley writes that this "shows what Old English may one day become in the purified air of its New English home." Jowett said that George Eliot "was one of the few persons eminent in literature whose conversation was equal or even superior to her writings." This volume will supplement Mr. Prothero's *Life and Letters of Dean Stanley*, and we suppose contains the last we are to have of the writings of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley.

Reflections and Comments. 1865-1895. By EDWIN LAWRENCE GODKIN. 12mo, pp. 328. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

The articles in this volume have appeared in the *Nation* during the last thirty years, and are reprinted almost in chronological order. The topics are mostly nonpolitical, and include such as these: "The Comparative Morality of Nations," "Mr. Froude as a Lecturer," "John Stuart Mill," "The Indian Philologician," "Professor Huxley's Lectures," "Tyndall and the Theologians," "The Church and Science," "The Church and Good Conduct," "Evidence about Character," "Carlyle's Political Influence," and "The Survival of Types." An essay on "Culture and War" ends with this entirely correct conclusion: "The lesson is that, whether you want him for war or peace, there is no way in which you can get so much out of a man as by training him, and training him not in pieces, but the whole of him; and that the trained men, other things being equal, are pretty sure in the long run to be the masters of the world." The author wants to know: "What is the impression produced on foreign opinion about American morality by the story of the Erie Railroad; by the career of 'Jim' Fisk; by the condition of the judicial bench in the commercial capital of the country; by charges of corruption brought against such men as Trumbull and Fessenden at the time of the impeachment trial; and by the comically prominent and beloved position which 'Ben' Butler held for some years in our best moral circles?" And he might have added, worse than any of these, by the election and reelection to highest office of men of confessedly vile and shameful record. Here is an opinion on one of the prophets of the English world: "The younger generation were a good deal stirred by Carlyle; but Carlyle, after all, only woke people up, and made them look out of the window to see what was the matter, after which most of them went to bed again and slept comfortably. His cries were rather too inarticulate to furnish anything like a new gospel, and he never took hold of the intellectual classes. But Mill did." Here is a hint for the clergy: "No theologian of high standing or character now permits himself to show bad temper in a doctrinal or herme-

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neutical discussion, and a large and increasing proportion of theologians acknowledge that the road to heaven is so hard for us all that the less quarreling and jostling there is in it the better for everybody." Reference is made to Professor Huxley's lectures in America and to the public reply made to them by Dr. William Taylor, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, and this opinion is expressed: "The true course of spiritually minded men is to separate their faith from all theories of the precise manner in which the world originated, or of the length of time it has lasted, as matters, for their purposes, of little or no moment. The secret springs of hope and courage from which each of us draws strength in the great crises of existence would flow all the same whether life appeared on the planet ten million or ten thousand years ago, and whether the present forms of life were the product of one day or of many ages. And we doubt very much whether anyone has ever listened in a candid and dispassionate frame of mind to the evolutionist's history of the globe without finding that it had deepened for him the mystery of the universe, and magnified the Power which stands behind it." Fair-mindedness and the ability to see more than one side are indicated in the following adverse criticism: "There is some risk that lectures like Professor Huxley's at Belfast, dressed up for promiscuous crowds, and produced with the polite scorn of infallibility, in which the destruction of moral responsibility is broadly hinted at as one of the probable results of researches in biology, will do great mischief. For what does it matter, or rather ought it to matter, for social purposes, in what part of a man's system his conscience lies, or whether pressure on a particular portion of the brain may convert him into a thief, when we know, as of experience, that the establishment of good courts and police turns a robbers' den into a hive of honest industry, and when we see the wonders which discipline works in an ignorant crowd?" And we add, when we witness the power of the Holy Spirit to convict and regenerate the chief of sinners and turn him from the error of his ways to walk in newness of life, following the commandments of God. The truth of the following statement is manifest to all evangelicals: "The effort of Unitarians and others to make Christ's influence and authority rest on his moral teachings and example, without the support of a divine nature, or mission, or sacrifice, has failed. The Christian Church cannot be held together as a great social force by his teaching or example as a moral philosopher. A church organized on this theory speedily becomes a lecture association or a philanthropic club, of about as much aid to conduct as Freemasonry. Christ's sermons need the touch of supernatural authority to make them impressive enough for the work of social regeneration, and his life was too uneventful and the society in which he lived too simple, to give his example real power over the imagination of a modern man who regards him simply as a social reformer." The author fears there is danger lest the Church become chiefly, if not merely, "a stimulater and gratifier of certain tender emotions," and thinks "it contains a large body of persons whose religious life consists simply of a succession of sensations not far removed from one's enjoyment of music and poetry; and another

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large body to whom it furnishes refuge and consolation of a vague and ill-defined sort in times of sorrow and disappointment." He says: "This sentimental religion in many cases deceives a man as to his own moral condition, and hides from him the true character and direction of the road he is traveling, and furnishes his conscience with a false bottom." And he adds: "The Church must be an organization held together by some stronger ties than enjoyment of weekly music and oratory in a pretty building, and almsgiving which entails no sacrifice and is often only a tickler of social vanity." "If Christians are to be regarded as living on a higher plane than the rest of the world they must furnish stronger evidence in the shape of plain and open self-denial." The passion for equality is so strong in this country that the workingman "will not seek salvation *in forma pauperis*, and he thinks the best talent in the ministerial market not a whit too good for him. He not unnaturally doubts the sincerity of Christians who are not willing to kneel beside badly dressed persons in prayer on the one day of the week when prayer is public. In fact, to fit the Protestant Church to lay hold of the laboring population a great process of reconstruction would be necessary." The weight of that admonition falls less heavily on Methodism than on some other communions. This "expatriated Anglo-Irishman," as Matthew Arnold called him, traveling in the South, observes a striking superiority of manners in all classes. "One rarely meets a man on a Virginia road who does not raise or touch his hat, and this not in a servile way either, but simply as politeness. The bearing of the men toward each other generally, too, has the ineffable charm, which Northern manners are so apt to want, of indicating that, even if you are no better than any other man, you are different, and that your peculiarities are respectable, and that you are entitled to a certain amount of deference for your private tastes and habits. At the North, on the other hand, manners, even as taught to children, are apt to concede nothing except that you, perhaps, have an immortal soul and a middling chance for salvation, and to avoid anything which is likely to lead you to forget that you are simply an ordinary human male." Here is a newspaper man's guess at the most exhausting part of a minister's work: "What probably tires a minister most is not the sermons, but his parishioners; and we suspect that nine tenths of the ministers, if they made a clean breast of it, would confess that rest to them means getting away from their parishioners rather than from their sermons. . . . What probably wears most on a clergyman's nerves are his pastoral duties, which do not consist solely in consoling people in great trials, but in listening to their fussy accounts of small ones. Nine tenths of a minister's patients, like a doctor's, do not know what is the matter with them, and consult a physician largely because they take comfort in talking to anybody about themselves, and doctors and clergymen are the only persons who are bound to listen to them." He thinks a summer school of theology or of philosophy, or anything else of the kind, must afford for such men repose of the best sort, giving light work of the kind they love, free from all nagging, and in good air and fine scenery. In the essay entitled "Chromo-Civilization"

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Mr. Godkin expresses his opinion that Henry Ward Beecher's preaching did not have a strongly purifying and organizing effect, and thinks this was due to the absence from it of anything in the smallest degree disciplinary, either in the shape of systematic theology, with its tests and standards, or of a social code, with its pains and penalties; that what he most encouraged was vague aspiration and lachrymose sensibility, and that he did not brace and fortify morals nor impart and foster the ability to dare and do. The intimation is that he was a promoter of pictured religion and a chromo-civilization. It is certain that similar impressions of the quality of Mr. Beecher's ministry prevailed in many minds during his lifetime. It was confidently asserted that his church had no solidity, no firm character of its own, and that it would crumble away so soon as his magnetic and gifted personality should be withdrawn. Mr. Beecher came to Plymouth Church in 1847, and died in March, 1887. Dr. Lyman Abbott was called to the vacant pastorate in May, 1888. Shortly after he was invited one of the most experienced and sagacious ministers of Brooklyn remarked, on seeing Dr. Abbott pass by in a hall: "There goes the administrator of Beecher's estate; he has been appointed to close out the business." It is only fair to say that these anticipations have not been realized. Plymouth Church, so far from disappearing or disintegrating, stood unshaken, evidently having root in itself, and still flourishes with seventeen hundred members in wide-branched activities, showing vital force, spiritual resolution, and practical energy. There must have been more foundationing and edifying power in Mr. Beecher's ministry than Mr. Godkin imagined; and, totally different in temperament and many other ways as Dr. Abbott is, eight years of prosperous work prove him a successful successor.

Little Leaders. By WILLIAM MORTON PAYNE. 12mo, pp. 278. Chicago: Way & Williams. Price, buckram cloth, $1.50.

The title of this book is due to the fact that it is made up of thirty articles which did duty as editorials in *The Dial.* They are studies and criticisms in literature, education, and biography. The author modestly says that they "make no pretense of doing more than touch the skirts and fringes of their great subjects." Some of the subjects are as follows: "The Ibsen Legend," "The Cult in Literature," "The Literary West," "The Critic and His Task," "Anonymity in Literary Criticism," "The Approach to Literature," "Democracy and Education," "The Teaching of Education," "The Use and Abuse of Dialect," "Reading and Education," "The Summer School," "Alfred Tennyson," "Ernest Renan," "John Addington Symonds," "John Tyndall," "Thomas Henry Huxley," "Oliver Wendell Holmes." From Renan this rhapsody is quoted: "Heroes of the unselfish life, saints, apostles, recluses, cenobites, ascetics of all ages, sublime poets and philosophers, whose delight was in having no heritage here below; sages who went through life with the left eye fixed upon earth and the right eye upon heaven; and thou above all, divine Spinoza, who chosest to remain poor and forgotten, the better to serve thy thought and adore the Infinite, how much better you understood life

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than those who take it to be a narrow problem in self-interests, the meaningless struggle of ambition and of vanity! It had doubtless been better to make your God less of an abstraction, not set upon heights so dim that to contemplate him strained the vision. God is not alone in the sky, he is near each one of us; he is in the flower pressed by your feet, in the balmy air, in the life that hums and murmurs all about, most of all in your hearts. Yet in your sublime exaltation how much more clearly do I discern the supersensual needs and instincts of humanity than in those colorless beings upon whom the ray of the ideal never flashed, and whose lives from their first day to their last were unfolded, precise, and trim, like the leaves of a book of accounts." This is from the author's essay on J. A. Symonds. Professor Tyrrell, in a satirical sketch of the modern methods of classical study, says: "To study the works, for instance, of the Greek dramatists is no longer a road to success as a scholar or as a student. No, you must be ready to liken Æschylus to an Alpine *crevasse*, Sophocles to a fair avenue of elms, and Euripides to an amber-weeping Phæthontid, or a town pump in need of repairing." This is clearly a reference to such books as Symonds's *Studies of the Greek Poets*, and yet that book has done more to rouse an enthusiasm for Greek poetry and foster a desire for its acquaintance than all the unromantic tomes of the grammarians." This from the essay on Huxley: "Huxley represented English science in the sense that he gave a large part of his life to the subject of comparative anatomy, and made some fairly important contributions to our knowledge of that subject. But this work was not comparable to that, in their respective subjects, of such men as Faraday or Lyell or Maxwell, to say nothing of Darwin. It was good work, without doubt, but it was equaled by a score of Englishmen of his own generation, and surpassed by a respectable number." But the author says Huxley's "tombstone should bear the inscription, *Veritatem dilexi*, that Renan asked to be cut upon his own."

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Empire of the Ptolemies. By J. P. MAHAFFY, Fellow, etc., of Trinity College, Dublin; Hon. Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford; Knight of the Order of the Redeemer; Author of *The Greek World Under Roman Sway*, etc. 8vo, pp. 533. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $3.50.

The histories of Egypt with which we are most familiar expend all their strength before reaching the Greek period. They give us to understand that the undoubtedly brilliant civilization of the Greek period was not native, but foreign, and that, therefore, histories of Egypt have really nothing to do with it. This is, of course, a half-truth. The civilization of the Græco-Roman period in Egypt was a growth from foreign seeds—but, for that matter, so also was the civilization of the ancient empire. No one doubts to-day that the ancient civilization of Egypt was frequently supplemented from the outside, and few there be who would dare to doubt that the civilization of ancient Egypt was not African, but Asiatic. If, therefore, the history of the ancient empire, with its glorious civiliza-

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tion, deserves study as a history of Egypt, it follows without doubt that the history of the Græco-Roman period is also properly a history of Egypt. It is well that the writing of this history should have been done, not by a secondhand workman, however skillful, but by one of the two or three most eminent specialists in this department in the world. Professor Mahaffy is one of the most distinguished ornaments of the university system of Ireland. He has made great contributions to human knowledge by his decipherments of late Egyptian papyri. He has shown himself, in other books, to possess, not merely the skill of a decipherer, but the art of an historian. He has the power to decipher difficult documents; he has also the power of combining the results and of weaving them into interesting historical tapestries. There was great need of a new book on the Ptolemies; as Professor Mahaffy himself says, "they have been greatly neglected." We may let him state the need in his own words: "That this epoch has hitherto been neglected is not strange. In spite of the great splendor and importance of the Ptolemies in the Hellenistic world, no systematic account of them had survived, even in Pausanias's day. We know them through pompous hieroglyphics, which were not intended to instruct us; through panegyrics, which were perhaps intended to mislead us; through episodes in the universal histories of Polybius and Diodorus. Recently we have added to these literary authorities a good many stray inscriptions and a mass of papyrus fragments which give us multitudinous isolated facts, seldom of public interest, but no connected history. The only writer who has attempted to treat this period in connection with the preceding epochs was Sharpe, in whose book the Ptolemies have obtained a lion's share. But how antiquated it seems to us now, and how many of his statements are contradicted by recent discoveries! A like fate will inevitably attend his successors. Even now no history of the Ptolemies can claim or desire to be final. Ptolemaic inscriptions, Ptolemaic papyri, are finding their way into our museums every year. Whenever demotic Egyptian comes to be understood so that its matter becomes accessible to ordinary scholars a flood of net light may be thrown upon the subject. Yet if the vast body of isolated facts be not gathered periodically and set in order it will be impossible to fit further discoveries into their places, and we shall find ourselves in presence of a confused mass of evidence which few will attempt to comprehend. Even now the task of knowing the extant Ptolemaic papyri is arduous enough; were it not for exceptional privileges enjoyed in deciphering and explaining them the undertaking would have been beyond my ambition. Those who know this vast and partly explored field best will be the readiest to make allowance for my shortcomings." The book extends from the reign of Alexander the Great to Cleopatra the Sixth. It is admirably well done. For the theologian it is important, because it covers the period when the Septuagint translation was made; for the student of modern politics it is invaluable as showing the assimilative power of the Egyptian people at a critical period of their history. We doubt if any man living was as competent, on the whole, to do this work as Professor

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Mahaffy. In handling the papyri Professor Willcken, of Breslau, has in some respects done better work. In breadth of view and in knowledge of the ancient history Professor Sayce is superior, and in acquaintance with the mass of lesser documents on papyri Dr. Spiegelberger, of Strasburg, is perhaps somewhat better equipped; but, all things in all, a master has done the work, and we cannot but be grateful that it did not fall into weak hands.

Joan of Arc. By FRANCIS C. LOWELL. 8vo, pp. 382. Boston, New York, and Chicago: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

An important chapter in French and English history, and in religious history as well, is here worthily recorded. If the year of her birth as usually given, 1412, be correct, Joan of Arc was but little more than nineteen when she was burned at the stake. Yet, in spite of her youth and her ignorance of theology, she may be regarded as in some respects a forerunner of the Reformation. Mr. Lowell indeed says: "In her religious belief Joan was a devout Catholic of the fifteenth century, holding heartily and without question all the doctrines of the Church. From the least taint of Protestantism in any form, of the doctrines of Huss or Wyclif, she was absolutely free; indeed, she seems to have regarded the Hussites with most orthodox abhorrence. The supreme authority of the Church she doubted no more than she doubted the heavenly nature of her visitors." But Joan was no theologian. Her knowledge of "all the doctrines of the Church," no less than of "the doctrines of Huss and Wyclif," may well be questioned. And the author, in comparing her with Catherine of Sienna, himself says (p. 371): "Catherine was willing to be damned to save others. Joan could not have understood the idea." It was not on questions of theology so much as on matters connected with the civil administration of affairs that she came into conflict with the authorities of the Church. And many of her answers during her trial hardly comport with a blind acceptance of the Church as the "supreme authority." As specimens of these answers we quote from pages 305, 306: "'In case the Church shall wish to make me do anything contrary to the commandment God has given me I will not do it on any account.' . . . Whatever she had declared in the trial that she had done by his commandment she could not deny. In case the Church militant should command her to deny it she would not allow any man in the world, but only our Lord, to forbid her to do his good commands. Did she not think that she was subject to the Church on earth, that is to say, the pope, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates? insisted Cauchon, wishing to clinch the matter. 'Yes, our Lord being first served,' said Joan." Says James Freeman Clarke, in his valuable *Events and Epochs in Religious History:* "Jeanne d'Arc was thus in the same position before this tribunal that Luther was before the Diet of Worms. Her language and his were identical, except that he spoke of the word of God in Scripture, where she spoke of the voice of God in her soul. Both wished to obey the Church; neither wished to be heretic or schismatic; but to both there was something higher than the Church." On this point we are more

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inclined to agree with Clarke than with our present author, without believing that Joan had any deliberate intention of posing as a heretic, or any adequate idea in what heresy consisted. Concerning the "voices" Mr. Lowell says: "Joan had subjective sensations of sight and sound, perhaps of other senses, without external cause sufficient to produce like sensations in others. Precisely what these sensations were we do not know." And in another place: "Two things only are certain: first, that she was sincere, both then and afterward; and, second, that no trick was played upon her by others. It appears, moreover, that in all other respects she was quite healthy, both in body and in mind. Further than this history cannot go, and the choice between insanity and inspiration must be made by another science." There has been no more picturesque figure in human history than Joan of Arc. Her brief career is a unique and romantic episode in the midst of the barbarous cruelties and treacheries of the Middle Ages; her character, one of the purest, sincerest, most disinterested and unselfish in any age. A simple peasant girl, without education—unable to even read or write—she was called to stand before kings and princes, to take a conspicuous part in the great events of her time. Unabashed in any presence; with a faith unwavering that enabled her to accomplish the chief ends of her marvelous mission; with a quiet dignity, a persuasive earnestness, a healthy, saving common sense, a perception of the adaptation of means to compel results, a vigor and directness of thought and speech that won respect and attention such as enthusiast never enjoyed before—she was yet exalted by no prosperity, dismayed by no calamity, and retained the unaffected charm of her early girlhood, longing even at the last, her mission over, that they would let her go back again to her sheep in Domremy. Mr. Lowell's book is a calm, dispassionate, and yet of necessity an appreciative narrative of the main events of Joan's life. He constantly refers to that unimpeachable source of information—the full official record of her trial and condemnation. Altogether he has produced a biography of great interest and value of one who, in a larger sense than Napoleon can ever be, is the national hero of the people of France.

The Life of John Livingston Nevius, for Forty Years a Missionary in China. With illustrations from original photographs, and a map of Eastern Shantung. By his Wife, HELEN S. COAN NEVIUS. Introduction by W. A. P. MARTIN, D.D., LL.D., President Imperial Tungwen College, Peking. 8vo, pp. 476. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $2.

The need that workers in the foreign mission fields of the Church shall be men of the highest quality is impressed anew upon the reader of this valuable biography. In their intellectual acumen, their intrenchment in ancestral faiths, and their natural hostility to the invasion of the strange religious teacher from the West, the heathen of the Orient are to be won to the Gospel by the best Christian teachers, and only by the best. Judged, however, by the exacting standards of missionary qualification which the Church may rightly lay down, the subject of this memoir will not be found wanting. Of his fitness for pioneer missionary work in China,

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Dr. Martin in his "Introduction" writes as follows: "A strong body, a vigorous and well-trained intellect, a sound judgment, and a firm will —these were the corner stones of a character which, abounding in natural magnetism and penetrated by the grace of God, was marked out for usefulness of no ordinary type. His inborn dignity compelled respect from the highest; his kindly sympathies were such that the lowliest might approach him with confidence. Serious, but not morose; at times mirthful, but never frivolous, he was the most genial of companions. His society was sought by the worldly, though most appreciated by those who could enter the sanctuary of his religious affections. In a word, he was a man whom human wisdom might have selected out of thousands; and have we not the amplest evidence that a Higher Wisdom chose and fitted him for his special work?" Such words as these do not seem overeulogistic as one reads the life story of Dr. Nevius. With large detail and much charm of construction his faithful wife has put before us his early life, his sterling Christian experience, his missionary call, his gift of forty years of service to the redemption of China, and his sudden translation in the midst of his toil. Incidentally there is much in the volume which throws light upon Chinese life and customs. Yet Dr. Nevius, through it all, is the central figure of the story. As a missionary teacher who has helped to lay the foundations of the Church in China, and has turned many to righteousness, he will be sorely missed. As a lover of nature, a keen student of humanity, an able linguist, and a writer who has enriched the missionary literature of China, he will be remembered tenderly and long. Not least of all his literary works is his volume on *Demon Possession and Allied Themes*, but recently reviewed in these pages, wherein he shows the resemblance between the demoniacism of the New Testament and that of China, and claims that in the latter case as well the devils may be driven out by Christian exercises. After a long workday in his loved mission field he has laid down to rest outside the city of Chefoo, until the great day of the Lord. His life story will be welcomed by all Christian workers as a faithful contribution to the history of missionary work in China, and as a loving portrayal of a great soul which has now risen to its native skies.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Making of Manhood. By W. J. DAWSON. 12mo, pp. 269. New York and Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $1.
London Idylls. 12mo, pp. 345. Same author and publishers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Mr. Dawson is remembered here as a delegate from British Wesleyanism to the Ecumenical Methodist Conference in Washington in 1890, as also by sermons and lectures delivered by him during that visit and by his previous books, *Quest and Vision* and *The Church of To-morrow*, both published by our Book Concern. Sermons, essays, and poems come copiously from his pen, yet are not crude or careless or common; they all

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have a certain exquisite and delicious quality which entitles them to a place in literature. They come from the soul of a poet, an artist, a prophet. *The Making of Manhood* is unlike and yet reminds one of Munger's *On the Threshold.* It has fourteen chapters on "The Duty of Right Thinking," "The Power of the Ideal," "The Power of Purpose," "The Madness of Youth," "Courage," "The Gains of Drudgery," "Money," "Gambling," "The Empty Mind," "Patriotism," "Leisure and Holidays," "The Ministry of Books," "The Price of Perfection," "A Young Man's Religion." The *London Idylls* number ten, the first being entitled "Jim and His Soul: a Street Idyll," and the last, "Sister Lydia." The "Proem" begins thus: "These be tales of a city like unto no other that is found upon the earth." "This city never rests. It is the heart from which the whole earth is fed. It is the ganglion in which the fibers of a world are knotted up." "This city shares with seas and open skies a certain spaciousness which is symbolic of infinity. Gradually, since that far-off hour of boyhood, when first her magnificent disarray touched the soul with wonder, the enchantment of this city has drawn me closer, until at last the heart-beat of London has grown motherly to me."

Dixie; or, Southern Scenes and Sketches. By JULIAN RALPH. 8vo, pp. 412. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2 50.

This is one of the latest of the long list of books of travel and description published by the Harpers. Julian Ralph, having previously given us *Canada* and *Chicago*, and *The World's Fair* and *Our Great West*, now gives us this attractive volume. It is one of those books which carries the reader along, so that he finds it as easy as a hammock and as breezy as a bicycle. It is so copiously illustrated that the index to the illustrations fills four pages. The author's "Greeting" is: "To that happy society of men and women whose innermost souls have been bared to me all over the world; whose lodges are hospitable homes, whose passwords are terms of buoyant friendship, whose grips are of the tendrils of kindly hearts, and whose aim is to enjoy and to make joyous the fellowship of their comrades, this book of Southern notes is admiringly dedicated."

The Days of Auld Lang Syne. By IAN MACLAREN. 12mo, pp. 366. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. Price, cloth, $1 25.

The reading public which devoured this author's previous book, *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, at once cried aloud for more; and here they have it in this new volume, sure to be eagerly purchased and hungrily read. Some of the characters of the first book reappear here, and the scenes also are in old Drumtochty. The titles of this new package of stories are: *A Triumph in Diplomacy; For Conscience' Sake; A Manifest Judgment; Drumsheugh's Love Story; Past Redemption; Good News from a Far Country; Jamie; A Servant Lass; Milton's Conversion; Oor Lang Hame.* Few volumes of sermons ever did so much good to the hearts of men as did the noble pathos and irresistible power of those Scottish stories in the *Bonnie Brier Bush;* and here we have a fresh installment, made of the same stuff, cut from the same piece of goods.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1896.

ART. I.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

THE Scriptures, as a whole, are a magazine of facts, incidents, metaphors, symbols, and implications, out of which doctrines must be formulated, covering the wide field of creation, providence, sin, redemption, immortality, and eternal destinies. From this storehouse of precious things we gather the doctrine of the Holy Spirit; but we are indebted especially to the discourses of our Lord, and to the record of the planting of the Church, for the foundation facts and guiding principles by which we are to be led to right conclusions in this particular study. In these are statements which stand out with the prominence of mountain peaks, pointing us to high and solid ground where we may stand with firm footing and look with serene confidence upon the open vista of divine communion with the human soul.

Underlying this doctrine is the basal fact that there is a Holy Spirit. Our first apprehension of this fact comes to us, not by direct statement, but like our first recognition of the being of God, by assumption in the work of creation: "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." In that mysterious era of unrevealed duration known as "the beginning," after the substances of which the universe is composed had been spoken into existence by the fiat of Omnipotence, the divine energy which molded them into form and energized them with intrinsic and vital forces was the Spirit of God. From the inner recesses of the eternal Godhead, he proceeded forth to

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the work of garnishing the heavens and filling the earth with life and gladness.

The ordinary conception of the Holy Spirit as a divine personality has its vindication in the distinctness of his office in creation. It is also justified to us by a rational view of his place and agency in redemption. His work in the soul in recovering it from sin is as clearly personal and divine as is his work in creation; and since our interest in the study arises more from the latter than from any other feature we shall endeavor to grasp the work attributable to the Spirit in renewing the sinner in righteousness, and gather therefrom the doctrine of the Spirit in its most important relations. In order to accuracy we must be somewhat careful of definitions and try to give exact expression to the reasons governing our belief, although it is aside from the purpose of this writing to state the grounds of our faith in the divinity and personality of the Holy Spirit, involving the doctrine of the Trinity, as distinct from that conception of the unity of God which is common to Unitarians and deists.

The work of salvation comprehends all the processes of canceling guilt, removing condemnation, breaking the reigning power of sin, imparting life to the spiritually dead, washing away moral uncleanness, and establishing the heart and life in righteousness and true holiness. The immanence of the Spirit of God, and his activity in all these processes which take place within the soul, are the central facts around which must be grouped the incidents and implications of the Scriptures in making up the doctrine of our study.

That God in some way touches the human soul and affects it, impressing upon it somewhat that awakens desires, impulses, inclinations, and affections, giving it a character and capabilities not otherwise possible to it, is a truth which pervades revelation and distinguishes the Gospel from all other schemes of religion. There must be, therefore, in the nature of man, some quality or aptness, or some susceptibility to divine influence, which adapts him to this invisible contact, and which in itself marks the soul as designed for this high communion and prophesies its exalted destiny. Without this assumed capacity for immediate intercourse with Deity it would be vain for us to look for testimonies to the manifestation of God to

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man, or for any data for building or interpreting the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. A mere hypothesis about the Spirit as an entity, or as an agent, or as a personality, with conjectures touching the filial or processional relations of the persons in the Godhead, is not such a doctrine as is demanded by the moral exigencies of the race. A doctrine is more than an hypothesis, more than a theory, more than a conjecture or a speculation; it is formulated truth, with traceable sources, with rational attestations, and with apprehensible purpose. It is truth declared, teachable and taught, which, when received, increases the store of knowledge, shapes the activities of the faculties, dominates the sensibilities, regulates the motives, tones up the volitions, and nourishes the life with which the soul is endowed. It is higher and nobler than dogma, because it is sustained by evidences which commend it beyond the external authority requiring its propagation. He who speaks lightly of doctrines, and especially of those relating to God's gracious power in dealing with souls and in preparing destinies, speaks ignorantly, or speaks from the exuberance of his vanity.

God is invisible and intangible. When he comes forth from the immensity of his being, and from the hidings of his personality, to reveal himself to intelligent creatures, he always appears within the sphere of finite contemplation in the person of the only begotten Son, "who is the image of the invisible God," or else in the activity and life-giving energy of the Holy Spirit. These are the personal manifestations of his presence, the personal agents appearing in all his works, in all his relationships, and in all his revelations of himself in creation and in redemption, and especially in the applications of his grace to the salvation of sinful men. These personal agents are divine, each of one substance, power, and glory with the Father, and each in his sphere revealing God and doing the work of God. As in the nature of God there is neither mixture nor confusion because of the distinction of persons or because of the manifestations of personality in the outgoings of the Deity in the Son and in the Holy Spirit, so in the official work of these divine persons, in the scheme of human recovery, there are distinctness and departmental separateness, without confusion or impingement, and yet with complete and constant cooperation. In other words, the Son of God has his official sphere of personal activity,

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within which the Holy Spirit has neither place nor official recognition; and the same is true of the Holy Spirit. He also has an official sphere within which he works alone, so to speak; works the work of God, works as God, and works with ceaseless regard to the one supreme will, to the unbending purpose of love, and to the invincible nature of responsible man.

Can these official spheres be ascertained? Can we trace the lines which separate these departments of official activity? Are there not at least some pointers which indicate their boundaries? Think it not presumptuous to make the inquiry. If we fail in this, or think it rash to undertake it, we are doomed to abide in such a state of ignorance that clear conceptions of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit will be impossible. What then is the office of the Holy Spirit, as distinguished from the office of Jesus Christ? Where is the sphere of his operations, and what his limitations? If we can outline these with an approximation to accuracy we shall gain a point of view that will be helpful in surveying the whole field of moral and spiritual impressions.

In the first place, let it be noted that there are two distinct needs to be met in the case of every sinner. A man condemned as a criminal at the bar of justice, in order to become a good citizen and enjoy his freedom, must be released from the legal penalties he has incurred, and then he must take on new qualities of character, becoming honest and upright. So the sinner's relation to the divine law must be adjusted, and his inner self must be transformed. These two needs are met in the scheme of redemption, one by each of the divine persons engaged in the undertaking. Whatever is legal in the scheme belongs to the official work of the Messiah, the Son of God. He adjusts the relations of mankind to the law of God. He magnifies the law, maintains its honor, and redeems from its curse. He was made under the law, that he might redeem them who were under the law. Forensic terms represent his distinctive work. He redeems, propitiates, reconciles, justifies; and such terms also describe his offices as mediator, advocate, intercessor, and judge. This legal work is his alone. In all the wide range of his kingly authority the work of the Spirit is not found. The Son of man has power on earth to forgive sin, because he himself became the propitiation for sin and met the

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legal demand, so that forgiveness to the penitent is as consistent with law as it is in itself an act of grace. On the other hand, the office of the Holy Spirit is to meet the other need. All that is moral, or that relates to the inner state of the man, requiring the adjustment of personal qualities to fit the soul for its purchased legal privileges, belongs to the department or sphere in which the Holy Spirit is supreme. He only can reconstruct the moral nature and make it a temple of the living God. In the order of thought the official work of Christ is antecedent and procurative, while that of the Holy Spirit is subsequent and resultant. The latter is impossible without the former, while the former is incomplete and fruitless without the latter. Both are requisite to fill the measure of the divine love and wisdom in the salvation of sinners.

Can we trace signs of this distinction of official work in the earlier revelations? It has been said that every essential doctrine of the New Testament was in some way foreshadowed in the Old Testament. Whether this is an extreme statement or not we shall not contend, but it is evident that in the Levitical services under the Mosaic ritual there were typical adumbrations of some distinction of the kind we are considering. The proper classification of all the typical ceremonials which had respect to deliverance and purification from sin is into blood sacrifices and water ablutions. The blood redeemed and the water purified. The sin offering of the lamb or the bullock was indispensable, but it was unavailing unless followed by the required washing with water. The sin offering typified the redeeming act of the Son of God as "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" in the stipulation of the everlasting covenant; and the washing with water typified the purification from sin which is wrought within the soul by the agency of the Holy Spirit. All religious uses of water under the old covenant pointed to this result. The sprinkling of the water of purification prefigured the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost. The blood and the water together indicated the redemption complete. The fountain opened to the house of David was "for sin and for uncleanness"—for "sin," the transgression of the law; and for "uncleanness," the moral defilement to be washed away by the purifying power of the Holy Spirit. These two aspects of the work of

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salvation show the ground of the distinction between the legal and moral in the process, and prove that each arises from the actual relation and condition of the sinner. The distinction is not fictitious, existing only in the imagination, but is necessary to the understanding of the needs of the soul and to an appreciation of the wonderful provisions of grace to meet its emergencies.

As has been already anticipated, we find the sphere of the Spirit's work in the moral nature of man, as affected by sin, and not in the legal relation the sinner sustains to the divine government, either before or after his conversion. It is therefore impossible to develop the doctrine of the Holy Spirit without ascertaining, as nearly as possible, what there is in the soul that renders it susceptible to divine influence. What is there in man that opens to spiritual touches from God? The best psychology at command is defective. We must therefore proceed tentatively, and yet there is firm footing in reach, so far as necessity compels us to go into the study of the soul's attributes with our present object in view. A perfect analysis of the associated faculties which inhere within the immaterial entity we call the soul is neither necessary nor possible; yet this imperfection does not hinder a proximately accurate classification of the powers we do apprehend, with an approach to certainty adequate to the purposes of our inquiry. While the soul is an assemblage of different powers or capabilities, each sufficiently distinct to be identified in its special character and work, and to be differentiated from all others, there is no such separateness to any of them as to require the belief that the soul is compounded or in any sense resultant from the union of different or divisible organs. It is rather a simple essence, a unit, an indivisible entity that cannot be distributed into parts, some of which may be supposed to be actively employed, while others are at rest. This entity acts as a whole, in its unity, or it does not act at all. What we call faculties are not branches or separable parts, but simply powers or activities employed always under the guidance of the complete personality. They are attributes or capacities for the pursuit of different ends, working under dissimilar conditions and motives. The will is the soul itself exercising its volitional power. So with all the faculties. The memory is the soul's capacity for retaining im-

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pressions, ideas, or the knowledge of facts previously acquired; the understanding is the soul apprehending material of knowledge; the reason is the soul tracing and discriminating the relations of things; and the imagination is the soul busying itself with pure intellections. All these, and possibly others, are the natural faculties—powers without which the functions of rational soul-life would be impossible; and yet we can conceive of each and all of them as existing in completeness without any leaning or bent to sin, or without any positive preference for the good. Not that anyone so exists, as a concrete fact, with all his natural faculties in full play, without bias to good or evil; but such a thing is possible to our conceptions, so that we may imagine this utter destitution of predisposition; that is, we may think of an individual endowed with all the essential faculties of the soul and yet devoid of moral character. He may have mind, will, memory, and reason, and yet have no inclination for or against moral rectitude. If these natural faculties were all the powers of the soul there might be a soul without the elements of moral character. But these are not all the powers of the soul. There is another class of powers in everyone, which, if not faculties, are so related to the faculties as to be inseparable from them. They are the powers which give the soul its character for goodness or badness. They form a sort of vestment to the soul, giving to it inclinations, impulses, biases, affinities, and aversions; and in these are found also the spiritual sensibilities or the capacity for impressions. As are these powers, so is the man in all moral characteristics.

Here, then, we may assume that the soul itself, with its natural faculties, is the person, the conscious self, the substratum of being; but the personality is not complete without this second class of powers which we distinguish from the natural faculties, and which determine the moral quality of the soul by giving bent or inclination to all its faculties. These are the avenues through which sin enters; these are the forces which dominate the soul to the extent that it is not governed by pure reason; and these are the powers which open to the touch of all spiritual influences. Here is the seat of depravity, the carnal or fleshly mind, "the body of the sins of the flesh," designated "the old man" in the words of the apostle; for

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here is the evil bent of nature which affiliates the man with all that is sensual and corrupting.

This department of the immaterial nature is called in the Scriptures both the "heart" and the "spirit," when specifically mentioned as distinct from the soul. When "soul" and "spirit" are conjoined, so that each must have its specific meaning, the "soul" expresses all the natural faculties, and the "spirit" those that are moral. The "spirit" is not the "soul," but it is the cluster of its moral qualities; it is to the soul what warmth is to the sunbeam, or what fragrance is to the flower, or what the temper is to the steel. It is of the soul, and yet it is not the essence of being. It is a changeable quality—something that may be transformed, renewed, put on or put off, without affecting the identity of the soul. In scriptural usage it is also called the "heart." The words "heart" and "spirit" are used interchangeably in the Old and New Testaments, so as to demonstrate the identity of their significance. We never speak of the soul as good or bad, as right or wrong, but we do of both "heart" and "spirit." Indeed, all moral qualities, good and bad, are ascribed to these. When the psalmist prayed, "Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me," he sought one blessing, and not two, using repetition for intensity, as was common in ancient usage. Thus also the prophet Ezekiel wrote: "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh." The "heart" and the "spirit" are the subjects of that transformation which makes the man a "new creation"—a change wrought by the Holy Spirit—while the soul retains not only its identity but all its natural faculties, with all their aptitudes and acquisitions. When converted the man, in respect of "heart" and "spirit," like King Saul before his coronation, is "turned into another man;" but he loses nothing of his proper personality in the change. In the essence of his being, in the essential attributes of his spiritual nature—in mind, will, reason, and judgment—he remains himself alone; so that the work of the Holy Spirit is in the "heart," in the "spirit," or in the moral qualities of the soul which give character to the man, making him what he is for goodness or badness.

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Some one may ask, "Is not this restricting the sphere of the Holy Spirit's work to narrow limits?" It does not restrict it below the limit imposed by the nature of the case. The Spirit works for the eradication of sin, and works where sin reigns; and he works for the implantation of new qualities and for building up the new life imparted, so that his whole sphere is where dwell the elements of moral character. Unless the essential being of the man is invaded, and the invincible basis of his moral freedom is subjected to extrinsic forces, involving his accountability, this limitation of the divine working within him must be a sacred reality. It is simply what exists, what is revealed in the Scriptures, and what everyone may read distinctly in the disclosures of his own consciousness, as well as gather from any true philosophy of his own being.

The sphere of the Spirit's work thus ascertained is not a narrow one when viewed with any just regard to the vastness of the empire within, or with a rational conception of the resultant possibilities. It is not a little thing to touch and transform a human heart, through which the whole man is swayed. While the first contact of the Holy Spirit is with the spirit of man, touching the sensibilities, the thrill of that contact vibrates throughout the realm of moral consciousness and sensation. It is as when God said, "Let there be light: and there was light." The moving of the Spirit of God upon the assemblage of susceptible powers, metaphorically called the heart, is like the brooding of that same Spirit over the disorder of the chaotic earth at the dawn of creation, when the morning stars in concert sang their jubilant anthem of praise and the sons of God in celestial spheres shouted their joyous greeting to the newborn world. The regenerated soul becomes "a habitation of God through the Spirit." The kingdom of God set up within drives out alien forces till every power yields to the sway of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost—a dominion wider than the continents of earth.

Human philosophy stands appalled at the greatness of this work. Its tiny fingers touch nothing like it. Its sensuous wisdom is dumb before it. Science falters and is silent when God's Spirit renews a soul. The greatest stretches of its power cannot reach an agency capable of such an achieve-

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ment. The highest human learning can find nothing beyond the subjective energies of the man for his uplifting and reconstruction. These are not disregarded but subordinated in the operations of the Holy Spirit. He works in harmony with every natural power. Whatever intrinsic capability the soul possesses is energized, directed, and utilized by the Spirit in the processes of salvation. While grace is supernatural in its source it comes into harmonious relations with the natural order of working out results in the spiritual kingdom, supplementing, inciting, and vitalizing the inherent forces, so that the resultant development of "newness of life" is attributable reciprocally to the Holy Spirit and to the active agency of the human will. It is God working within and man working out his own salvation.

The true doctrine of the Holy Spirit is synergistic, and not monergistic. There is found in it the presence of two distinct agencies, each retaining its essential character and working in its appropriate sphere, and yet blending and working together as with a single aim to a single end. The Spirit of God reinforces the spirit of man. This is the supernaturalism of the Gospel. It is not a supernaturalism which overrides the human will with arbitrary compulsion or sets at naught the unbending laws of the moral universe, but a supernaturalism which, without departing from the order of the higher realm, comes into the sphere of humanity with the light and quickening power which the lapsed condition of man renders indispensable to the restoration of the lost image of God. There was a supernaturalism of miracles that, at the beginning of the dispensation of the Spirit, had a most important mission, which was to attract attention, to arouse inquiry, and to authenticate messengers and messages from God; but that supernaturalism could not be incorporated into a system of religion for permanent continuance, because the constant recurrence of miracles would destroy their purpose as extraordinary attestations. In an important sense not to be disparaged miraculous manifestations enter into our faith and support it. The historical records reporting them command our assent. The incarnation and the mighty works of the Son of God stand out before the world as the foundation of our faith, and with the historical verity of these extraordinary facts

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Christian institutions must stand or fall. This extraordinary supernaturalism is an integral part of Christianity, but it has fulfilled its mission, so that we no longer look for miracles under the Gospel ministry. They are not needed. The supernaturalism which the doctrine of the Holy Spirit warrants is less tangible to the senses, but not less real nor less satisfying to the heart when clearly apprehended. It attests the verity of our faith with convincing power equal to that of miracles. "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself." Through the Holy Spirit the Gospel evinces its own divinity, and, by producing in believers the fruits of righteousness, commends itself to "every man's conscience in the sight of God."

The doctrine of the Holy Spirit presents God as working in the human soul for its recovery from sin. This is its first and last thought. Through all the dispensations this essential work has been going on. Since no other power could ever renew the heart or fit the sinner for communion with God, this power must have been available from the time the first sinner needed salvation. God working in men is not a new thing in human history, nor a something peculiar to the Gospel dispensation. Because it is essential some manifestation of it must be found in every age and among all the peoples and generations out of which have been gathered jewels to deck the Redeemer's crown. The memorable words from the mouth of God before the flood, "My Spirit shall not always strive with man," although of warning tone, indicate that the Holy Spirit was then working with men, and that his absence at any time must be disastrous to human hopes. In their rebellion Israel "vexed his Holy Spirit: therefore he was turned to be their enemy, and he fought against them." David, in his penitence, prayed, "Cast me not away from thy presence; and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation; and uphold me with thy free Spirit." Evangelical as is this prayer, and as clearly as it recognizes the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart, there is no reason for regarding it as indicating an experience beyond the common privilege of the pious of that day. Indeed, we cannot conceive of the piety and saintliness of character exhibited by the worthies of Old Testament history without suggestions of a divine work in

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the soul which has never been wrought except by the Holy Spirit.

The first significant manifestation of the Holy Spirit in New Testament history is in connection with the person of the Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth. Not only was he conceived by the Holy Ghost, but in the temple the Spirit revealed his presence to Simeon and inspired Anna to speak of him to all that waited for salvation in Jerusalem. When he appeared on the banks of the Jordan, to fulfill all righteousness in his baptism, the heavens opened and the Spirit of God descended upon him, while the voice of the Father attested his sonship. From that hour whithersoever he went he went by the Spirit. The prophecies which went before, predicting his Messianic achievements, pointed to this anointing, and ascribed the establishment of his kingdom to it. In the first sermon ever preached to a Gentile audience Peter spoke of a report published throughout all Judea, "How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil." This comprehensive summation of the life of Jesus accords with all prophetic testimonies in ascribing his miracles to the Spirit, which the Father gave without measure unto him. Jesus himself had said, "But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you." We must not therefore wonder that all the instrumentalities ordained for spreading the kingdom of God on earth receive their efficiency from the presence and energizing power of the Holy Spirit. Chief among these is the preaching of the Gospel, which wins success and approves itself unto men as "the power of God unto salvation," when preached "with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven."

The disciples who were called to be apostles—who gave up all to follow Jesus as their Master and Lord, and who witnessed his miracles, heard his discourses, and shared his most intimate fellowship—were doubtless partakers of his saving grace and renewing power, experiencing the work of the Holy Spirit up to the measure of privilege under the dispensation in which they lived; and in some respects they transcended the ordinary privileges of the saints, in that they were endowed with miraculous gifts under the commission which ended before the

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crucifixion. But these same disciples, after being witnesses of all that Jesus did and suffered, and then of his resurrection and ascension, were still short of needed qualifications for the Gospel ministry till after an enduement of power from the Holy Ghost which they had not yet received. They were commanded to wait for this special endowment, and not to open their ministry till it should come upon them. Must we not then deem it essential?

This special gift to be waited for was "the promise of the Father," which Jesus had previously declared in their presence should come to them after his departure. We find it in the wonderful discourse delivered by him just before his passion. He then designated the Holy Ghost as the *Paraclete*—the "Comforter," "Advocate," or "Helper." The Spirit was not unfamiliar to the disciples, but now he was to take a new official relation and become to them what the personal presence of the Master had been—their teacher, defender, guide, and helper. His coming was to be an epiphany, the manifestation of Christ himself, in fulfillment of his promise, "I will not leave you comfortless: I will come to you." Nay, more; it was to be the revelation of both the Father and the Son: "He that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him. . . . If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." He was to manifest himself to his disciples as he did not to the world. But this special manifestation of the Father and the Son, in the person of the *Paraclete*, the Holy Ghost, was not to be the second coming of Christ in the clouds with the angels, but the consummation of his first advent. It was the coming of the Son of man in his kingdom, or the coming of the kingdom of God with power.

The promise of the Holy Spirit had been in the minds of the disciples from early in Christ's ministry. In his sermon on the duty and privilege of prayer he had said: "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?" But now they stood face to face with a crisis. He whom they trusted and loved, who had been their instructor, guide, friend, and helper, was about to leave them.

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They knew not as yet how, nor why. Sorrow filled their hearts. In some way they felt that new trials and new responsibilities awaited them, demanding larger measures of divine help than had been vouchsafed to men, except in the personal leadership of Him who was now to depart. It was then he said, "If ye love me, keep my commandments. And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever; even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." A little later in this discourse he reiterated the promise of the Comforter, and indicated his work: "These things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you. But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." The next step in this instruction with regard to the mission of the Comforter points out to the disciples what should be their own office and work under this divine leadership: "But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me: and ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning." Further on in this address, still tenderly encouraging their saddened hearts, Jesus said: "Nevertheless I tell you the truth; It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you. And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment. . . . He will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will show you things to come. He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you."

From these passages, so rich in promised blessings, we pass over to the time beyond the "hour and the power of darkness," when the risen Christ recalled to his disciples "the promise of the Father," "which," he said, "ye have heard of me." Gethsemane, the cross, and the tomb were now behind him; the last commission had been given; and having bidden them to wait for the promise, and not to depart from Jerusalem with-

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out its fulfillment, he spoke what were probably his last words before his ascension from Olivet: "But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." Surely, then, a new dispensation of the Spirit was at hand—one whose glory should eclipse all that had preceded.

On one occasion, quite a while before his suffering, when Jesus stood up on the great day of the feast of tabernacles and cried, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink," and spoke of "rivers of living water," he anticipated this effusion. For the evangelist who recorded his words explained: "This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given; because that Jesus was not yet glorified." After all the revelations of the Spirit, and the work he had done among men, working in them and striving with them through the centuries, "the Holy Ghost was not yet given" in the sense contemplated in "the promise of the Father;" he had not yet come as Comforter in the revelation of the Father and the Son, in the higher experiences to which the Church is called under the new dispensation. This brings us to the epoch of the Pentecost—the starting point for the study of the doctrine under the Gospel; an epoch which opens to the Church visions of spiritual power never known before. It was the day of the opening of the New Testament temple, with walls of salvation and with gates of praise. Beginning at this point we study the work of the Holy Spirit as set forth in the Acts of the Apostles, and as interpreted in the epistles, in his convincing, illuminating, regenerating, sanctifying, and witnessing power—with endowments for comfort, strength, testimony, work, and victory, surpassing all that preceding dispensations had revealed.

S. M. Merrill

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Art. II.—CHRISTIANITY AND MOHAMMEDANISM IN ARABIA, EGYPT, AND NORTHERN AFRICA.

North of the Mediterranean, Christ; south of the Mediterranean, Mohammed. This is not history, and it may be even less true as prophecy; yet it marks what almost seems to be a natural division of territory between two great religions, each of which aims at universal empire. Mohammedanism made important conquests in Spain, which it held for centuries; but long ago it was driven back across the Strait of Gibraltar. Suleyman the Magnificent planted the standards of Mohammed at the very gates of Vienna, and all Europe trembled before the conqueror. Yet, for more than three centuries, the retreat of Islam has been as steady and as inevitable as though attended by a Nemesis. All that is left in Europe to the present Sultan of Turkey is a very precarious foothold in the city of Constantine; and it is not very rash to prophesy that his successors, in the not distant future, will preside over the seraglio in some capital beyond the confines of Europe.

Christianity does not furnish the historical counterpart of this picture south of the Mediterranean, yet it presents points of resemblance which in some respects are suggestive. During the early centuries of the Christian era the Gospel made some of its most important conquests in Egypt and the countries of northern Africa. But in its later conflict with the forces of Arabia so completely was it defeated that Gibbon wrote: "The northern coast of Africa is the only land in which the light of the Gospel, after a long and perfect establishment, has been totally extinguished." *

The past is an index to the future only when the philosophy of history is carefully studied.

I. The inhabitants of Arabia just prior to the Christian era were idolaters, principally of the Sabian sect, who worshiped the fixed stars and the planets, and also angels and their images, regarding these as inferior deities acting as intercessors with the one true God. Some tribes worshiped a tree, or a lump of dough, or a stone. Magian worship had also

* *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. v, p. 267.

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been introduced by the Persians, and the worship of Jehovah by Jewish refugees.

Whether Paul preached the Gospel in Arabia is not certain; but Christianity was introduced into the country at a comparatively early date. Unfortunately, however, the type of Christianity which found its way into Arabia was not of a character to enable it to cope most successfully with idolatry or to give it any very essential spiritual victories. The Arabian Christians were mostly of the sect of the Jacobites; and before the time of Mohammed the country had become a hotbed of the heresies of Ebion, Beryllus, the Nazaræans, and the Collyridians. The latter introduced the worship of the Virgin Mary as God. Had the Gospel in its purity been established and maintained in Arabia Islam might never have become one of the great religions of the world. But the idolatrous worship of the Virgin, saints, images, and relics is too little removed from the worship of angels and their images, trees, dough, and stones, to give the one any marked advantage over the other.

Christianity was more firmly established on the western shores of the Red Sea than on the eastern. Tradition has attempted to connect the earliest knowledge of the faith with the testimony of Candace's servant, the eunuch to whom Philip so faithfully preached. The conversion of the Ethiopians to Christianity is supposed to be due to Frumentius, who, with a fellow-student, was under the care of a philosopher, Meropius, when the ship in which they sailed was wrecked on the Ethiopian coast. Meropius was killed by the barbarians, but the young men were spared. At Axum they attracted the favor of the queen; and it was as tutor to the prince, her son, that Frumentius began to sow the seed of the Christian faith. On communicating his work to Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria, that prelate at once appointed him Bishop of Axum. The Arian heresy, which soon after rent the Church, did not reach Abyssinia. But the Abyssinian Church was far from representing Christianity in its purity. Not a few rites and ceremonies borrowed from the Jews, and some also which had perhaps survived from the early pagan customs, were incorporated into the Christian ritual. At length the monophysite heresy found acceptance with the Church in Egypt and was

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communicated by the patriarch to his bishop in Axum. Yet subsequent events proved that the faith of Jesus had taken deep root in the soil of Ethiopia.

Of the history of the Alexandrian Church during the first century and a half we have little real knowledge. According to an early tradition its founder was St. Mark. Eusebius does little more than mention the names of its bishops. Many things, however, would indicate that the Church at Alexandria early attained considerable importance. The catechetical school was founded at an early date, and exerted a wide influence. In 180 A. D. it was presided over by Patænus, a celebrated convert from Stoicism. Patænus was succeeded by Clemens, and Clemens by Origen. At Alexandria Athanasius wrote and spoke. It would seem that the seed of Christian truth was here planted so deep that even the fury of the Saracens could not root it up. But an enemy more destructive than the sword of Mohammed assailed it, not from without, but from within. Monophysite, Gnostic, and other heresies, with schisms and the general decline of spirituality, began to declare the downfall of the Alexandrian Church long before the armies of Arabia appeared.

We are without information as to when, or by whom, Christianity was introduced into Carthage; but before the end of the second century it was pretty generally established along the North African coast. Its prevalence and strength may be inferred from an expression recorded by Tertullian in his *Apology*, that the whole country was beset with Christians, and that every sex, age, and condition, even to the highest rank, were passing over to this denomination. The council held at Carthage in 215 was attended by not less than seventy bishops. This would indicate a considerable constituency. The Church grew rapidly in numbers and influence. The African countries of the Mediterranean were the scene of the labors of some of the most noted of the early fathers—Cyprian, Augustine, and many others. In the times immediately preceding the Mohammedan conquest Christianity ruled northern Africa. The bishops of the country are said to have numbered from four hundred to five hundred, which would mean many thousands of churches and priests. Had its internal life been strong the Church of northern Africa

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might have remained until this day; but, like the Churches of Egypt and Arabia, it was rent by many heresies.

II. Mohammedanism arose like a whirlwind in the desert, and swept over more countries of the earth than the Roman arms ever subdued. The idolatry of Arabia had left a spiritual vacuum which a spurious Christianity, a Mariolatry, could not fill; and a new movement was sooner or later inevitable. However unspiritual Mohammedanism may afterward have become, it seems reasonable to suppose that the first impulses of Mohammed were toward a purer and more spiritual worship. For nearly forty years he was a devout worshiper of the gods of Arabia. But his soul recoiled from idolatry; and he seems to have resolved upon restoring the ancient worship of God as professed by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and the prophets. How far his enthusiasm at first led him to dream of his own exaltation it is difficult to determine. But it appears that his claims for personal recognition increased somewhat in the ratio of his success. The first to whom he unbosomed his purpose was his faithful wife Khadijah. She at once acknowledged his prophetic mission. His servant, Zeid, and his young cousin, Ali, soon followed. Not till he had labored in secret for three years did he venture to proclaim himself the prophet of God. Up to that time he had succeeded in making only fourteen proselytes, but they included some of the chief men of Mecca, foremost among whom were Abubeker and Omar. Thus strengthened, he ventured upon a more open career.

The first public announcement of his mission was made to a company of about forty of his nearest relations. They received his claims with ridicule. But he was nothing daunted. For ten years he continued his public ministry in Mecca, proclaiming the worship of the one true God, and declaring himself to be the prophet of God. During all this time he relied solely upon persuasion, declaring for liberty of conscience and disclaiming all intention or right to use violence. Chapter lxxxviii of the Koran, after speaking of the terrible day of judgment, says: "Wherefore warn thy people, for thou art a warner only; thou art not empowered to act with authority over them." Opposition became more and more intense. His enemies said: "Mighty miracles were performed by the prophets of God, Moses and Jesus; why are not such acts wrought by you?"

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This challenge, often repeated, greatly annoyed Mohammed, but he always replied, in substance, that the Koran is the miracle of miracles, and that there need be no other. He boldly claimed that it was eternal, of the very essence of God himself. He said that it was inscribed with a pen of light, in the highest of the seven heavens, and sent down to the lowest heaven by the angel Gabriel, from whom he received it, chapter by chapter, sometimes verse by verse. Relying upon the beauty and the sublimity of the Koran as the one divine seal of his mission, he audaciously challenged both men and angels to equal the excellencies of a single page. This boast was not without its effect upon the untutored, imaginative Arabian mind, although it will hardly carry conviction in the West. Gibbon says:

> The harmony and copiousness of style will not reach, in a version, the European infidel; he will peruse with impatience the endless, incoherent rhapsody of fable and precept and declamation which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds. The divine attributes exalt the fancy of the Arabian missionary, but his loftiest strains must yield to the sublime simplicity of the Book of Job, composed in a remote age, in the same country, and in the same language.*

In the twelfth year of his mission Mohammed announced that he had made the night journey to Jerusalem. The story was so absurd that some of his followers left him. But Abubeker professed to believe it, and Mohammed's reputation immediately rose to a great height.

Whether Mohammed was an enthusiast to the point of insanity is a disputed question. It seems to have been a matter of doubt with himself, as he sometimes questioned his own mental soundness and several times contemplated suicide. But, whatever his mental state, there appears a subtle policy behind his maneuvers. As he launched out upon his career he seemed confronted with one of two alternatives, either to declare himself a prophet inspired of God and instructed by his angel, or to stand before the people as one possessed by a jinn, or devil. He chose the former course, and, as he went on, new revelations and spiritual visions were forthcoming, to correct any mistakes he had made, and to intrench him in his

* *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. v, p. 110.

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positions. They enabled him eventually to show his magnanimity by taking not less than fifteen wives, although he had declared four to be the rightful limit, and to very essentially change his ecclesiastical policy.

In the thirteenth year of his mission opposition became so intense at Mecca that it was no longer safe for him to remain in the city, and with a few faithful followers he fled to Medina, whose people had already extended the offer of their hospitality. His flight from Mecca occurred September 13, 622 A. D. The first thing that he did on arriving at Medina was to build a mosque for worship and a house for himself. He soon became so strongly intrenched that he could not only defend himself against his enemies, but make inroads upon their territory. He attended faithfully to the religious services in the mosque on Fridays; but, between times, he found it convenient and remunerative to intercept and plunder caravans. His change of policy as he increased in strength is interesting. With an army at his back he no longer believed in liberty of conscience or relied upon peaceful means for the propagation of his faith. New revelations armed him with the sword for religious conquest. Enthusiasm became fanaticism of the fiercest type. In the sixth year of the Hegira he entered into a covenant of peace with the Meccans which was to remain in force ten years. But in the second year of this truce, without any formal declaration of war, he marched against Mecca and reduced it to submission. Of course the excuse was put forth that the Meccans had violated the treaty; but it is certain that Mohammed refused to consent to further peaceful relations. Soon after the subjugation of Mecca the Khoreish—the descendants of Ishmael and the most powerful of the Arabian tribes—also submitted and accepted Islam. Other tribes, seeing that resistance was now useless, soon followed their example. Mohammed's scheme seems to have been to unite in the worship of the one eternal and invisible God the followers of the three different religions of Arabia—idolaters, Jews, and Christians. Whatever may have been in his thought at the beginning of his career, it was soon a part of his purpose to bring them all into submission to himself as the chosen prophet and ambassador of God, commissioned with authority both as chief pontiff in things spiritual and as supreme ruler in things temporal. His ultimate dream stopped

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nothing short of universal conquest by the sword. Many who refused allegiance to Islam were put to death before his eyes, while he enthusiastically pronounced the act a divine judgment.

The Christianity of Arabia was not equal to coping with this kind of an antagonist, and the flickering spark was soon practically extinguished. Of course the sword of Islam did not rest content with the conquest of Arabia. On the death of Mohammed Abubeker was chosen the first caliph of Islam. He put down insurrection among the Arabian tribes and made important conquests in Syria. He was succeeded in the caliphate by Omar, during whose reign of ten years the Saracens conquered 36,000 cities or castles, razed 4,000 churches or temples, and built 1,400 Mohammedan mosques.

Ethiopia, less than two hundred miles distant from Mecca, was naturally among the first countries to suffer the onslaught of Mohammedan arms. But the people remained true to the Christian faith. Although the country was ravaged again and again by Moslem armies, it does not appear that the tenets of the Koran were ever acknowledged in any part of Abyssinia. This steadfastness seems all the more remarkable when we remember that the Abyssinian Church did not represent a pure Christianity. The Abyssinians defended themselves against the Saracens, but were unable to protect their brethren on the other side of the Gulf. Nubia, converted at a later date than Abyssinia, afterward renounced Christianity for Islam. Omar was on the throne of the caliphs when the conquest of Egypt was begun. His general, Amrou, boldly entered the country with only four thousand men. He took Farmah, or Pelusium, a key which unlocked Egypt as far as the site of modern Cairo and the ruins of Heliopolis. Reinforced by four thousand Saracens he advanced against Memphis. After a siege of seven months the city and its strongholds were taken. The remnant of the Greek garrison took refuge in the Isle of Ronda. The besiegers entered the fortress with the shout, "God is victorious!" The Coptic Christians resolutely refused to become proselytes—a position which, as a body, they have maintained to the present—but, both above and below Memphis, they covenanted to pay tribute to the caliph. It was on this occasion that they threw off allegiance to the Byzantine

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Church and established themselves in the communion of the Jacobites. Amrou next laid siege to Alexandria. The resistance was obstinate. The siege lasted fourteen months and cost the Saracen army the loss of twenty-three thousand men. But at length the city was taken, and the standards of Islam were raised over the great southern Christian stronghold. The philosopher and grammarian, Philoponus, besought the conqueror to spare the great library. The reputed answer of Omar is well known: "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed." Some have affected to discredit the truth of this report; but such oriental scholars as Professor White, M. St. Martin, Von Hammer, and many others of like standing consider the destruction of the Alexandrian library by the command of Omar to be indisputable.

The conquest of northern Africa followed hard upon that of Egypt. Othman had succeeded Omar as caliph. An allied army of forty thousand Moslems, under command of Abdallah, boldly advanced into the unknown regions of the West. At length they pitched their tents before Tripoli. The prefect Gregory indignantly rejected the offer of the Koran or tribute. Day after day the armies fought, until the burning heat of midday compelled them to retire to their respective camps till the following morning. The daughter of Gregory, a damsel of great beauty, fought by the side of her father. From a child she had been trained to the saddle and the use of arms. As the battle grew desperate her hand in marriage and one hundred thousand pieces of gold were offered for the head of the Arabian general. Abdallah retaliated by offering a like reward for the head of the prefect. By strategy the Christians were defeated. Gregory was slain and his daughter was taken prisoner. But it is said that his slayer, the peerless Zobeir, declined to possess his incomparable prize, declaring that his sword was consecrated to the service of religion, and that he looked for a reward infinitely beyond the joys of this transitory life. The Moslem conquest of northern Africa was not accomplished without frequent interruptions and reverses. And the overthrow of the cities of Barbary was not due solely to the Arabian arms. The Byzantine emperor, hearing of the tribute which had been laid

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upon his African subjects, imposed upon them a like tribute; and it became a question with them whether they would suffer the extortions of two masters or only one. About twenty years after the fall of Gregory the Arabian general, Akbah, marched his army from Damascus to the Atlantic confines of Morocco, subduing many cities and provinces. The religious zeal of this fanatic was characteristic of the whole Mohammedan movement. Spurring his horse into the Atlantic, he raised his eyes to heaven and said, with drawn sword: "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee." A few years later Carthage fell. The Greeks and the Goths rallied again and again, but Africa was lost.

Attempts were made to rekindle the dying embers of Christianity, but with little avail. In the eleventh century the solitary priest who remained on the throne of Carthage appealed to the Vatican for help, complaining that his naked body had been scourged by the Saracens. The outer glory of the Church had departed; but, worse than this, the fire had gone out upon the altar. About the middle of the twelfth century Christian worship disappeared from the coasts of Barbary.

Gibbon is not always a safe authority in matters of religious opinion, although in the simple statement of fact he is less open to objection; yet his observations recorded in the chapter on the Saracens in Spain cannot but awaken serious reflection, when considered in connection with the problem of Christianity and Mohammedanism in Arabia, Egypt, and northern Africa. He says: "More pure than the system of Zoroaster, more liberal than the law of Moses, the religion of Mohammed might seem less inconsistent with reason than the creed of mystery and superstition which, in the seventh century, disgraced the simplicity of the Gospel." *

III. Tides ebb and flow, but not without sufficient cause. We have seen the tide of the Gospel recede from the North African coast, partly because driven back by furious storms, but more, we believe, because the power of spiritual attraction was gone. The tide of Christian civilization is again set-

* *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. v, p. 264.

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ting toward those shores; and the question is most pertinent whether the forces that govern it are able to carry it into all the bays and inlets of the Dark Continent.

This tide does not come from the direction of the Coptic or the Abyssinian Church. Through all the centuries of persecution and Mohammedan supremacy these sects heroically maintained the Christian profession. But grievous errors crept in which sapped their spiritual vitality. At the present time neither of these Churches can be regarded as a power for Christ. The Copts are continually diminishing in numbers, being more and more absorbed by marriage and by conversion into the Mohammedan population. In faith they are divided between the Roman Catholic, the Greek, and the Eutychian or Jacobite communions, the larger proportion belonging to the latter sect. They are very bigoted, and in moral character they do not have the reputation of being superior to their Moslem neighbors. The Abyssinian type of Christianity is still worse, being hardly more than a dead formalism, with no small admixture of that which is entirely foreign to Christianity. The priesthood is very numerous, but utterly without spiritual power. The Virgin is adored as queen of heaven and earth and as intercessor for the sins of mankind. There is far more adoration of saints than worship of God. At present the Church is divided into three factions, so bitter against each other that they will not take the communion together. In neither the Coptic nor the Abyssinian Church, the only survivors from the early days, do we find indications of those currents of power which are necessary for the evangelizing of peoples and civilizations.

There are, however, Christian influences which are being strongly felt in Egypt, and whose results promise to be permanent. Whoever has carefully studied the work of the American Mission in Egypt has probably felt that he saw the light of that morning of which Isaiah spoke: "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them." The work is comparatively

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new, having been begun at Cairo in 1854. But its upward of one hundred and fifty stations, extending from the Mediterranean for five hundred miles up the Nile, have become centers of Christian education and spiritual power. Its dissemination of a pure Gospel through missionaries and native pastors; its work by colporteurs and Bible readers, by harem workers, by its religious press, and, last but not least, by its medical staff, have brought to the Christian conquest of Egypt forces which Islam will find it difficult to meet. The day of "the Koran, tribute, or the sword" is a thing of the past, except possibly in some isolated, spasmodic instances. The contest of the future is to be along other lines.

It is not a question of climate, or race, or temperament, or tradition. All these may exert some temporary influence; but the religion and the civilization which can do most to brighten human life and elevate mankind is the one which the world desires and will ultimately have. Perhaps no stronghold has ever been harder for Christian truth to storm than that of Mohammedan fanaticism. Yet the Mohammedan mind can be made to appreciate the beauty and value of a living Christ. A converted Moslem woman put the matter suggestively to two Moslem boatmen who had cursed the Christians in her presence. She said, "Which is better, to ask a favor of a living person or of a dead one?" They replied, of course, "Of the living." And she answered, "Mohammed is dead, but Christ is living."

In any adequate account of the Christian forces in Egypt the English Episcopal and the Scotch Presbyterian Churches, both of which are carrying on educational and evangelistic work; the Kaiserwerth Deaconesses; and the North African Mission, which commenced work at Alexandria in 1892, would be worthy of more than a passing notice. The aggressive work which has been successfully inaugurated by practically all of the Protestant missions in Egypt is full of promise. But the positive results which they report, although good, are not more suggestive than the fact that the general currents of thought and life are beginning to feel the influence of this new power. Mohammedan education at the Alhazar still pursues its dreary monotony of memorizing the Koran and the traditions; but a few Mohammedan schools outside are beginning

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to leave the old ruts. The presence of Christian schools is creating the demand for something better than Moslem education. The government schools have exerted a tremendous influence in favor of Western ideas and methods. And the fact that Christianity is in line with all that is progressive and best in education is a fact whose significance at least a few Mohammedan minds are coming to appreciate. Here and there one is beginning to realize that, unless Islam can adapt itself to the needs of expanding thought and life, its ultimate defeat is assured.

The influence of Christian truth has as yet been less strongly felt along the North African coast than in Egypt. Strange as it may seem, this region, with such a history and of such marvelous possibilities, has been almost wholly neglected by modern missionary enterprise. Fourteen years ago the North African Mission was inaugurated as an independent movement, because service for this field had been declined by the great denominations. It began its work in Kabylia in 1881. Progress has been slow, because obstacles well-nigh insurmountable have been constantly met. In the interior of Morocco its schools have been closed by the Sultan, and both the scholars and their parents threatened with death. Its missionaries have several times been warned by the French to quit Algeria, ostensibly for fear of a Mohammedan uprising, and thus far it has hardly more than crossed the frontier of the North African territory. Its total number of stations is only about a score, with not more than a hundred workers. The most hopeful work among these peoples—ignorant, degraded, many of them half barbarous, wretched, and helpless—is done through the medical missions. With no way of curing disease but by some text from the Koran, or by some other charm prepared by the hakim, or doctor, the touch of a healing hand is welcome and helps to prepare the way for Christian truth.

The work of redeeming northern Africa and of making it the home of great Christian civilizations will be wrought, not alone by evangelistic efforts, but with the cooperation of the gospel of the railroad, the printing press, and the public school. The fact that "science is the handmaid of [the Christian] religion" is strikingly illustrated in Barbary. Before the occupation of Algeria by the French the native popu-

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lation of the country was at a standstill; its annual increase is now about one hundred thousand. While it can hardly be said that the French have introduced any very strong moral force into Barbary, yet they have compelled the bigoted Mohammedan to realize that there is something in the material world better than anything his type of civilization has produced. The general influence of this is to break down old barriers of prejudice and to compel the Moslem mind to think along all lines. It is a kind of secular John the Baptist, declaring that a new kingdom is at hand. Whether that kingdom belongs to the true kingdom of God among men will be determined, not by the baptism of John, but by the words, the life, the spirit, and the works of Him who is to come. The temporary evil of this new order of things is that the Moslems are naturally led to think that this type of civilization, in all its aspects, stands for Christianity. An intelligent and serious-minded young Mohammedan was asked what he considered the distinguishing characteristic of the disciple of Christ, and he replied, "To drink a great deal of wine." This kind of delusion will, of course, be broken when the Moslem has thought long and deeply enough. At the bar of intelligence both Christianity and Mohammedanism must ultimately be tested by what they are and what they do.

That Mohammedanism has done much for the southern countries probably no one will deny. It is vastly superior to the old idolatry which it displaced. But this leaves its comparison with Christianity still untouched. The ultimate goal of religion is not a better condition of things as contrasted with idolatry, but the soul's best estate, with all that this implies. The laws which govern the human mind are independent of geographical lines. So far as the question of ultimate supremacy is concerned the merits of Christianity and Mohammedanism may be as unerringly tested for Arabia as for Massachusetts.

IV. In the comparison of Christianity with Mohammedanism we wish to call attention briefly to three things: (1) The sacred Scriptures of the two religions; (2) the salient points of faith and practice as set forth by each; and (3) the personal character of Christ and of Mohammed. The Bible stands in contrast to the Koran in that the former is essentially original, so

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far as its great and fundamental teachings are concerned, while the latter is essentially copied. It is true that other ancient scriptures, besides those of the Hebrew nation, have taught more or less clearly the doctrines of the supreme God, the immortality of the soul, and future rewards and punishments. But nowhere are they so clearly stated as by the Hebrew and Christian writers; and there is not the slightest reason to believe that the faith of Abraham and his descendants was derived either from the nations round about or from their sacred writings. On the other hand, the Koran, so far as these great central teachings are concerned, simply restates with various modifications that which Mohammed had heard from Jewish and Christian sources. Indeed, he only claimed to be restoring the faith of the ancient worthies from Adam to Christ, professing himself to be the last great prophet in this illustrious line of prophets. That Mohammed derived his information, at least in part, from apocryphal sources is proved not only by the character of the Church of Arabia in his time, but also by his own allusions. For example, he says:

> When God shall say, "O Jesus, son of Mary, remember my favor toward thee and toward thy mother; when I strengthened thee with the Holy Spirit, that thou shouldest speak unto men in the cradle, and when thou wast grown up; and when I taught thee the scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the Gospel; and when thou didst create of clay as it were the figure of a bird by my permission, and didst breathe thereon, and it became a bird, by my permission,"* etc.

All that is new in Mohammedanism—and in its present form it is practically a new religion—must be traced to Mohammed; but the current of its great spiritual teachings will be found to be much purer, and will be studied with much more satisfaction farther up the stream. The Bible is again a unit composed of many parts. Its books were written by men who lived in different ages. It presents a multitude of independent witnesses, coming up to testify to the same great central truths. The Koran, on the other hand, was the work of one man. Its revelations are confirmed only by his testimony.

The Mohammedan confession of faith is twofold: "There is no god but the true God, and Mohammed is his prophet." Under this is comprehended six distinct articles: (1) Belief in

* Koran, chap. v, Sale's edition, pp. 96, 97.

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God; (2) in his angels; (3) in his Scriptures; (4) in his prophets; (5) in the resurrection and day of judgment; and (6) in God's absolute decrees and predestination of all things which come to pass, both good and evil. The Mohammedan rule of practice covers four points: (1) Prayer, including such ablutions as are a necessary preliminary to prayer; (2) alms; (3) fasting; (4) a pilgrimage to Mecca.

The Mohammedan creed differs less from the Christian doctrine in its simple statement than in its practical development. The Koran teaches that "God is one God, the eternal God; he begetteth not, neither is he begotten; and there is not anyone like unto him." * Omer Nessefi (1142 A. D.) states the doctrine concerning God in these words:

> God is one and eternal. He lives and is Almighty. He knows all things; hears all things; sees all things. He is endowed with will and action. He has neither form nor figure, neither bounds, limits, nor numbers, neither parts, multiplications, nor divisions, because he is neither body nor matter. He has neither beginning nor end. He is self-existent, without generation, dwelling, or habitation. He is outside the empire of time, unequaled in his nature as in his attributes, which, without being foreign to his essence, do not constitute it.

The Westminster Catechism says: "God is a spirit, infinite, eternal, unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth. There is but one only, the living and true God." The first article of religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church also declares: "There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body or parts, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things, visible and invisible." The difference between the Mohammedan and the Christian conception of God does not therefore appear to be very great. The lack of moral attributes is noticeable in the definition given by Omer Nessefi. But it is not true that the God of Islam is wanting in moral qualities. The ninety-nine names which the Moslem gives to Deity ascribe to him well-nigh every conceivable excellence, as "Most Holy," "Just," "All-loving," "Merciful." The God of Islam is an absolute oriental monarch, wise and good, yet reigning not within his people, but over them. Says President Washburn:

* Koran, chap. cxii. Mohammed is said to have regarded this short chapter as equal in value to one third part of the whole Koran.

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The essential difference in the Christian and Mohammedan conception of God lies in the fact that the Moslem does not think of this great King as having anything in common with his subjects, from whom he is infinitely removed. The idea of the incarnation of God in Christ is to them not only blasphemous, but absurd and incomprehensible; and the idea of fellowship with God, which is expressed in calling him our Father, is altogether foreign to the Mohammedan thought. God is not immanent in the world in the Christian sense, but apart from the world and infinitely removed from man.*

The difference between the Mohammedan doctrine, that God absolutely foreordains everything which comes to pass, and the corresponding tenet of Calvinism is not logically very great. But practically the Mohammedan dogma has degenerated into the worst kind of fatalism, while this Calvinistic interpretation of Scripture has well-nigh disappeared from Christendom.

A striking difference appears between the Mohammedan and the Christian conception of the future life. It is not true that Mohammed promised his followers only sensuous joys in heaven, but the sensuous practically overshadow the spiritual. After describing the entrance of the righteous into paradise Mohammed says:

Youths which shall continue in their bloom forever shall go round about to attend them, with goblets and beakers, and a cup of flowing wine; their heads shall not ache by drinking the same, neither shall their reason be disturbed; and of fruits of the sorts which they shall choose, and the flesh of birds of the kind which they shall desire. And there shall accompany them fair damsels having large black eyes, resembling pearls hidden in their shells.†

It is also said that the meanest Moslem in paradise is to have not less than eighty thousand servants and seventy-two wives of the girls of paradise, together with the wives that he had in this world.‡ In order to qualify his followers for this enjoyment Mohammed promised that each should be indued with the strength of a hundred men. This kind of a paradise is peculiarly attractive to the warm Arabian temperament. But the quickened moral consciousness unites with the spirit of the Christian Scriptures in declaring that it is infinitely below the Christian ideal, and, furthermore, that there can be no such

* Extract from Paper read before the World's Parliament of Religions.
† Koran, chap. lvi. See also chap. lxxviii.
‡ See Sale's Koran, "Preliminary Discourse," p. 70.

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place or condition as the Moslem paradise in the universe of God.

But the greatest difference between the Mohammedan and the Christian dogma is in relation to the character and the office of Jesus Christ. The Koran accords to him the highest place among the prophets prior to Mohammed, and acknowledges his miraculous birth, his sinless perfection, and his miracles; but it denies that he was the Son of God, rejects the idea of the Trinity, and denies the atonement, the resurrection, and the whole mediatorial work of Christ. Mohammed is of course given the highest place, as first and noblest of created beings and the great mediator between God and men. The Holy Spirit, as set forth in Christian doctrine, is not so much as mentioned in the Koran. Mohammed changed the παράκλητος of the promise into περικλυτός (in Arabic, "Ahmed," the same as "Mohammed"), and appropriated to himself the office of the Spirit. The Christian looks to Christ, the author and finisher of his faith, and goes forward in the power of the Holy Ghost. The Moslem substitute for the second and third persons of the Trinity is the prophet of Arabia.

The Moslem code of morals resembles the Christian code in many particulars. The Koran enjoins such excellencies as honesty in business, justice, and benevolence; but it does not teach such distinctively Christian virtues as meekness, humility, and love toward enemies. The part of the Moslem code which regulates outward observances was essentially borrowed from the Talmud. The fundamental difference between the Mohammedan and the Christian code is in regard to the nature of sin. To the Mohammedan sin is the violation of legal enactment; to the Christian it is violation of an eternal principle. In the Mohammedan conception God may change his laws so that what was wrong shall become right; in the Christian conception God's laws are an expression of his own divine nature, and are holy and unchangeable. The Mohammedan does not appreciate the necessity of the regenerating and sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit in a human soul, before it can be truly blessed, because he does not realize that sin is itself corruption and its wages death. Mohammedan morality, therefore, rests upon general reformation of conduct, outward observances, and good works; Christian morality rests upon a new life, a divine

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operation in the soul from which right conduct springs as fruit from a living vine.

There are some particulars in which the difference between the Mohammedan and the Christian laws of life are of infinite importance to the progress of civilization. The Koran sanctions polygamy, the practically unrestricted power of a man to put away his wife, and human slavery. These things, which strike at that which is most sacred in life and vital to society, can never be forbidden under Islam. Christianity, on the other hand, stands for the purity and the inviolability of the home, sanctioning divorce only for the one cause which violates that which is fundamentally sacred in the marriage relation. Christianity also stands for human freedom and equality and the universal brotherhood of man. Mohammedanism is intolerant; Christianity is liberal. Mohammedanism is stationary; Christianity is progressive. The types of civilization with which the two systems have severally been identified are indicative, in a general way, of the inner law of each. In the progress of human thought and the evolution of society there can be no doubt as to which of these great religions must give place to the other.

One test still remains which is higher than any we have yet considered, and that is the personal character of Christ and of Mohammed. Mohammed put men to death in order to exalt self; Christ loved us and gave himself for us. The Mohammedan to-day gives his prophet the highest place in his admiration and affection. But, as his mental horizon becomes wider, his vision clearer, and his moral consciousness more refined, Mohammed's life, both private and public, will appear in more and more painful contrast to the life of Christ; and the authority of the prophet of Mecca over the souls of men will give place to that of Him in whom "dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily."

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Art. III.—DID PAUL PREACH ON MARS' HILL?

That passage in Acts wherein is recorded the story of how the moral consciousness of the new Judaism as represented by the apostle Paul first confronted Greek philosophy in its strongholds can never fail to command the interest of every intelligent Christian. Unfortunately, this interest is not elicited by either accuracy or felicity in our English versions. Probably no other passage of equal length has suffered so severely as has the episode of Paul's visit to Athens, as narrated in the seventeenth chapter of Acts. Here, more than elsewhere, the Revised Version has availed rather to soften the asperity of error than to retain with fidelity the spirit and the form of the original Greek. How else, for instance, can we explain its rendering of Paul's graceful compliment "eminently God-fearing" (*δεισιδαιμονεστέρους*)—which in 1611 was tortured into "too superstitious"—into a tame "somewhat superstitious?" Similarly, the earlier rendering of *ἀγνοοῦντες* by "ignorantly," which has been softened into "in ignorance" in the revision, is equally ineffectual in recalling the word of the inscription on the altar that might be translated by some such phrase as "whom ye know not." Both translations fail to preserve the dignity and the courtesy of the great address, or rather the heads of the address delivered before the philosophers and populace of Athens.

While such minor discrepancies are to be deplored a more serious error is perpetuated in these two translations, both of which, either by the text or in the margin, suggest to the casual reader that the address was connected in some way with a hill, and was probably delivered upon its summit. The object of this article is, first, to point out that Luke, the author of the Acts, did not have it in mind to speak of a hill; and, secondly, to show it to be most improbable that the address was delivered upon Mars' Hill.

Let us premise that the Greek equivalent of "Mars' Hill" is "Areopagus" (*Ἄρειος πάγος*). It may be worth while to add that *πάγος* is the Greek for "a solid substance," "a hill," and that *Ἄρειος* means "belonging to, or devoted to, the war god Ares, or Mars." It is not disputed that originally the term

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"Areopagus" was applied to a hill or huge rock in the southern part of the city of Athens, near the Acropolis. It is also admitted that the name "Areopagus" was bestowed upon a senate or council of one hundred members, which originally met by night upon the hill of that name. Now, just as "tuileries" came to suggest not a tile-works, but a palace or government, and "sublime porte" grew to designate, not a gate, but an authority; just as "the porch" came to mean, not a stoa, but a school of philosophy; and just as "court" passed from the meaning of an inclosed place to that of a judicial assembly, so "Areopagus" came to designate a court without any reference to its actual place of meeting. To-day the supreme court of Greece is styled the "Areopagus," but it never meets on Mars' Hill (Areopagus). Nor is the transfer of meaning any greater than in English, where a "hill" in corn-planting parlance means a hole in the ground.

It is important in reaching a correct conclusion to observe that Luke nowhere speaks of ascending or descending any eminence. He is elsewhere very careful to use precise terms. His style is clear, and his construction good for the time and place in which he wrote. Not only does he elsewhere use his prepositions with discriminating nicety, but especially here he cannot be misunderstood. In the nineteenth verse of this (seventeenth) chapter of Acts the preposition used is *ἐπὶ*. This word is very common, in both Luke's gospel and in the Acts, in the sense of "unto" or "before;" but nowhere does it mean "up" or "into." From our list of occurrences we select a few. In Luke xii, 11, "*before* the synagogues and the rulers;" Luke xii, 58, "*before* the magistrate;" Luke xxiii, 1, "*before* Pilate." Had Luke been thinking, not of approach, but of entrance or ascent to a hill, he would have used not "*ἐπὶ*" but "*εἰς*," as in Luke ix, 28, "*into* the mountain;" Luke ii, 15, "*into* heaven;" Luke iv, 9, "*into* Jerusalem." Since the same Greek verb is used in this last passage, "he led him to Jerusalem," and in Luke xxiii, 1, "brought him before Pilate," as in the verse under consideration—and as the preposition in both Luke xxiii, 1, and Acts xvii, 19, is *ἐπὶ*—it is evident that in the latter case Luke is speaking of a tribunal and not of an elevation, and that the correct translation is, "they brought him before the Areopagus."

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That "Areopagus" in verse 22 is used in the same sense as in verse 19 we know from the extreme harshness of any supposed change of meaning, and from Luke using the phrase *ἐν μέσῳ* elsewhere (Acts i, 15) in reference to an audience. The contrary phrase *ἐκ μέσου*, verse 33, is followed by the pronoun *αὐτῶν*, "from the midst of them." Luke then speaks of a court only, and says nothing of a hill. The distinction is just as clear as between the two meanings of "court" in the propositions, "He came before the court," and "He ascended the steps into the court."

Verses 19, 22, and 34 should then read as follows:

19 And taking hold of him they brought him before (the court of) the Areopagus, saying, May we know what this new teaching is which is spoken by thee?

22 And Paul standing in the midst of (the court of) the Areopagus said:

34. . . . Among whom was Dionysius, a member of (the court of) the Areopagus, . . .

Having then shown that Luke implies nothing about any ascent of the hill Areopagus, the second point of inquiry must be whether it was probable that Paul was conducted up that hill. To answer this question we must ask what was the relation of the Ἀγορά (market place) to the hill Areopagus; what was Paul's habit; and where was the place of meeting of the court of the Areopagus. On the first topic the excavations of the last few years throw a flood of light. The recent exhumations of the Archæological Society of Athens on the Pnyx show that the ancient city did not extend as far south of the Acropolis as was formerly supposed, but occupied mainly the site of the Athens of to-day, north of the hills. The excavations of the German Archæological Institute, under Dr. William Dörpfeld, in 1894 and 1895, have made it plain that the market place (Ἀγορά) did not lie south of the Areopagus, as mapped in Smith's Greece and elsewhere. The long street of Roman days, excavated between Areopagus and Pnyx, shows no indication of stately public edifices. It is now realized that the market place (Ἀγορά) lay near the temple of Hepaistos, that is, the Theseum as shown by the accompanying diagram. In this vicinity are remains of the magnificent Stoa of Attalos, which was three hundred and seventy feet long by sixty-three feet wide. Here, too, was the

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Painted Stoa, the seat of Stoic philosophy, and the Βασίλειος Στοά (royal portico). That the market place covered the region indicated is made plain by reading the descriptions of Pausanias, who visited Athens about one hundred years after the apostle, in the light of the recent excavations.

Further, Paul would never voluntarily have forsaken the political Ἀγορά (market place), with its stoas erected for addresses

1. Market place according to Smith (erroneous).
2. Basileios Stoa where Paul spoke. (Dotted lines show market place approximately.)
3. Stoa Poikile of the Stoic philosophy.
4, 5. Excavations 1894-95.
6, 7. Excavations of Archæological Society of Athens.
8. Theseum.
9. Stoa of Attalos.

and discussions, for a spot so distant, inconvenient, and exposed as the hill Areopagus. That a great throng of curious citizens and metics surrounded him, burning to hear a dialectical encounter between the representatives of the old philosophies and the herald of the new faith, seems to be the implication of the parenthetical observation in the twenty-first verse. Neither at Philippi, nor at Corinth, nor at Ephesus, nor at Jerusalem was Paul remarkable for turning his back on the common people. It would be strange indeed for him to abandon those vast halls where for centuries the great problems of philosophy and

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religion had been freely and publicly discussed, and where all could conveniently hear, to gratify a select few with esoteric explanations of his views, as is assumed by some commentators. He was not seeking to enjoy a glorious view of Hymettos and Salamis, but an occasion to impress the eternal certitudes of God and his worship, of man and his accountability. There is nothing, either, to show that Paul was regarded as under arrest and forced up steep streets to the rear of the Areopagus, whence is the only ascent to its summit. There was no accusation, no plaintiff, no trial. He went out from their midst without hindrance from the mocking crowd, instead of escaping down the narrow steps of the Areopagus (the hill).

Finally, it is almost certain that the court of Areopagus did not in Paul's time meet on the hill Areopagus. In the early days of Athens the council of Areopagus had assembled by night on the hill of that name to consider charges of impiety. The rocky hill bore a distinct relation to the early city, yet embraced within the narrow limits of the Acropolis. It was a place unhallowed outside the city sacred to the goddess Athena, and beyond the protection of her holy temples and altars. While the Athenians connected its name with legends about the dread war god (Ares), and built a temple for his cult near by, a better etymology makes it not the hill of Ares, but the hill of *ἀραί*, "curses," from the imprecations pronounced there upon the impious and profane.* It seems to have had no temple upon its summit in the time of Pausanias. Rough, barren, weatherworn, it contains no particle of soil to-day, and by its grimness yet suggests imprecations, and not philosophy. The entire hill, indeed, was devoted to deeds of punishment and rites of awful mystery. It is improbable that in Paul's time a stranger would have been admitted to its dread precincts. In Greek literature references are numerous to philosophic discussions in the stoas, but we read of no such gatherings upon the hill Areopagus.

The history of the court and council of Areopagus is involved in some obscurity. We know that its powers were defined and curtailed by the reform of Ephialtes (460 B. C.). We learn that the council of Areopagus met in the *Βασίλειος Στοά* four hundred years before Paul's time.† The Greeks were so

* Æschylus, "Eumenides;" Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, p. 563.
† Demosthenes in *Aristogitona*, 776.

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given to preserving or inventing legends of remote historical origin for their institutions that the claims of this court to topographical connection with the hill are subject to reasonable suspicion. Granting, however, that the court did thus derive its name, it is mere commonplace to suggest that law and political terms long survive their original connection, as for instance "woolsack" and the numerous feudal terms still lingering in our law books. The court was styled "Areopagus" rather as a matter of history and origin than to designate its place of actual session. There is little doubt that the Areopagus which Paul addressed was convened in some stoa; and there is no reason, either from the text, the literature, or the monuments of Athens, to claim that the apostle made his immortal address on Mars' Hill.

Richard Parsons

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Art. IV.—THE RELATIONS OF KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING IN SPIRITUALITY.

The object of this article is to find out the relative importance in Christian experience of knowledge and feeling, in order that we may know to what extent each deserves attention and cultivation. The discussion may be vastly simplified by supposing the will element eliminated and allowing the query to stand in this form: Given a will in harmony with God, what are the relations to each other of knowledge and feeling in spirituality? This supposition is difficult because of the interaction of the will with the other faculties of the soul. In Christian experience the will is constantly influencing the thought and the feeling; and, *vice versâ*, the thought and the feeling are constantly reacting upon the will. But in spite of this hindrance let will be posited as a constant quantity, and a Christian life assumed, so far as the will is concerned. Hence, in this discussion the term "knowing" will not refer to the activity of the intellectual faculty as holding fundamental Christian truths in question, to be convinced by them or not, but as cognizing them in faith. Nor will the term "knowledge" refer to received truth in its effect upon the will before conversion, but upon the soul's spirituality after conversion in so far as that spirituality can be conceived of as affected by the thought and the feeling alone. The positing of a right will secures the moral conditions necessary to the knowledge in question. Having thus defined the limits of the theme, let us proceed to consider it.

In the first place, in ordinary psychical processes the thought about anything antedates the feeling about it. The emotions may not always respond, but they cannot become active without the preceding thought activity. More than this, knowledge about anything is not simply antecedent to, but is in the main determinative of, the feeling about it. The feeling depends for its nature and intensity upon the knowledge presented or represented by the intellectual faculty. It is true that often the feelings react upon the intellect in determining judgment. It is too true that our estimates of things are often influenced by our feeling toward them. But this is an order

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which common sense recognizes as inverted, and repudiates under the name of prejudice. Now let us apply this last proposition to knowledge and feeling as elements of spirituality. But in doing so we are passing from knowledge and feeling in relation to a single event to knowledge and feeling in relation to a whole body of truth. This, doubtless, is admissible. But we are also passing from knowledge and feeling in relation to a single event to knowledge and feeling in relation to a highly exalted state of the soul, in which there are divine as well as human elements. And we are abruptly brought up to the question, What is spirituality? To give what might be conceived to be a full definition would be to beg the general question before us. The divine elements, however, in spirituality, it may be suggested, must act through natural channels. God's presence in the human soul is not another department added to it, but operates as an exaltation of the faculties already present. Faith cannot be looked upon as a new faculty, but must be regarded as an old one greatly empowered and differently directed. It can be believed, therefore, that the laws governing ordinary feeling and thinking may be applied with fair exactness to spiritual feeling and thinking.

. But, before the general proposition that knowledge of anything determines feeling about it can be applied to spirituality, the question must first be answered, What is the seat of spirituality? Let it be recalled here that a right will has been posited as a constant quantity. We are considering the spirituality of one whose heart is right with God, and hence are concerned only with the two elements of knowledge and feeling. Let it for the moment be supposed that spirituality is mainly a state of the feeling, a position widely held among Christian people. Therefore, if knowledge not only precedes but actually determines feeling, then, no matter whether spirituality is a state of pure feeling or a state of thought and feeling, it must be conceded that knowledge determines this state, and consequently that spirituality is primarily a matter of knowledge.

This is one of the positions to establish which is the aim of this article. Feeling is unimportant so far as attention and cultivation are concerned. It is not to be directly sought after. What is needed in the average Christian experience, next to upright living, more than anything else, is a clearer and deeper

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knowledge of divine truth, intenser reflection upon God, and more thoughtful, more intelligent prayer. "Finally, brethren," wrote Paul, "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

The sensibilities are not under the immediate control of the will, and therefore cannot respond directly to it. We cannot feel whenever we please, but we can only feel when something pleasurable or painful is presented to consciousness, whether it be of a physical, mental, or moral character. Only in so far as this something is under the control of the will, and the feeling responds to this something, is the resultant feeling under the will's control. Only to this extent is the soul responsible for its feeling. In the case of spiritual feelings this something is divine truth, brought to our remembrance, applied to our minds, and converted into knowledge through the assistance of Him who is called "the Spirit of truth." We should immediately note the injustice of the command had the apostle written, "Whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report, *feel* about these things," even though all of them appeal to the moral emotions. Our religious emotions are determined by our religious thoughts, when our will is so in harmony with the divine will as to permit our thoughts about God and our conceptions of divine things to be of such a character as will affect the life. The fact that at times, by reason of physical conditions, the emotions fail to respond to the thought proves that they are unreliable as a test of the depth of spirituality. But whenever the religious feelings do respond they are determined by the religious knowledge. But this latter is under the direct control of the will. The nature of the thought is what we please to make it. To knowledge, therefore, we must give our attention. For it we are morally responsible.

Now let us come back to the definition of spirituality. Above it was taken for granted for the moment that its seat was in the emotional nature of man. But it is plainly evident that it is not a purely emotional state. The spiritual feelings, so called, contain thought elements in such a degree as to make

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this position untenable. Indeed, knowledge plays so important a part in spirituality, and the emotional element is in many cases such an illusive and uncertain one, that it is to be strongly suspected that spirituality is not only primarily but mainly a matter of knowledge. Paul's idea of spirituality was not so much one of feeling as that the region of the spiritual is that of clearest insight, most accurate perception, and fullest knowledge. His constant prayer for his converts was that God would give them "the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him," the eyes of (their) heart "being enlightened;" and that they might grow up to this knowledge till they should "all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man." Thus we see that it is impossible to place spirituality in the feeling alone, as much as the feeling may respond to God's worship and the presence of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, it must be concluded that knowledge is not only determinative of spirituality, but that spirituality is to a large extent a state of knowledge as well as feeling.

It is spiritual knowledge, then, supposing the will right, that must be cultivated in order to promote a deep spirituality. It is thinking on high and noble thoughts that, through divine help and the help of an upright life, will change the soul from image to image and from glory to glory, in its progressive attainment of Christlikeness. Herder cried in his dying hour, "Give me a great thought, that I may feed upon it;" and great thoughts are the food upon which alone we can grow up into Christ our living head in all things. It is the open vision of God to the human soul that spiritualizes it; and God, Christ, and the truth in them, constantly present to the mind, brooded over, and meditated upon, will expand the soul to noblest proportions and will spiritualize its atmosphere until it becomes a holy of holies, the fit place for the indwelling of the divine Spirit.

But the question may be asked, "Does not this position discredit and underrate the emotional element in spirituality?" Not at all. The feelings have simply been given their proper place. And here let it be emphasized that the emotions have a place, and a large place, in the Christian experience. A really rational and vital Christianity cannot be without feeling, even though the feeling may not be responsive at every point. Such

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a state of affairs is absolutely inconceivable. Let a Christian get into his mind, immovably and deeply fixed, some of the wonderful truths about God, his justice and his love, about Christ and his dying passion, about the Holy Ghost and his marvelous power, and these thoughts will thaw out his soul though it be like an iceberg, and will set the furnace fires of his being going, stoking them until every feeling within him glows with fervid intensity. It is the sudden vision of the truth that excites the deep fear and produces the penitence of the willful transgressor of God's law. It is the revelation of God's anger and mercy to the mind that stirs the corresponding emotions of fear and love. One cannot feel about divine things without first thinking upon them, and it is equally true that no one can think deeply upon Bible truths, if his will be right, without a tremendously moving effect upon his emotional nature. Let the Christian then fill his mind with the great truths of the Gospel; let him meditate, as Paul commanded Timothy to do, on these things; let him nurture himself upon the living word of God. Then holy emotions will be stirred within him; the sounds of laughter and gladness will ring through his soul; love will glow; light will shine; birds will sing; and "joy unspeakable and full of glory" will be his.

Let us now turn our attention to several dangers which menace the Christian holding the view that spirituality is an exclusively emotional state. The first of these is theological. If spirituality is mainly a matter of the feelings, then it is apt to be concluded, as many thinkers in this day have concluded, that theories and doctrines have small place in it. This is the position in which free thought and unbelief have strongly intrenched themselves. This very belief that spirituality is an emotional life gives the color of probability to their way of thinking, and strength to their position. While it is declared by some that, since religion is a purely emotional experience, the doctrinal or thought element is of minor importance, still others say that if this is true we can go still farther. If religion is merely an emotional life, then it is the same the world over, equally divine and equally human, whether found in Christian or in heathen lands, whether founded upon the Indian Veda or upon the Scriptures. The doctrinal ideas are simply the mold in which the true religious life in the feelings seeks

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for itself expression and preservation. The following is an utterance of Professor Tyndall's:

> The immovable basis of the religious sentiment is in the emotional nature of man. To yield this sentiment reasonable satisfaction is the problem of problems at the present hour. And grotesque as many of the religions of the world have been and are . . . it will be wise to recognize them as forms of a force, mischievous if permitted to intrude on the region of knowledge, over which it holds no command, but capable of adding, in the region of poetry and emotion, inward completeness and dignity to man.

Matthew Arnold's definition of religion as "morality touched by emotion" is familiar to all. Herbert Spencer says, "Religion is a feeling, a feeling of wonder, a feeling of wonder in the presence of the unknown." Again, Renan has declared that the true theology of our time holds to two propositions: "1. Religion will be eternal in humanity; 2. All religious symbols are assailable and perishable." Lastly, the program of the liberal Protestant party in France is thus summed up by one of its members: "A Church without a priesthood; a religion without a catechism; a morality without dogmatics; a God without an obligatory system." Thus it is seen to what extremes of thought he is in danger of drifting who holds to the view that religion is primarily or mainly a thing of the feelings. The office of the mind in relation to the Scripture truth is thus unintentionally minified; the truth itself as it is in Jesus tends to become unimportant; and then the temptation is presented to conclude on these premises that so long as we cultivate the religious sentiment, which we know is lodged in every human breast, it makes little difference so far as our conception of religion is concerned whether we worship God or the ghosts of our deceased ancestors.

Another danger to which he is exposed who holds that spirituality is primarily or mainly an emotional state is that of fanaticism. Just as soon as the truth is dethroned from its kingly position in the Christian experience the soul is in danger of becoming credulous in the extreme and the feelings are placed at the mercy of all sorts of queer and dangerous fancies. This is a danger common to all who deal with the supernatural. To it Christians are peculiarly exposed. Faith is sometimes spoken of in religious circles as if it were divorced from reason,

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not simply among the thinkers of the Ritschlian school, but also among those to whom Ritschl's "value judgments" are unknown. It must be remembered, however, that in the Bible faith is not contrasted with knowledge, but with sight. "We walk by faith, not by sight." "Faith is . . . the evidence of things not seen." Faith is not ignorance, but a high type of knowledge. Intelligent faith is a virtue. Credulity in the Christian is a crime. To trust the passing impulses of the feelings is the sheerest credulity, and to follow them may lead to the wildest fanaticism.

Another danger to which this way of thinking in question exposes the Christian is that of instability of Christian character and service. "A religion based on mere feeling is the most unreliable, the most unstable, of all things." It is well enough for Christian teachers to emphasize the feelings, but they can accent them too strongly and italicize them too frequently. Such undue emphasis leads the Christian to look to his feelings for impulses to Christian activity, and he who depends upon his feelings as a motive power to service is more than likely in many cases not to feel moved. There will constantly menace him the danger of descending in his conception of his feelings to the level of his inclinations. Such a Christian is apt to become unsteady and unreliable. A stable religious life can be built up on no other ground than that of intelligent connections of truth and duty.

These are the tendencies. The evils themselves do not always result. Thousands of strong, intelligent, orthodox, deeply pious Christians hold the view which this article has endeavored to combat. Nevertheless, we believe the view a wrong one, and believe that we have seen its evil effects prevalent in many portions of the Christian Church. Let us close with a quotation from an eminent Scotchman: "A religion divorced from earnest and lofty thought has always, down the whole history of the Church, tended to become weak, jejune, and unwholesome; while the intellect, deprived of its rights within religion, has sought its satisfaction without, and developed into godless rationalism."

F. N. Crowder

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ART. V.—REVIVED ARYANISM IN CONNECTION WITH THE MODERN THEISTIC MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

ALREADY two generations of Christians have been watching the progress of reformed Hinduism in India. There has generally been on our part a sympathy with the Brahmos, and at times almost a sense of spiritual kinship. A quarter of a century ago W. H. Fremantle did not stand alone in viewing the Brahmo Somaj as the nucleus of the Church of Christ in India, and in enthusiastically declaring of its leaders: "Few persons, I think, can listen to their words without feeling their own Christian life strengthened by their simple and sincere estimate of Christ and his teachings." *

Students of comparative religion have watched with deepest interest the efforts of these Indian reformers. The Somajes have been in themselves societies of comparative religion; and the effort has been not only to compare, but to combine, all the historic religions, ancient and modern, oriental and occidental. That Brahmoism has been a blessing, in opposing popular idolatry and in promoting a multitude of social reforms, no one can deny. That it has the essential Christ, or that it is even a John the Baptist, going before and preparing the way for the Christ, is a matter for grave doubt on the part of orthodox Christians. It seems fitting that we should take a brief survey of this movement in order to discover its most pronounced features, to ascertain the origin of its most vital principles, and to see how far it can be relied upon as a regenerating force for saving young India from the corrupting and degrading influences of idolatry.

The first Somaj was founded in Calcutta in 1828 by Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, who declared it his purpose "to persuade my countrymen to forsake idolatry and to become monotheists." The appeals of this first great leader met a generous response. A considerable congregation was gathered, and in two years the funds were raised for a new building, which was erected in 1830 "for a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious, and devout manner for the worship

* *Contemporary Review* of 1870.

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and adoration of the eternal, unsearchable, and immutable Being who is the author and preserver of the universe." The founder of this Adi (or original) Somaj in his autobiographical sketch says: "The ground which I took in all my controversies was not that of opposition to Brahmanism, but to a perversion of it; and I endeavored to show that their idolatry was contrary to the practice of their ancestors and the principles of the ancient books and authorities which they professed to revere and obey." * Roy was consistent in his antagonism to idolatry; though the monotheism which he attempted to establish, and which he professed to base upon the Upanishads, was not well defined, and soon came to be, like the early faith of the Veda, at times scarcely distinguishable from pantheism. His great desire was to establish a Church in which the followers of all religions might unite in the worship of the supreme God, in whom it was assumed they all believed. Those who have read Miss Carpenter's loving memoirs need not be told that the characteristic features of the different Somajes to-day are traceable directly to the principles laid down by Mohun Roy. He was a monotheist, and as such abominated idolatry. He aimed at the establishment of a universal religion; and, though calling himself a "follower of Christ" and "a believer in him as the Son of God, in a sense peculiar to him alone," he still constituted the Upanishads, not the New Testament, the canonical Scriptures of the Somaj, and professed to base his system upon the early Aryan faith.

Mr. Nagarkar, in his address at the Parliament of Religions upon "The Spiritual Ideas of the Brahmo Somaj," when speaking of the historic religions of the world, declared, "The essence of all these faiths is one and the same." He summarized his creed under three heads: (1) Belief in the existence of one true God, (2) Unity of truth, and (3) Harmony of prophets. He further said:

> We believe that the prophets of the world, Vyas and Buddha, Moses and Mohammed, Jesus and Zoroaster, all form a homogeneous whole. Each has to teach mankind his own message. Every prophet was sent from above with a distinct message, and it is the duty of us who live in these advanced times to put these messages together, and thereby harmonize and unify the distinctive teachings of the prophets of the world.

* *Modern Hinduism*, by W. J. Wilkins, p. 107.

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It would not do to accept one and reject all the others, or to accept one and reject even a single one. The general truths taught by these different prophets are nearly the same in their essence; but, in the midst of all these universal truths that they taught, each has a distinctive truth to teach, and it should be our earnest purpose to find out and understand this particular truth. To me Vyas teaches how to understand and apprehend the attributes of divinity. The Jewish prophets of the Old Testament teach the idea of the sovereignty of God. They speak of God as a king, a monarch, a sovereign who rules over the affairs of mankind as nearly and as closely as a human king. Mohammed, on the other hand, most emphatically teaches the idea of the unity of God. He rebelled against the Trinitarian doctrine, imported into the religion of Christ through Greek and Roman influences. . . . Mohammed's ideal of the unity of God stands supreme and unchallenged in his teachings. Buddha, the great teacher of morals and ethics, teaches in the most sublime strains the doctrine of Nirvana, or self-denial, or self-effacement. This principle of extreme self-abnegation means nothing more than the subjugation and conquest of our carnal self; so, also, Christ Jesus of Nazareth taught a sublime truth when he taught the noble idea of the fatherhood of God. . . . In this way, by means of an honest and earnest study of the lives and teaching of different prophets of the world, we can find out the central truth of each faith. Having done this, it should be our highest aim to harmonize all these and to build up our spiritual nature on them.

Thus, modestly, it is observed, "the Brahmo Somaj seeks to Hinduize Hinduism, to Mohammedanize Mohammedanism, and to Christianize Christianity."

Bose has said of Roy, "His religion was more a theory of the head than a moving principle of the heart."* After his departure from India his system failed to exert much influence upon his countrymen, who came to regard him as "in essentials all things to all men, a Hindu among the Hindus, a Mussulman among the Mussulmen, and a Christian among the Christians." After the rajah's death the affairs of the Somaj languished for several years, until Babu Debendra Nath Tagore in 1839 founded the *Tattwabodhini Sabha*, or Society for the Knowledge of Truth, and became the successor of Roy. Though unlike him, he professed to get his light exclusively from Hindu Scriptures. The grand aim of this was "to make known the religion of Brahma, to ascertain what the original Shastras were, and to discover the primitive religion," which was to be exhumed from the sacred literature of the Hindus. The moral system inculcated was of a lofty character. The member-

* *Brahmoism*, by Ram Chandra Bose, p. 42.

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ship of the society, which was combined with the Somaj in 1843, increased rapidly until in 1847 there were, according to W. J. Wilkins, of the London Missionary Society, seven hundred and sixty-seven who signed the covenant to abstain from idolatry and to cultivate the habit of prayer. Mr. Tagore seems to have been the real father of revived Aryanism, though it must be admitted that his success was more pronounced while he restricted himself to his imagination than when he actually through learned pundits explored the Vedas at Benares. Though two years were spent by four pundits under his direction in searching and copying from the Vedas, the result was that while the Somaj in 1850 gave up Vedantism and formally abandoned pantheism, it also abandoned belief in the canonical authority of the Vedas. Wilkins truly says: "The aim of the leaders of these sects has professedly been to lead back the Hindus to the primitive worship of their Aryan forefathers, although it is evident to all unprejudiced students of their doctrines that it is in many respects the teaching of the Vedas, very largely modified by the Christian Scriptures, that is prevailing among them." *

The writer for the *Contemporary Review* † was not altogether wrong when he said: "The Brahmo Somaj is a product of Western civilization. No one can doubt this who reads the publications of the society. They are saturated through and through with modern thought. They could not by any possibility have been written one hundred years ago. Apart from the fact that they are addressed in English to the people of India, the whole tone of thought is European." Yet the leading apostles of Brahmoism to-day tell us that, "so far as religious progress and spiritual culture are concerned, they have little or nothing to learn from the West." "In the first place," says Mr. Nagarkar, "we have to revive many of our ancient religious and social institutions. Through ages of ignorance they have been lost to us, and what we need to do with regard to these institutions is to bring them to life again. We have been in darkness and had well-nigh forgotten our bright and glorious past." Regarding social reform among the Hindus he testifies: "The glory of their ancient religion, the purity of their social institutions, and the strength of their political constitution had all been

* *Modern Hinduism*, p. 106. † Vol. xv, p. 73.

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eclipsed for the time being by a thick and heavy cloud of decay and of decrepitude. Yet the Lord of love and mercy was moved with compassion for them. He yearned to help them, to restore them to their former glory and greatness."

So, Mr. Protap Chundra Mozoomdar thus introduced the Somaj at the late Chicago Parliament: "Our society is a new society; our religion is a new religion; but it comes from far, far antiquity, from the very roots of our national life hundreds of centuries ago. . . . The principles were those," he asserts, "of the old Hindu Scriptures. The Brahmo Somaj founded this monotheism upon the inspiration of the Vedas and Upanishads." And again he declared: "In prehistoric times our forefathers worshiped the great living Spirit, God, and after many strange vicissitudes we Indian theists, led by the light of ages, worship the same living Spirit, God, and none other." The quiet observation of one of our veteran missionaries in India, after hearing Mozoomdar, was not without point: "He draws largely upon his imagination for his alleged facts." But just here is the strength of the system. So long as these modern apostles draw their Aryanism, like Tagore, from their imagination, their theories are safe; but when, like him, they attempt to base their theories upon the ancient literature, they are doomed to more or less of disappointment.

In 1858 Babu Keshub Chunder Sen joined the Brahmo ranks. His boundless enthusiasm, his philanthropic activity and missionary spirit, coupled with the graces and accomplishments of a natural orator, at once imparted new life to the moribund society. Four years later he was made minister, and for a time the work went on harmoniously, but in 1865 the Somaj was too conservative to follow Sen's radical leadership, and so with a few friends he formed the Progressive Somaj. Since that time the original Somaj, instead of making progress in theistic faith, has rather gone back toward Hinduism.* "It is," we are told, "somewhat like an endowed but dead Church. It has a name to live, but is dead!"

The Progressive Somaj under Mr. Sen's enthusiastic leadership soon began to attract much attention, not only in India, but among all English-speaking peoples. His one idea seemed to be that of religious unification. "There are some truths

* Comp. *Modern Hinduism*, p. 111.

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which form the essence of each and all of the jarring religions of the world." These truths constitute the essence of all religions, the religion of religions, the creed of creeds. Under this banner all the religions of the world may unite or coalesce into one faith. To bring about such unification was the supreme purpose of Sen's life, to raise up a national Church in which the three great religions of India could unite. Hinduism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity, he believed, could be unified and welded into one homogeneous system. His two doctrines were proclaimed as "the fatherhood of God" and the "brotherhood of man." Mr. Mozoomdar doubtless represents the view taken by Mr. Sen when he says:

> Christianity declares the glory of God; Hinduism speaks about his infinite and eternal excellence. Mohammedanism, with fire and sword, proves the almightiness of his will; Buddhism says how joyful and peaceful he is. He is the God of all religions, of all denominations, of all lands, of all Scriptures, and our progress lay in harmonizing these various systems, these various prophecies and developments, into one great system. . . . The Christian speaks in terms of admiration of Christianity; so does the Hebrew of Judaism; so does the Mohammedan of the Koran; so does the Zoroastrian of the Zend-Avesta. The Christian admires his principles of spiritual culture; the Hindu does the same; the Mohammedan does the same. But the Brahmo Somaj accepts and harmonizes all these precepts, systems, principles, teachings, and disciplines, and makes them into one system, and that is his religion.*

Here is the ideal of the Brahmo-Somaj, "whose religion is the harmony of all religions, and whose congregation is the brotherhood of all nations."

Speaking of Mr. Sen's innovations, the following comment of the *Spectator* † seems to us very fair: "It is clear that this curious experiment aims at satisfying the cravings of all creeds known to Mr. Sen, and at doing homage at once to the Hindu expression of the infinite multiplicity and variety of the divine agency, to the Mohammedan expression of the divine absoluteness, and to the Christian expression of the divine spirituality and love; and that in attempting to unite them it makes every one of them hollow and unreal." Mr. Sen evidently did not appreciate the force of this criticism. His plan of unity was for a time heralded as the star of promise betokening the dawn

* *The World's Parliament of Religions*, by Dr. J. H. Barrows, vol. i, pp. 350, 351.
† Vol. lvi, p. 39.

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of a brighter day. In one of his "Town Hall Addresses," at Calcutta, he pleads:

> Cultivate communion, my brethren, and continually absorb all that is good and noble in each other. Do not hate, do not exclude others as the sectarians do, but include and absorb all humanity and all truth. Let there be no antagonism, no exclusion; let the embankment which each sect, each nation has raised be swept away by the flood of cosmopolitan truth, and let all barriers and partitions which separate man from man be pulled down, so that truth and love and purity may flow freely through millions of hearts, and through hundreds of successive generations, from country to country and from age to age. Thus shall the deficiencies of individual and national character be complemented, and humanity shall attain a fuller and more perfect standard of religious and moral life. There is no reason, my European friends, why you should move eternally in your narrow groove, rejecting everything which is Eastern and Asiatic. Why should you not add to your national virtues those of the East? Why should you not add to your philosophy and science and civilization the faith and poetry of Asia?*

To us the most interesting feature of the Somaj, in the early days of Mr. Sen's administration, was the reverence shown to Christ, and the unique position assigned to him by Mr. Sen in his public addresses.† Yet we do not have to look long to discover the incoherence and ambiguity of his views of the person of Christ. From his addresses it would be impossible to affirm that he had any well-defined Christology, such as would satisfy any evangelical Christian. His Christ was rather an imaginary Christ, an ideal, a spiritual potentiality which took possession of Jesus, but which has also favored all great reformers. Thus Mr. Mozoomdar goes a little farther into visionary mysticism, yet it is along the same line, when he says: "Jesus lay discovered in my heart as a strange human kindred love, as a repose, a sympathetic consolation, an unpurchased treasure, to which I was freely invited. . . . It was not a bodily Christ. . . . A character, spirit, a holy sacrificed exalted self, whom I recognize as the true Son of God."‡ It is scarcely necessary to dwell upon the extravagances and vagaries that were characteristic of the Proteus-like doctrine of "The New Dispensation." The Sadharan (or universal) Somaj was started in 1878. The unsatisfactory marriage of Mr. Sen's daughter, and the growing dissatisfaction with his autocratic

* *Contemporary Review*, vol. xl, p. 563. † *Modern Hinduism*, p. 112.
‡ Bose's *Brahmoism*, p. 157.

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management of the Somaj, and with his original notions, prompted a majority of the Brahmos and Brahmicas to condemn him. Their secession led to the organization of the Sadharan Somaj, and left Mr. Sen free to follow out his ideas unhindered by the more conservative Brahmos. Then "The New Dispensation" was inaugurated. This was to reconcile all existing dispensations. Mr. Sen characterized it as "the precious necklace in which are strung together the rubies and pearls of all ages and climates;" as "the sweet music of diverse instruments harmonized;" and as "the wonderful solvent which fuses all dispensations into a new chemical substance."* "Come, then," he says, in his lecture on "We Apostles of the New Dispensation," "to the synthetic unity of the new dispensation. You will see how all other dispensations are harmonized and unified in this, a whole host of Churches resolved into a scientific unity. . . . Where others see only confusion and anomaly it sees order and continuity. Joyfully it exclaims, 'I have found the science of dispensation at last, unity in multiplicity.' . . . Our position is not that truths are to be found in all religions, but that all religions are true. The new dispensation is to harmonize all religions and revelations."

The sacraments of the Christian Church, together with the worship of Indra and Agni, were adapted and adopted by this Protean system. "Adapt and adopt" was the motto. It was everywhere applied, and Sophia Dobson Collet showed good judgment when she said, "I can hardly believe that such a compound can be regarded with approval by any sane Christian or by any honest Hindu." Again she characterizes it, "a heterogeneous tissue of contradictory notions and inconsistent ceremonies."† It was pointedly asked by Mr. Bose twelve years ago, "Why should Christian patronage be lavished on a Church in which Christ is brought down to the level of human beings, the Bible is represented as a piece of human composition, the God of the Old Testament is facetiously described as a bearded Jew, and the holy sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper are burlesqued?"‡

Perhaps the most interesting features of this movement in recent years are to be seen in the Arya Somaj, which was

* *Contemporary Review*, vol. xl, p. 576, article by W. Knighton.
† *Ibid.*, vol. xl, p. 729. ‡ *Brahmoism*, pp. 165, 166.

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founded by Dayananda Saraswati, who, according to the *Indian Evangelical Review* (vol. xiii, p. 298), "endeavored to substitute his views of the ancient religion of India for what he believed to be its modern corruption and to see in the ancient religion, by his own original method of interpretation, all the blessings of modern Christian civilization." This Somaj is strictly monotheistic, though it inconsistently claims to base itself upon the Darsanas. It is hostile to caste and to pessimism. Its ethics are of a high order. Women and children are held in esteem, and female education is promoted; heaven and hell are represented as conditions of character, not locations. It is essentially missionary in spirit and compromising in character; but, in proclaiming that there is no incarnation, it raises aloft the two-edged sword with which to antagonize Christians on the one hand and Hindus on the other. One of our most scholarly and fair-minded missionaries says:

> The relation of the Arya Somaj to Christianity and to Western thought is unique and full of interest. It is exceedingly hostile to Christian propagandism, and yet it is a far more efficient handmaid to Christianity than was the Brahmo Somaj in its most palmy days. It is more efficient because its attitude toward all Hindus is more conciliatory and more persuasive and influential. It is less radical as to changes in doctine, and yet not one step more radical with respect to those great social movements which Christianity is striving to promote. Moreover, the Arya Somaj is a real ally of Christianity against the various current phases of Western infidelity. It takes the side of truth against the agnosticism of Huxley and Herbert Spencer. It is strongly theistic. It believes in an intelligent and omnipotent first cause and a real creation of the world. It maintains benevolence of design in the creation and government of the world, which Tyndall and Darwin reject. It is in advance of Max Müller in the doctrine of preternatural revelation of God to man. It brings all virtue and philanthropy within the domain of religion. It challenges all forms of pessimism, and maintains that the one God of the universe is wise and good, and therefore worthy of all reverence and love. [But it is added:] While modern Aryanism is in some sense an ally of Christian civilization it must not be forgotten that it is more or less an intrenchment of essential Hinduism. The more nearly it counterfeits the truth of God, and shuns disgusting rites, the more plausible does it become.

Another of our veteran missionaries writes of the entire movement, "I do not think it has gained any ground in the past ten years; rather, I should say that it has retrograded." Ten years ago there were, according to Wilkins, one hundred

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and seventy-three Somajes, with fifteen hundred enrolled members and about eight thousand adherents. The census returns of 1882 show only seven hundred and eighty-eight in the whole of Bengal. Yet, as they are almost all educated, their influence is by no means measured by their numbers. Two thirds of the number are reported as in Calcutta. "It is beyond doubt," observes the census report, "that they have described themselves, or been described in many cases, as Hindus—a course which is not remarkable when we consider that many persons rank them as a Puritanical monotheistic sect of the Hindus." That the Brahmos and Aryas will ever be more than sects is exceedingly doubtful; yet we should not belittle the part they have taken in bringing about social reforms and in breaking down the old religion by their uncompromising opposition to idolatry, superstition, and caste.

What the Bramos say of themselves and their achievements must be taken *cum grano salis.* It was not without poetic fervor that Mozoomdar at Chicago referred to the Brahmo Somaj as a movement "whose religion is the harmony of all religions, and whose congregation is the brotherhood of all nations;" yet five years earlier, through the *Interpreter*, he said plaintively, "We cannot hide from ourselves the fact that our beloved Church is in a course of steady decline, that the interests of spiritual life in the Brahmo Somaj, as a whole, show a fearful tendency to relaxation; this, to our regret, we find becomes more and more true." * We are told that the system has derived its inspiration from the ancient Aryan faith, and again that the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man are its very corner stones. Yet a candid Brahmo said, in the *Theistic Annual* of 1873: "The idea of the brotherhood and equality of all mankind before God, I am sorry to say, is not to be found, because it is never recognized in any of our ancient writings. The idea is foreign."

Regarding social reform we will let a Brahmo speak for himself:

> The religion of the Brahmo Somaj has, from its very birth, been the foremost to proclaim a crusade against every social evil in our country. The ruthless, heartless practice of suttee, or the burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pile of their husbands, was abolished through the instru-

* *Missionary Herald*, December, 1869, p. 521.

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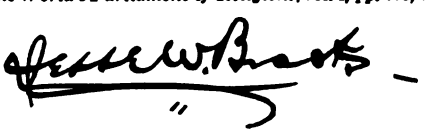
mentality of the great rajah, Ram Mohun Roy. His successors have all been social reformers as much as religious reformers. In the heart of the Brahmo Somaj you find no caste, no image worship. We have abolished early marriage and helped the cause of widows' marriage. We have promoted intermarriage; we fought for and obtained a law from the British government to legalize marriages between the representatives of any castes and any creeds. The Brahmos have been great educators. They have started schools and colleges, societies and seminaries, not only for boys and young men, but for girls and young women. In the Brahmo community you will find hundreds of young ladies who combine in their educction the acquirements of the East and the West; oriental reserve and modesty with occidental culture and refinement. Many of our young ladies have taken degrees in arts and social sciences in Indian universities.*

So far as this is true it is to be appreciated; yet if our missionaries had not gone these reforms would not have come.

And, finally, a word regarding the constantly reiterated boast of their very ancient and honorable pedigree. While it is true that the early religion of the Hindus was free from many of the debasing features of modern Hinduism, and while there is in the Veda what occasionally appears to us as a close approximation to monotheism, yet all this recent talk about "the glory of their ancient religion," "their former glory and greatness," "the purity of their social institutions," and "their bright and glorious past" comes from those victimized by chimeras and gifted with resplendent imagination.

We must agree that so far as the Arya Somaj, or any other form of revived Aryanism, hopes to regenerate India it is doomed to disappointment. In the words of another, "It cannot long utilize the forces of Christian ethics and Christian civilization under Vedic labels. The fraud will be discovered." And we conclude with Bose that "it is our duty, when we see persons loitering before the gate of the Church, and led by conceit, or want of the spirit of religious earnestness, to refuse to enter in, to toll the tocsin of alarm and not come out with congratulations and encomiums which vanity and ambition may convert into stepping-stones to absolute spiritual ruin."

* Address by B. B. Nagarkar, in *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i, pp. 778, 779.



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ART. VI.—PAUL AND ANANIAS BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN AT JERUSALEM.

WHEN Ananias commanded that the apostle should be smitten on the mouth with the iron heel of a shoe it was intended as an act of supreme contempt for his utterances of conscientiousness just made respecting his own conduct, especially since he became a Christian. The following facts and proofs are noteworthy:

1. That Ananias "was the son of Nebedæus," the twentieth high priest (Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx, 5, 2; xx, 8, 4, n.).

2. That Josephus, "son of Camydus," immediately preceded him in office (xx, 1, 3; xx, 8, 4, n.).

3. That Herod Agrippa II removed Josephus, and made Ananias high priest, about 48 A. D.* (xx, 5, 2).

4. That Jonathan immediately succeeded Ananias, but was murdered about the year 57 (xx, 8, 5).

5. That this Ananias was in character extremely arbitrary, violent, and lawless (xx, 9, 2).

6. That Quadratus sent Ananias in irons to Claudius Cæsar for trial, about 52 (xx, 6, 2; Josephus, *War*, ii, 12, 6).

7. That Ananias ordered Paul to be smitten on the mouth with the shoe, in 58 (Acts xxiii, 1–5).

8. That Ananias also died by assassination by the Sicarii, in the year 58 or 59 (*War*, ii, 17, 9).

9. That Jonathan, being assassinated, was succeeded by "Ismael, son of Fabi," in 59 (xx, 8, 11; also 8, 6).

Three principal theories have been entertained to explain the relations of Paul to the high priest Ananias, when the apostle was a prisoner in the hands of the Romans and placed before the Jewish Sanhedrists, by order of the military commandant, Lysias, at Jerusalem.

First Hypothesis: That Ananias was then properly the high priest, though he was afterward removed; that in Paul's long absence the high priesthood had undergone many changes under Agrippa II, so that Paul did not know that Ananias was indeed high priest; that the apostle was at fault in spirit in reproving Ananias publicly for the perpetration of the outrage upon his person, a fact conceded by the apostle by his apology, etc.; that owing to his impaired eyesight Paul did not recog-

* See Thomas Lewin's *Fasti Sacri* as to this chronology.

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nize either the place or the white vestments of the high priest. (See Alford and others.) The weakness of this theory is found in the fact that it assumes without proof that the apostle did not and could not see the high priest, while the narrative itself relates that he did see discerningly all over the assembly, discriminating the Pharisees from the Sadducees, and thereupon divided the council by announcing his adherence to the Pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection of the dead as the very ground upon which the Sadducees were so fiercely assailing him. The two statements are incompatible.

Second Hypothesis: That Ananias had been high priest, but was not high priest at that time, having been deposed and sent in chains to Rome for judgment; that Jonathan, his successor, had been assassinated by the connivance of the procurator Felix, and Ismael had not yet been appointed to the office. A vacancy was thus created for some time, during which, with characteristic insolence, Ananias returned and arrogated to himself the authority of the high priesthood, he being a man of lawless procedures and exercising a powerful influence over the Jews; and at exactly the time of this vacancy of the office Paul was brought before the Sanhedrists for trial, where he refused to acknowledge the right of this pretender to the place, because he was not in fact the high priest at this time; and that the apostle rightfully and righteously reproved his assurance and insult just on the spot where it occurred, denouncing the order of Ananias as an act which would be punished by God. The opinions of some eminent scholars on this point are as follows:

The high priesthood was vacant at this time (Lightfoot). Ananias usurped the office (Michælis, Eichhorn, Kuinoel, and others). Paul said he did not consider that Ananias was high priest (Conybeare and Howson, *Life of Paul*, ii, 324). The arrogant Ananias, the high priest, took upon himself to occupy the chair, though the presidency of the council, if we may believe the Jewish accounts, was at the time vested in Rabbi Symeon, son of the famous Gamaliel (Thomas Lewin's *Paul*, ii, 149). Paul said that he did not recognize the speaker [giving the order] as high priest (Farrar, *Paul*, i, 660).

This Ananias, the son of Nebedaeus, was a man of criminal life who was afterward displaced from his office and dragged to Rome to answer for his conduct, so that the reproach cast upon him by Paul was entirely merited. Besides, he was not the legal high priest, for after he was liberated through Agrippa's intercession at Rome he did not recover his dignity, though he still arrogated to himself the power of the office (Olshausen,

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Com., in loco, p. 606). Ananias presided in the assembly as high priest, an office which he possessed by usurpation rather than by legitimate authority (Milman's *Christianity*, i, p. 413). But, *per contra*, he was at this time the actual high priest. . . . There is no ground for believing that his office was vacated (Alford, *Gr. Test.*, Eng. ed., pp. 252, 253. So Biscoe on Acts, p. 48, § 8).

Now, upon inquiry into the history of the age it turns out that Ananias, of whom this account is spoken, was in truth not the high priest, though he was sitting in judgment in that assumed capacity. The case was that he had formerly held the office and had been deposed; and that the person who succeeded him had been murdered and another had not yet been appointed; and that during the vacancy he had of his own authority taken upon himself the discharge of that office. This singular situation of the high priesthood took place during the interval between the death of Jonathan, who was murdered by order of Felix, and the accession of Ismael, who was invested with the high priesthood by Agrippa [II]; and precisely in this interval it happened that St. Paul was apprehended and brought before the Jewish council (Paley's *Evid.*, xxii, p. 280; Dr. W. W. Sleigh, *Christian Defensive Dictionary*, p. 429). Probably [Lysias] himself, and not the high priest, presided over the informal inquest (Whedon, *Com.*, in loco.).

The only references in proof are those made to Josephus's *Antiquities*, xx, 8, especially xx, 9, 1. While Ananias may have been the high priest by usurpation the evidence does not seem to be conclusive of that point.

Third Hypothesis: This disregards the legitimacy of Ananias's high priesthood as irrelevant to the case. It seeks an answer to the question as lying wholly in the character of the assembly, and must be found, (1) in the authority exercised in calling together the Sanhedrists; (2) in the regularity or informality of the assembly convened; and (3) in the purpose and procedure of the Sanhedrists when assembled. These points may be traversed.

1. It is evident from the facts narrated that the members of the Sanhedrin were called together solely on the authority of Lysias, the military commandant of Castle Antonia at Jerusalem. "On the morrow . . . he commanded the chief priests and all their council to appear" (Acts xxii, 30). A military man had no legal authority to assemble that senate as a court of judicature. For the transaction of legitimate business the authority to assemble the Sanhedrin was vested in that body itself, which was distinctively and exclusively a Jewish organiza-

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tion. It was never made subject to military power for the exercise of its own functions in times of peace. Lysias could of course call together the members of the Sanhedrin as individuals, but he had no right whatever to organize them into a court of trial and place the apostle Paul before them on his defense.

2. What then was the occasion and purpose of Lysias in assembling the members of the Sanhedrin as individuals? We have not far to go for an answer. The military officer was sorely perplexed with the situation; he had a prisoner on his hands who seemed to be treated as if he were a criminal, and in view of the turbulence and riot of the Jews on the temple grounds prior to Paul's arrest he could not understand what it all meant. Besides, the prisoner claimed to be a Roman citizen—a fact which greatly embarrassed the situation (Acts xxii, 25), and which was understood perfectly to be a valid claim (xxii, 27, and xxiii, 27)—and was so treated with consideration; and altogether he naturally felt himself responsible for making a legal disposition of his prisoner. He had suppressed the tumult and riot of the Jews, but he did not understand the cause which had given rise to it. Accordingly, upon rescuing the apostle Lysias "inquired who he was, and what he had done." The Scripture then continues as follows:

> And some shouted one thing, some another, among the crowd: and when he could not know the certainty for the uproar, he commanded him to be brought into the castle, [and] the multitude of the people followed after, crying out, Away with him (xxi, 34–36). [And when Paul by permission addressed the maddened mob from the stone steps of the castle it was in the Hebrew tongue, which Lysias did not understand (xxi, 40); and when] they lifted up their voice, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth: for it is not fit that he should live, [and] threw off their garments, and cast dust into the air, the chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle, bidding that he should be examined by scourging, that he might know for what cause they so shouted against him (xxii, 22–24). But on the morrow, desiring to know the certainty, wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he loosed him, and commanded the chief priests and all the council to come together, and brought Paul down, and set him before them (xxii, 30). [And afterward, when delivering the apostle over to the procurator for his proper trial, Lysias in his letter explains the procedures which led up to Paul's arrest:] And desiring to know the cause wherefore they accused him, I brought him down unto their council (xxiii, 28).

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Thus we know from Lysias himself what the sole purpose was in this assemblage of the Sanhedrists. It clearly was not to put Paul upon trial on specific charges already ascertained, but to determine what the accusations were, and upon what the indictment was based. The procedure then was in the interests of Lysias exclusively as the military officer in command, that he might address himself intelligently to the business in hand and dispose of his prisoner in a legal manner, and that he might withal be able to render a reasonable account to the procurator Felix—exactly as he did do afterward (Acts xxiii, 25–30).

Now, if Lysias was simply seeking to discover what the accusations against Paul were, for his own advantage, the Sanhedrists certainly were not there to deliberate upon the accusations in a court of justice, as if the charges were already ascertained and preferred. As a military man, himself being a Roman citizen (Acts xxii, 28), he had no legal right or power to organize a court of foreign jurisdiction to try a Roman citizen, nor yet to preside over such a court of trial. It was the exclusive function of the procurator, who governed the whole province, to preside over the Sanhedrin of the Jews when a Jew was to be tried, after the prisoner was once in the Romans' hands. The high priest could not then preside. But even the procurator himself could not bring a prisoner to trial before the Sanhedrin without the prisoner's own consent. This is clearly shown further on in the case. At Cæsarea, Festus asked the apostle, "Wilt thou (θέλεις) go up to Jerusalem and there be judged of all these things before me?" But Paul refused consent, saying, "I am standing before Cæsar's judgment seat, where I ought to be judged: . . . if none of those things is true, whereof these accuse me, no man can give me up unto them. I appeal unto Cæsar" (xxv, 10, 11).

The apostle being a Roman citizen, in the hands of the Romans, he must be tried either by the procurator or by the emperor. A soldier had no legal authority to organize a judicature among the Jews to try any man, and least of all could he arraign one who was a Roman citizen. For it was a principle of Roman jurisprudence that no Roman could be tried by a foreign court. On this point the following opinions may be quoted:

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No Roman citizen could be handed over to a foreign tribunal (Olshausen on *Acts*, p. 615). For as Paul was a Roman, and the case had been taken up by the Roman governor, it could not lawfully, without the prisoner's consent, be remitted to the Jewish judicature (Myer, *Apostg.*, 423, quoted by Thomas Lewin, in his *Paul*, ii, 172, n. 130). But it was accordant with a soldier's prerogative that Lysias should have commanded the chief priests and all the council to come together and set him [the apostle] before them (Acts xxii, 30).

That this assembly was summoned, not for the purpose of trying Paul, but to elicit information in the form of accusations, develops in the procedure further on in the history of this case. Festus the newly appointed procurator, arriving at Cæsarea, where Paul had been kept bound, visited Jerusalem. The narrative then states (Acts xxv, 2–11):

And the chief priests and the principal men of the Jews informed him against Paul; and they besought him, asking favor against him, that he would send for him to Jerusalem; laying wait to kill him on the way. Howbeit Festus answered, that Paul was kept in charge at Cæsarea, and that he himself was about to depart thither shortly. Let them therefore, saith he, which are of power among you, go down with me, and if there is anything amiss in the man, let them accuse him. . . . He went down unto Cæsarea; and on the morrow he sat on the judgment seat, and commanded Paul to be brought. And when he was come, the Jews which had come down from Jerusalem stood round about him, bringing against him many and grievous charges, which they could not prove. . . . But Paul said, . . . To the Jews have I done no wrong, as thou also very well knowest. If then I am a wrongdoer, and have committed anything worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if none of those things is true, whereof these accuse me, no man can give me up unto them.

Finally, as the result of Lysias's preliminary investigation referred to, we find that Tertullus, the Jews' advocate in his indictment of Paul when brought to trial before Felix, clearly represents the Sanhedrists as still appearing in the capacity of informers and accusers, and not as the triers of the apostle (compare Acts xxiv, 1). The Scripture then continues (Acts xxiv, 5–9):

For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of insurrections among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes: who moreover assayed to profane the temple: on whom also we laid hold: from whom thou wilt be able, by examining him thyself, to take knowledge of all these things whereof we accuse him. And the Jews also joined in the charge, affirming that these things were so.

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These facts legitimate the induction that the transaction ordered by Lysias was of the nature of a preliminary investigation, somewhat analogous to the function of our grand jury, which is to ascertain the state of the case simply, not to try given charges. This has an important bearing on the final conclusion of Paul's case.

3. The utterance of Paul to Ananias before the assembled Sanhedrists in Lysias's presence remains to be explained in agreement with this conclusion. "Sitteth thou to judge me according to the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?" * (Acts xxiii, 3.) In accusing the apostle of crime they were already "judging him according to the law;" for if the accusations they would make had no application to the law they would not have troubled to make them. In that sense, then, did they sit judging Paul according to the law. On this point certain authorities say:

> This seems not to be a court for judicial trial and sentence, but an informal calling together for inquiry. Lysias assembles the Sanhedrin simply to know the certainty whereof he was accused of the Jews. And probably Lysias himself, and not the high priest Ananias, presided over his inquest.†

> Not only the informality of this assemblage, but the previous excitements of its members and the riot with which it broke up, indicate that Ananias occupied no seat of honor, and wore no costume to distinguish him from the crowd. His person was unknown to Paul, who had been absent from Jerusalem. When, then, he ordered Paul to be smitten he not only committed a violence for which he there and then had no authority, but there was no sign to indicate to Paul that the order was given in due authority.‡

> We know from Josephus that there was the greatest irregularity in the appointments [of the high priests] about this time.§

4. In respect to Paul's severe response to Ananias's malignant order to smite the apostle, opposite opinions have been

* Καὶ σὺ κάθῃ κρίνων με κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ παρανομῶν κελεύεις με τύπτεσθαι. The word κρίνων is obviously the key-word in this sentence, which means "to inquire, search into" (Liddell & Scott); "to estimate, exercise judgment upon, to bring under question" (Bagster's *Green*); "to find out the right (Acts xxiii, 6), without implying the nature of the judgment" (Cremer's *Bib.-Theol. Lex. of N. T.*, 2d ed., p. 370); "(1) to judge in one's own mind what is right, proper, or expedient; (2) to form and express a judgment of a person or thing, to decide in one's own mind, not judicially; (3) to judge in a judicial sense" (Robinson's *Dict. of N. T.*). Delitzsch, on Deut. xxxii, 35, says: "The LXX by no means used it merely of a sentence of condemnation, but also of helpful decision in one's favor; for example, Psalm liv, 3; nor merely of legal administration of a cause for others, but also of administrative rule generally; for example, Psalm lxxii, 2" (as quoted by Cremer in loco).

† Whedon on Acts xxii, 30. ‡ *Ibid.*, Acts xxiii, 4.

§ Conybeare and Howson's *Paul*, ii, 324, Eng. ed.

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expressed, one, that Paul acted with undue haste, but redeemed himself by apologizing manfully; the other that he spoke from inspiration and made no apology. In support of the former opinion it is said:

> If his conduct in yielding to a momentary impulse was not that of Christ himself under provocation,* certainly the manner in which he atoned for his fault was Christlike" (Hackett, indorsed by Walcott, and substantially by Howson, Wordsworth, and Lechler).

In support of the second opinion it has been said:

> I understand the words above in their most obvious and natural sense. He knew not who the person was, and God's Spirit suddenly led him to denounce the divine displeasure against him [Ananias]. . . . If I had known he was high priest I should not have publicly pronounced this execration; for respect is due his person for the sake of the office. I do not see that Paul intimates that he has done anything through inadvertence, nor does he here confess any fault. He states two facts: (1) That he did not know him to be high priest; (2) That such or any ruler of the people should be reverenced. But he neither recalled nor made any apology for his words; he had not committed any trespass, and he did not acknowledge one. We must beware how we attribute either to him in the case before us."†

If the former opinion be entertained, what is to become of our Lord's own assurance to his apostles, of whom Paul was confessedly chief, when he says: "But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." (Matt. x, 19, 20). "For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist" (Luke xxi, 15). "For it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost?" (Mark xiii, 11.)

That these circumstances fit Paul's case is unmistakable. Our Lord puts the whole responsibility of the utterance upon the Holy Spirit, and denies it to the apostle in any case. Now, did the Holy Spirit fail Paul in the very first instance of his experience before Jewish rulers?

5. It has been claimed that we have in this experience of Paul an instance of divine inspiration in an apostle, and yet

* "One of the officers standing by struck Jesus with his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so? Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?" (John xviii, 22, 23.)

† Dr. Adam Clarke's *Com.* on this passage.

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Art. VII.—ABRAHAM COLES, THE PHYSICIAN-POET.

Dr. Abraham Coles is called the physician-poet, not because he is the only one of his profession who has put great thoughts into immortal verse, but because of a single work in which he has sung with genuine poetic genius of the organs and functions of the human body.

"Man the Microcosm" is a perilous theme for a poet. It awakens the scientific rather than the poetic faculty. Nothing of the kind had appeared before in our speech. Armstrong's "Art of Preserving Health," published over one hundred and fifty years ago, can hardly be called an exception. Only one with the daring of Lucretius and the genius of Pope, both of whom in many respects Dr. Coles resembled, could so set scientific and philosophic facts as to make them sensitive to the breath of the muse. Usually, scientific accuracy is the death of poetry. Darwin laments that he, who in the beginning of his studies took the greatest pleasure in Shakespeare, in later years lost all relish for the great dramatist. On the other hand, a glowing imagination is apt to wing its flight beyond the sphere of proven facts which accurate science demands. But this poem, which is an address delivered before the Medical Society of the State of New Jersey, illumines the theme of a learned profession with the sacred speech of Polyhymnia. It at once commanded the attention and commendation of both physicians and artists; and from the time of its delivery its author has been known as the physician-poet.

This characterization, however, does not do Dr. Coles justice. We might with equal inaccuracy speak of David as the warrior-psalmist, because the divine bard was a soldier and sometimes sang of war. "The Microcosm" is but one of the many products of Dr. Coles's lyre; and the spirit that breathes here, as in them all, is not anatomy but divinity. Correct as is his science, this is the spirit that pervades his song:

> For such as this did actually enshrine
> Thy gracious Godhead once, when thou didst make
> Thyself incarnate, for my sinful sake.
> Thou who hast done so very much for me,
> O let me do some humble thing for thee!

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I would to every organ give a tongue,
That thy high praises may be fitly sung;
Appropriate ministries assign to each,
The least make vocal, eloquent to teach.

Though the learning is that of a physician, the language and the spirit are those of a seraph. We must place our author among the sacred poets. We cannot, however, pause to consider at length the perplexing question as to what sacred poetry is. We are among those who believe in the sanctity of the art, altogether aside from the theme in which it is employed. It is the voice of the soul's innermost life, expressing itself in form of creative speech which kindles the feeling while it carries the thought. To turn such a gift to unholy uses is like turning the language of prayer into profanity.

But, in order to fix our author's place in the sacred choir, we accept the common thought that sacred poetry is that which treats of sacred themes. It may be epic, as in Job and Milton; or dramatic, as in the Song of Solomon and Bach's "Passion;" or lyric, as in all the Psalms and hymns. The most copious of our sacred poetry is the lyric. It is distinguished from others, not by its metrical forms, nor altogether by the material it fashions, but by its personal thought or passion, and its easy adaptation to song. There are four distinct grades of lyric poetry by which the rank of the poet is determined. The first is what we call the natural, and is characterized by the outburst of impassioned personal experience. The second is artistic, and is distinguished by the exquisite finish of its structure. The third is didactic, and is differentiated by its aim, which is to teach certain truths or facts. There are doubtless poets of high merit in this class; but its dominant motive is sure to give it the air of the schoolroom; and these lyrics are often only doctrine in rhyme. The fourth and lowest class is the liturgical. It is arranged for a service already prepared, and is set to music already composed. It is usually characterized by poverty of ideas, wearisome repetitions, and a fatal lack of passion. The foremost poet of the natural order is David, the creator of the Hebrew lyric, who at the very beginning gave to the world the very finest specimens of the art. There is in all his songs a spontaneous outpouring of the passion of the moment. Every creation only images the soul of the poet;

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and his utterance is an elegy or an idyl, according as he himself is grave or gay. To this class belong also many of the old Latin hymns, as those of Thomas of Celano, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Francis Xavier. They utter the soul's innermost consciousness. Measured by this standard Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley are highest in the first rank of English hymnists. The doctrines of saving truth had become verities in their experience; and they poured them out in rushing torrents of song. Their hymns are their own souls' biography.

Dr. Coles is the author of more than fifty original poems, many of which rank high in the first class of lyrics. Some of them have the intuition, the passion, the imagery which remind us of Cowper. In a poem entitled "Prayer in Affliction" he describes himself as bowed in sorrow in his home made desolate by the death of his wife. But in his grief his faith discovers the promise of good out of ill. Then he cries:

O, that my smitten heart may gush
Melodious praise—like as when o'er
Æolian harp strings wild winds rush,
And all abroad sad music pour;
So sweet, heaven's minstrelsy might hush
Brief time to listen—for I know
The hand that doth my comforts crush
Builds bliss upon the base of woe.

The whole poem is wondrously suggestive of the genius of him who wrote the immortal "My Mother."

Some of his hymns throb with a spirit so akin to that of the matchless Wesley that we could readily believe that they came from the Methodist's pen. Such is the following:

Upon His bosom thus to rest,
I cannot ask to be more blest;
To know my sins are all forgiven
For Jesus' sake, O, this is heaven!

While I love him and he loves me,
I care no other heaven to see;
And if there be some higher bliss,
I am content while I have this.

But the doctor did not devote his strength to the product of original hymns. He deliberately chose to turn the masterpieces of ancient tongues into English verse. Accordingly, we are compelled to rank him in the second order of lyrists. He is a

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"poet of culture," whose aim is perfect artistic expression. What determined his choice was partly his scholarship, partly his intensely spiritual nature, and partly the elegant refinement in which he was born and lived. His learning was varied and accurate. He was a recognized authority in his profession, an accomplished linguist, a master of the classic and Sanskrit tongues, and a critical writer on the profoundest theological themes. The vastness of his learning gave him such ample material for his verse that his poetic passion made no imperious call for the invention of the intuitive faculty.

We cannot think of him, as we do of Burns, walking out under the stars, writhing in pain for some adequate form in which to embody the tumultous passion he must express. He had but to lift his eyes and select from his calm, wide vision the form he needed. Had he been an unlettered peasant the poetic gift would probably have travailed in birth of song, which would have come forth in varied and original imagery. His poems would have shouted and danced like the psalms of the Maccabees. But wealth of advantage is oftentimes poverty of invention. As it was, his imagination was constructive rather than creative. Its images are more remarkable for their exquisite finish than for the original boldness of their conception. He belonged to the school of Korah rather than that of David.

It was a fortunate thing for the world, and probably also for the fame of our author, that he devoted his superb gift to rendering the best of the Hebrew and classic lyrics into English verse. He is not alone among the seraphs who have made the attempt, but is conspicuous in this goodly company as the recognized chief. Others have copied the ancient masterpieces with wonderful accuracy, but in most instances have failed to reproduce the indescribable charm which gives to a poem its chief value. The spirit that breathes cannot be made to order. It must be born again; otherwise the poem is a corpse. Dr. Coles has not used his art to exhume mummies. In his verses we have the living voices of the old-time singers. As Corot caught the varying movement of the trembling foliage in the deepening twilight, and so placed it on his canvas as that one can almost see the shadows lengthening and hear the rustling of the leaves, so our poet has reproduced the very soul of the

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Hebrew and Latin verses. They are not versified translations. They are regenerations. They are not wrought from without, but from within; hence they retain that inestimable something which gives to a poem its immortality.

As a single illustration we name his "Dies Iræ," eighteen versions of which come from the strings of his restless lyre. This sublimest masterpiece of sacred Latin poetry and noblest judgment hymn of all languages has, through many ages, been inviting gifted tongues to voice its majestic solemnities in English speech. More than thirty have had the temerity to respond. Among them are Earl Roscommon, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Macaulay, Archbishop Trench, and General Dix, some of whom have given renditions of considerable merit. But among them all Dr. Coles wears the greenest laurels. Competent critics, like Dr. Philip Schaff and J. G. Whittier, unite in affirming that no man, dead or living, has succeeded so well in rendering the text and spirit of the wonderful hymn. The doctor's baton has made our speech throb with the ancient rhythm, and has reproduced in astonishing degree the characteristic features of the original. Here are its artless simplicity; its impassioned solemnity; its trumpetlike cadences, which appall the soul with woeful terrors; its triple rhyme, which "beats the breast like a hammer" and gives it an awful music of its own, making the heart shudder with dread apprehension. And in all this quivering of judgment-terror there breathes the intense Christian spirit of the original, which finds its strongest utterance in the appeal:

> Jesus kind, do not refuse me!
> O remember thou didst choose me,
> Lest thou on that day shalt lose me!
>
> Seeking me thy tired feet bore thee,
> Cruel nails for my sake tore thee;
> Let all fail not, I implore thee.

With equal skill Dr. Coles has put into English verse hymns from Thomas of Celano, Fortunatus, and St. Bernard, and many selections from the Greek and Latin classics. It was natural for one with our poet's deeply spiritual life to turn with special fondness to those fountains of sacred song that spring from the Hebrew Psalter. There, rather than at Helicon, the voice of his muse was heard. He was himself a careful student of the Orient and familiar with the Hebrew tongue. He

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believed that the life of the past was better expressed and preserved in its song than in its history; that the inspiration of the Psalms was not merely poetic, but really and truly divine. He also believed that the much-praised antiphonal parallelism, described by Herder as "that language of the heart which has never said all, but ever has something more to say," is not adapted to the Saxon genius or knowledge. If, then, while he translates the Hebrew into English, he also translates the ancient antiphonal into modern meter, he brings the divine soul of the psalm in living presence before us. The correctness of his view has been often demonstrated. Clement Marot's "Metrical Version of the Psalms" proved to be a potent factor in the French Reformation. There are few things that have told so mightily on the Scotch character as Rouse's version. It is asserted that in the time of the Reformation psalm singers and heretics became almost identical terms.

It is an interesting fact, if it be true as stated, that such was the value our Puritan forefathers placed on psalms in meter that the third product of their first printing press, and the first of any pretentions, bore the title of *Psalms Newly Turned into Meter*. The Church has, however, in a large measure ceased the use of metrical psalms in public worship. This is due partly to the evolution of the English hymn, under the inspiration of Watts and his successors; partly to a vitiated taste occasioned by the use of jingling ditties; and partly to the poor quality of many of the meterized psalms, which are in reality only mechanical paraphrases. We believe that if Dr. Coles's thought can only be adequately realized—if accurate translation can be wedded to genuine poetry and set to fitting music—it will be a boon to the Church, which is now so sadly agitated with the question of the choral features of its service.

We will not affirm that in Dr. Coles's version of the Psalms he has in every instance satisfied either the critic's eye or the Christian's heart. Even the wings of Jove's bird sometimes grew weary. The peerless Milton often stumbled in his meter. Are David's own psalms equal? But the doctor has given us a noble volume, which, aside from the other products of his pen, will place his name on the walls of "the immortals." And if psalm singing never again becomes general in the home and

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Church this rich collection will abide as a most helpful interpreter of the heavenly meanings of the Hebrew songs.

We can barely speak of one other work which this poet lived to complete—the rendering of the Gospel in verse. To some souls the whole Christian life is a poem, the Gospel is music itself. But he is a brave man who attempts to sing it all. Samuel Wesley, the father of John and Charles, made the daring effort to versify the gospels. It was both a literary and financial failure. With what success Dr. Coles has made a similar effort it remains for the coming generations to declare. In the meanwhile we listen to the judgment of the Right Honorable John Bright, of England, who says: "When I began your volume I thought you had attempted to gild refined gold and would fail; as I proceeded in my reading that idea gradually disappeared, and I discovered that you had brought the refined gold together in a manner convenient and useful and deeply interesting."

One who consecrates his genius to echoing the thoughts and spirit of the peerless intellects of the past is not apt to command popular affection. There are few Platos and Boswells whose names appear on the scroll of immortality. But if ever that ambition enticed the heart of our author he can sleep tranquilly on the pillow of his deathless work. Only five years ago, at the age of seventy-eight, he descended to the tomb. Already his hymns have been placed in many hymnals. His Greek and Latin translations are ranked by critics the very foremost. His "Psalms" and "Gospels" occupy an honored place in every great library of Europe and America. As the years separate us wider and ever wider from those great productive periods of sacred song which made glad the ages past, more and more will the coming generations feel the need of Dr. Abraham Coles's rich echoes.

A. H. Tuttle.

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Art. VIII.—BISHOP HAYGOOD AS A PHILOSOPHER AND REFORMER.

When the writer first heard Bishop Haygood in debate it seemed that his proper place was on his feet in extempore speech; but when he sat with the debater in the privacy of his home, and felt the subdued and milder charms of his presence in conversation, the bishop showed himself to be peerless in the graces of fellowship. A certain afternoon, several years ago, spent with him in his library, was particularly fruitful of characteristic deliverances on those themes of intellectual science and social progress which so constantly engaged his thought. We date from that time a new view of the man whom we had learned to love so deeply and admire so heartily—and, we may even say, a new view of ourself as seen in the light of his constant friendship. As an official editor of the Church we had gone to consult with him about important policies touching large and isolated interests of the connection. It was a sweet, mild day in February—a typical California day in its plenitude of sunshine, ethereal stillness, intoxicating fragrance of orange blossoms, and breath of innumerable perennials in gardens and roofless verandas. The surroundings were such as to inspire a great soul to speak and a reverent one to listen. We sat in the alcove of the bishop's treasure house of books, and amid the workyday surroundings of a studious and busy man. And we must tarry a moment here to ask how is it that he who was so vigorous of frame, and who came of so long-lived an ancestry is dead at the age of fifty-six, though by every token he should have realized the promise of his threescore and ten. We who knew him best knew the secret of his self-devotion, and now know but too well what must be the answer to this question, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." The years by which this fruitful life has been abridged are multiplied in the lives of a hundred young men whose destiny was plucked from lowliness and ignorance through this great human sacrifice. Many a night, while the youth who was the bishop's pensioner at college or in the Conference course slept a restful and restoring sleep, this great-hearted, self-sacrificing man

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toiled until the stars burned out, that he might have ready for the market on the next day the monograph, the review article, or the pamphlet or book manuscript, the price of which was to replenish his always depleting balance to benevolence. In that choice Scotch classic, *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, old Domsie, the Scotch school-keeper, stands out challenging the love of every heart that hears his story. He was the champion and patron, in his small way, of all the poor, aspiring lads who came under his care, and not a few did he, out of his slender income, send to the university and thence on to honor and greatness in life. Atticus Greene Haygood was the American Domsie. In the contemplation of great thoughts and ends, and in labors most unselfish, he finished his course with joy, not always unmixed with a strong ingredient of suffering, but still such heroic joy as the martyrs felt at the stake, in the arena, or at the flanks of the wild horses of the desert.

When the business which had brought the writer to the home of the bishop, on the occasion mentioned, had been disposed of, our conversation drifted into the open seas of current interests. As a great ship moves slowly through the Golden Gate, doubles "the Heads," and then takes with a quiver and a bound the limitless freedom of the Pacific, so we have seen the bishop in debate and declamation move steadily through the conventionalities of an introduction, and then with sudden impulse take a wide and untraveled reach of thought over which no man might assert dominion. But, in conversation, he always moved with half sail, easily, steadily, and with foreknowledge of what he asserted or assented to. The data from which we compile this brief sketch of the bishop's philosophical and social scheme, as traversed in our interview, are not written notes or a diary, but our grateful and affectionate treasurings of the impressions produced by the movements of a great mind and the presence of a genuine and affectionate spirit. If we shall fall into the fault charged against the great Plato—that of extenuating the speech of his greater master, or of setting down as his very words his own affectionate fancies—we can only hope that our fault may prove as successful in the letter, and as useful in the spirit, as has that golden forgery of the son of Aristo.

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"Bishop," we said, "it is an event in a man's life, making an epoch in the growth of his enduring self, when he reads a great book."

"Quite so," he replied; "here is the true genesis of character. The reading of books is the bifurcation of ways where men part company. The soul is built up of emotions laid one on the other, as stones are laid in the walls of a temple. Books are the greatest producers of these emotions or substances of which the soul is built. The series in the understratum of my own emotional and mental experiences are as plainly defined in my consciousness as are the layers in the laminated rocks; not always regular, to be sure, often, in fact, twisted and convoluted, but still easily followed and unmistakable. I note, for instance, the influences of Carlyle, whom I have closely read and studied, and Landor and Machiavelli. These reappear at several intervals in the order of my mental development. We become such stuff as books are made of, either primarily through our own reading, or secondarily through the craft of others who do read. Before there were any books there were men, truly, but it must be admitted that there existed at that period a very severe unity and commonplaceness of ideas. In the absence of a record I undertake to say that the first step of progress out of that cold-blooded unity of Church and State, of social affiliation and intellectual standards, was the making of a book—however rude, crude, or purposeless—a book; a scrawl, it may be, on the flat surface of a stone; a few lines bruised through the fiber of a faded leaf or the bark of a tree; or the tattooing of a skin, but eloquent and terrible with power to change, and therefore a book! With the first book came the shivering into fragments of society and the manifolding of ideas; it was the angel that troubled the stagnant waters of unity and left healing in the tumult of billows. Books bring discontent, and discontent finally contradicts itself and restores disordered life to a static condition. The original and independent workers are not those who foreswear books and prate of holding in themselves the substance of which books are made, but they are the *bibliophagi*, the devourers of books; they are not gourmands for the sake of filling an empty stomach or feeding a vain desire; but they are men who read, as all sensible people eat, to live, and who live to think and act—

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to think boldly and act bravely. Books break the chains of custom, and send men forth in the spirit of the old Greek term defined as 'one who stands erect and looks up.' You know the other definition; its term is anthropoidal, and suggests longitudinal relations of hands and feet, and a longitudinal vision likewise. Darwinism has an inverted demonstration after all."

"But, bishop," we interrupted, "you have always been regarded as a new-departure man, and the Church and the world have credited or charged you, as you like, with ignoring precedents in many of your views and utterances. Have your progressive ideas always resulted from interpretations of well-understood laws of social and intellectual science?"

"Always," was his reply. "The wheat fields of Russia, India, Egypt, and America are all traceable to an original kernel; so everything that a self-conscious servant of the truth does is in his own understanding, at least, traceable to continuous relationships through the whole order of the world's good. The first thing that a true man gets in the world is an ideal; the last thing which he yields is that same ideal; but this possession is to be strengthened and enlarged from the same source from which it is borrowed, the world's storehouse of knowledge in its books. This ideal will grow to novel and unlikened favor, as children often do in the same household, nursing from the same breast and feeding from the same board—one a musician, another a builder, and yet another a statesman—but the feeding is essential. A load of clay goes into a pottery. Some of it comes out delft platters and covers, the rest base and rudely shapen crocks. The same care would probably have made delft of all; but one thing is certain, clay cannot make itself into queen's ware."

We were about to inject another interrogatory into the conversation, when we saw the light of further inquisition rising in the eyes of our host.

"But what," he inquired, "was the volume whose reading caused your remark?" "One," we replied, "which we should have read long ago, and indeed which we have many times approached; but there is the reading of a book which effects little, and there is the reading which brings the soul of the author out on you like a revelation. We were spurred to this

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reading by those lines in Algernon Charles Swinburne's lyric on its author, Victor Hugo:

> "To whom the high gods gave of right
> Their thunders and their laurels and their light."

"That masterpiece!" he cried. "There is in *Les Miserables* enough of social revelation and political wisdom to correct a century of social mistakes and political sins. It is a great book, but for the same use the Epistle to the Romans is far better. It possesses, furthermore, the advantage of being more easily read and understood, and is inspired. It is a safe rule to put things on their proper basis, even when their differences are admitted and understood. It is a safe rule to put the inspiration of the Scriptures on that high and solitary plane where it is impossible for any collateral theme to enter into competition with it. The theories set forth in *Les Miserables* must always slowly assert themselves in the advancing social order; but the New Testament is a two-edged sword which, in the hands of Christian missions and the Church at home, is to slay evil and make room and empire for the purity of individual and social life."

"Bishop," we answered, "your close association of the masterpieces of Victor Hugo and St Paul raises in our mind two or three questions which we have long desired to hear you discuss; so, if you please, we will state them and then become only a listener until you have finished. We see at once your reluctance to being thus put on the stand to testify in your own behalf, and also that your modesty is about to protest; but we will assert on our own part the rights of a guest, and for you the duties of a host; besides, your guest is one of the younger clergy, and if we mistake not you voluntarily undertook the instruction of all those thus placed under you, who in their turn were admonished to receive your instructions gladly. To be brief, then, kindly push the theories set forth in *Les Miserables*—particularly those which relate to the criminal, the menial, the poor, the ignorant, and the socially disfranchised—to their application to our own country and institutions, and then develop the anthropology and soteriology of the Epistle to the Romans in the light of present-day experience and evangelization."

"I prefer," he said, after some hesitation, "to take your

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propositions in an order exactly opposite the one in which you have stated them, discussing the last first and the first last; and this will be all the more fitting as it puts the inspired word in the order of precedence. To begin, then, what is very much needed just now, among the thoughtful but not overlearned classes of the people, is a little science outside of technical demonstrations, and a little philosophy outside of the schools. In no department of knowledge is this so much needed as in that division of anthropology which should teach the unity of our physical and spiritual natures; and this is the great theme discussed in the Epistle to the Romans. St. Paul seems to set the arguments of this philosophical pastoral in three general propositions, to wit: First, 'when they knew God they glorified him not;' second, they 'dishonored their own bodies;' third, they 'worshiped and served the creature more than the Creator.' Here is a general view of the disordered state of humanity, growing out of a separation and estrangement of the essentially related and complementing natures of man. Neglect and disregard of the spiritual or intellectual nature begets grossness and carnality; neglect of, and contempt for, the physical begets superstition and fanaticism. Christ, the perfect man, balanced the two.

"Sir William Hamilton's remark that psychology is the most difficult of all the sciences, because it at once engages man as study and student, is abundantly illustrated in the history of metaphysics and philosophy. Since Mr. Herbert Spencer and his materialistic collaborators, on the one hand, undertook to unify the phenomena of life on an absolute physical basis; and the theological mystics, on the other hand, set about to degrade and crucify the physical senses—mistaking them for the carnal motions and 'body of sin' in St. Paul's anthropological scheme—in the interests of the higher life, the confusion of the common people has been complete. The service which true theological anthropology should now undertake is that of setting the unities of affection, intellect, and spirit in their proper order in the developing life and character of man. It is no mean task this, and has its difficulties, as has that complex teaching which it should be its business to simplify.

"In the outset, it is necessary to understand that this study must proceed on the hypothesis of the eternal identity of the

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two natures of man—modified, as we see them, by the changes through which they are passing in their earthly condition, and modified much more, we may assume, by those changes through which they must pass in order to attain their celestial relations. This observation would, if pursued, raise speculative questions of the nature and manner of the final resurrection; but our inquiry does not look in that direction, neither are such speculations at any time necessary or greatly profitable. Character of whatever quality is the product of the cooperation of the spiritual and material functions of life, so that whatever in character is regarded as immortal illustrates the unity and the identity which we are setting about to establish. The continued existence of the soul, or of character, between death and the material resurrection, is not only a pledge of such resurrection, but is in fact largely a realization of all that it must finally mean. An effect often continues to exist after its cause has been interrupted or removed, as, for instance, the attractive habit of a magnetized metal after the contributing magnet has been withdrawn. If an effect be understood as the joint product of two suitable and necessary agencies, it must identify these agencies in all proper thinking, and indeed in its own reproduction and perpetuation. It is not necessary that the same positive should be applied to a negative to reestablish or perpetuate its magnetism, but it must be a positive; electricity is always the same. It is not necessary that the resurrection should produce the same material body; but as it is put in the affirmation of St. Paul, 'a body;' life is always the same. Character or tone, as the product of united physical and spiritual agencies, may actually long exist and carry on its offices without the conjunction of its producing agencies; but we can never think of it apart from them, or as perpetuating or fulfilling itself without the reestablishment of their former revelations. This much for a general thesis, and it agrees with the Pauline scheme entirely.

"Now, as to the soteriology of St. Paul; it is a very simple conclusion that, character being the thing which we properly recognize as man, and being a joint product of the affectional and spiritual natures, the work of grace which renews man destroys nothing in his physical nature which it does not destroy in his spiritual, and in fact destroys nothing in either, but

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brings them into harmonious relations. Richard Baxter makes this plain in his matchless treatise on regeneration, *A Call to the Unconverted*, wherein he shows that the Gospel lifts the spiritual from a place of servitude and replaces it in the room of authority and fellowship. But the matter is still better stated in the Epistle to the Romans. The renewal of man's nature by grace leaves him complete for that moment only. Man is a growing being, growing in his physical, in his intellectual, and in his spiritual powers. He daily touches the world at new places, developing new instincts, new emotions, new aptitudes; these continually require the application of the grace of cleansing and renewal, and so the phenomena of natural life are fully paralleled by those of the spiritual life. This is St. Paul's formula of sanctification; and it agrees with the open book of consciousness and experience. Whatever the spiritual nature may be, it is never by us seen or known to act independently of the natural; but what we have seen to be clear is this, the natural is modified by the spiritual, and the spiritual is modified by the natural. St. Paul as a teacher sets these things forth, and also the mystery of the resurrection, as the completing and convincing argument of the unity of our natures here and hereafter. This is the way God chose to bring many sons to glory."

"Well, bishop," we said, "you echo the results of our own humbler studies in these difficult fields, and your closing observations on the unity of life suggest an addendum to our social interrogatories; so, as you seem ready to take up that branch of our inquiry, we will, if you please, anticipate your line of answer."

"Very well," he said, "a Methodist preacher always likes a text, if it is only when he 'talks;' you will give me a text, I am sure."

"That may be," we replied; "you shall judge. The rationale of *Les Miserables* is to be the basis of our procedure. That book in an agonizing speech tells of the evils which illy framed and imperfectly obligated society permits to engulf and destroy millions who might easily be rescued, if only a faithful and patient effort were put forth, or, in other words—to use one of your own expressions which we have recently seen in print—'if only the gospel of soap and bread were car-

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ried to the people at the bottom of society.' Jean Valjean in *Les Miserables* types that multitude which perhaps no man can number. Victor Hugo expresses the conditions of these multitudes by describing the agonies of a drowning man. Let us quote as nearly as we can a few of the periods of that description:

"A man overboard! What matters? The somber ship has its path; it does not stop. The man disappears, then reappears; he plunges; he rises again; he calls; he stretches out his arms; he is not heard. The vessel, trembling under the storm, is wholly absorbed in its own workings. . . . He is in the tremendous sea. Underfoot there is nothing but what flees and crumbles. The tossings of the abyss bear him away; a populace of waves spits upon him. It seems as though all the waters were hate. Nevertheless, he struggles. He tries to defend himself. He, his petty strength all exhausted instantly, combats the inexhaustible. Where is the ship? Yonder. Barely visible on the horizon. There are birds in the clouds, just as there are angels above human distress; but what can they do for him? They fly and float, and he, he rattles in the death agony. Night descends. He shouts. Where is God? Nothing on the horizon, nothing in heaven. He implores the expanse; he beseeches the tempest; the imperturbable tempest obeys only the infinite. He is weary; he chooses the alternative of death; he lets himself go; and then he tosses forevermore in the lugubrious, dreary depths of engulfment.

"O, implacable march of human societies! O, losses of men and of souls in the way! Disastrous absence of help! O, moral depth! The sea is the inexorable social night into which the penal laws fling their condemned. The sea is the immensity of wretchedness. The soul going down stream in this gulf may become a corpse. Who shall resuscitate it?

"Such is the great Frenchman's view of the abandonment of the criminal and ignorant of society. The question we want to put to you, bishop, is this—In your opinion, where should the work of saving the masses begin?"

"That," said he, "is the question of all others pertinent at this time. In my view of the redemption of the race the term salvation has but one meaning, and suggests but one work, from the washing and clothing of a frowzy street gamin and the teaching of a negro child the alphabet to the ultimate sanctification of our whole humanity through personal faith in Christ. That work begins at the bottom and goes to the top, and the Church must lead in doing it. Education lies at the bottom of everything stable in society. The mistake of the centuries has

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been in trying to build an enduring spirituality into the people of the nations by means of a State religion, on an understratum of illiteracy, corrupted social habits, abuses, slavery, and oppression. The work of the Church is to lay its hand to the removal of ignorance and to the eradication of social diseases. Education and learning are not religion, but without them no people can ever be either exaltedly pure or profoundly religious. Many educated nations have been flagrantly irreligious and diabolically impure; but it will be found on investigation that their education rested on a false foundation or consisted of irreconcilable or corrupting elements. Enlightenment is the truer term, after all, and comprehends the idea of education in its manifold influences on the life and body of the people. The text-books and the Bible are the weapons offensive and defensive of the Church. They are mighty for the pulling down of strongholds and the setting up of enduring dominion.

"In our own country Church and State stand together in recognizing the need of education, the most primary as well as the most comprehensive. We have many millions of young negroes, as well as multitudes of traditionally ignorant Caucasians, whose religious lives and political citizenship must prove no better than their fathers' have been, unless heroic efforts are made to educate and enlighten them. The philanthropy of all sections in the Churches should meet in this endeavor; and let the man who would hinder or disparage be consigned to the limbo of contempt! The weight of the commission to 'teach' is in the Church; the State must do so in self-defense. A monarchy which stands on hereditary authority and traditional laws might afford to pass by the ignorance of its subjects; but a republic cannot. The people rule, and in that fact it is apparent that where ignorance exists it has a more than even chance to usurp the public rule. For a republic there is but one safe course, as there is but one plain duty for the Church, and that is to educate.

"As to the collateral issues that might be raised under our present theme, we will take up two—the treatment of the criminal classes, and the cure of industrial oppressions. I might add a third, to which I have given no little study, the question of suffrage; but it is one of political expediency, and does not well fit into a scheme of social and religious advancement such as we

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are now reviewing. That the ordinary punishment of criminals is often productive of lawlessness cannot be doubted. Our judicial system partakes too much of the nature of an inquisition and too little of the nature of a remedy for crime. On the other hand, it is too easily rendered abortive when certain venal influences are exerted on it. The idea of administrative justice with us is too entirely penal, it is not enough corrective. The galley ships of eighteenth-century France and Jean Valjean have their successors in the convict trains and the convict slaves of our American penitentiary system. And our penitentiaries are themselves rather places for making unfortunate men incurably impenitent than for making them penitent. Justice and humanity demand that the penalties for all crimes should be graded according to the merit of the acts, and that the penal sentence should be imposed with a view to correcting the crime in the criminal and neutralizing its effects on the public conscience.

"There is a criminal condition with which the law does not deal except incidentally, and with that the Church must grapple. It is represented in the armies of lost men, women, and children which a pitiless fate and a more pitiless social sentiment have left to drift on that wild sea which our Galilean Master has so vividly described. The Church must become more a seeker and saver of these. It is a vast problem, and the proposition might be expanded so as to suggest details, but until the fact itself is more seriously taken up, details of a plan would count for little.

"With respect to the last matter which we are to look at, the cure of industrial oppression, I have recently printed a series of short papers which you may have read containing outlines of all that I have thought out as desirable to be said. The cure for poverty is not in socialistic legislation, but in industrial and technological education, and that in a better and much wider sense than teaching trades in colleges or industrial schools. Industrial economics have never had serious application in the industrial schools. They must take a wider range to become effective. Legislation may protect the wage-earner against arbitrary oppression; but other agencies, the Church and a general philanthropy, must provide methods for teaching that philosophy of life and industry which will silently but surely compel respect

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for the rights of labor. This is the giant who is to strike down monopoly and oppression, lead captivity captive, and dispense the largess of liberty, comfort, and life.

"But, after all, does not the solution of each of these great problems come back to the simple principles of education, social honor, sobriety, and religion? I think so. And is not the Gospel—our Gospel—sufficient for all? Undoubtedly. Let us so take it, then, and so preach it; for though an angel from heaven brought another Gospel to men, he could earn in the end but anathemas and judgment."

W. H. DuBose

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Art. IX.—NEW ENGLAND LIBERAL THEOLOGY.

That great doctrinal and political revolution known as New England Liberalism is a most fascinating and profitable study. To the theologian, the philosopher, and the philanthropist, it furnishes a wide field of investigation. For the coloring and direction it has given to religious thought in our nation, and especially for its part in producing the present unrest and apprehension in evangelical denominations, it deserves the closest examination.

We mean by New England liberal theology those systems of religion known as Unitarianism, Universalism, and Spiritualism. The last, though having numerous followers, is sporadic and unorganized. Exerting as it does little general influence, it will not be discussed in this paper. Unitarianism and Universalism are in substantial agreement. According to Dr. E. L. Rexford, a Universalist of Boston, the two denominations work toward each other—the Universalists on the divine side to rationalize the idea of God, and the Unitarians on the human side to dignify the meaning of human nature. In principle they are both one and the same. We shall so consider them in this discussion, but shall give the larger share of attention to Unitarianism, as it stands at the head of the controversy with New England orthodoxy.

Let us examine our subject under the following heads: 1. Genesis of New England Liberal Theology; 2. The Transcendental Period; 3. Present Status and Influence of the Movement.

1. It is a matter of history that in the beginnings of New England religious matters took precedence. No town could be organized without religious instruction. At first the support of religious ordinances was to some extent voluntary on the part of the people. But within fifty years from the settlement of Massachusetts all inhabitants were taxed, *nolens volens*. County courts were to "present" all neglects and exact penalties. Every man was a legal member of the first parish, even against his will, and so late as 1836 individual property was liable to seizure for parish debts. In 1757 twenty-four parishioners in Cape Elizabeth, Me., were sent to jail for refusing

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to pay taxes, on account of the unpopularity of the pastor—for even in those good old times there seem to have been church quarrels. But while the parish was taxed to support the Church, till 1692 none took part in calling a minister except members of the Church. For years after the right of election was granted to the parish it waived its right in behalf of the members.

The opening of the present century is distinguished by the doctrinal controversy between orthodoxy and Unitarianism. This controversy reached the laity, and as all were subject to taxation the layman felt he had a right to vote in the matter. This brought on a crisis. In Dedham, Mass., Rev. Mr. Lamson, Unitarian, was a candidate for settlement. Two thirds of the church stood against him. But the parish with a minority of the church carried a majority. The church remonstrated. The parish appealed to the supreme court, and was sustained. Now the convulsion had come, and all the Congregational Churches were at the mercy of the parish. Mr. Lamson was settled. The church in a large majority withdrew, but by so doing surrendered all church property, building funds, communion service, records, to the adherents of the parish. A new church was built by the orthodox Congregationalists of Dedham, and this process was repeated by a very large part of the orthodox Churches in Massachusetts. This convulsion was necessary to destroy forever that union of Church and State which the Pilgrims and Puritans brought from the Old World; and ever since it has been the law and practice for the Church and ministry to be supported by voluntary offerings of the people.*

The reaction of 1815 was chiefly a doctrinal protest against the Calvinism taught by Congregational Churches. Those horrible decrees which John Wesley's logical and astute mind had repudiated in England—unconditional election of a fixed part of mankind to eternal life, and the certain banishment of the rest to endless and awful punishment, including multitudes of infants—were abhorrent to many who were breathing the free air of the New World. Gradually, but surely, numbers of ministers and laymen revolted against such teaching.

Other causes which made it possible for Unitarianism to arise

* See *Massachusetts Ecclesiastical Law*, by Edward Buck, Esq.

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and spread were the "Half-way Covenant"—in which persons subscribed to the Calvinistic creed without being converted, thus inducing hypocrisy—and the installation of men into the ministerial office who had no experimental knowledge of salvation, making religion a form without spirit and power.

At first liberal Christianity was not so differentiated from evangelical faith as it has since become. But from the beginning the peril of a wide and powerful drift was imminent. Wilbur Fisk, that Methodist of broad culture and deep piety, remarked: "There is danger in the rebound, that they will go into infidel notions." Events show that his words were prophetic. The pendulum has swung to the opposite extreme.

2. This brings us to consider the Transcendental Period. Channing, Emerson, and Parker are the great triumvirate, giving renown and direction to Unitarianism in its middle period. In their order these names mark the progress of the denomination—a progress which, in truth it must be added, is a downward one. All Christendom must admire the minds of these men—Channing's, noted for its spiritual and pellucid depths; Emerson's, sometimes reveling in German mysticism and transcendentalism, at other times packing practical thoughts in words that burn; Parker's, omnivorous and all-inclusive, but shallow.

William Ellery Channing, in his sermon preached at Baltimore, in 1819, from the text, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good," first gave a system to Unitarian views. His theology shows a great departure from orthodox belief. He himself says that he "had long ceased to attach any importance to the rank or dignity of Christ, or to believe in the Trinity; that the idea of Christ's death being a satisfaction is nowhere taught in Scripture; and that evil spirits have no existence, Satan being merely a figurative personation of moral evil." Still, it is said that he did not reject the divine authority and inspiration of the Bible. He was not disposed to deny Christ's preexistence. He held him up as the great ideal set before men, as a perfect manifestation of God, and as one who taught with divine authority.

In a delightful chapter of reminiscences by Miss Peabody, who was Channing's devoted admirer and near friend, we see many noble traits of his character. Certainly, he was a Chris-

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tian, having a deep reverence for spiritual things and for the sacred ordinances of the Church. Miss Peabody remarks that he was never especially popular with the Unitarian ministers; he was too spiritually minded for them. She gives a beautiful account of a visit by Channing to Father Taylor's Bethel, where the scholar heard the orator preach, and at the communion following took from his hands the symbols of Christ's death.

Emerson stands as the apostle of transcendentalism. He was rather a philosopher than a theologian. Following such men as Hegel and Kant, he wrote fragmentary papers on the "Philosophy of the Infinite." But he never constructed a system of philosophy. "His largest generalization is 'existence.' On this inscrutable theme his conceptions vary with his moods and experience. Sometimes it seems to be man who parts with his personality in being united to God; sometimes it seems to be God who is impersonal, and who comes to personality only in man." * The effect of his philosophy upon religion is to emphasize the ethical rather than the supernatural.

Theodore Parker, like Emerson, was a transcendentalist, but he was also a bold and aggressive theologian. His memorable sermon, preached in Boston, May 19, 1841, on "The Transient and the Permanent in Christianity," so shocked conservative Unitarians that for a long time he was socially ostracized by them. No preacher among them would exchange pulpits with him, and his name was stricken from the list of ministers in the Yearbook. In this sermon he said that the Church makes an idol of the Bible; that it loves Jesus Christ as God, though he is not God; that the Church, ministry, and Sabbath are regarded as divine institutions, though they are merely human. He also flatly repudiated the theory of the infallible and miraculous inspiration of the Bible. We see the downward drift of the Unitarian Church when we reflect that this man, whose opinions were skeptical, is to-day classed with Channing as an apostle of Unitarianism.

3. But what is the present status and influence of Liberal Theology? Unitarians, at this time, in its progressive sections is more an intellectual and social club than a Church. In many respects it is worthy of our admiration. It stands for the lar-

* *American Cyclopædia.*

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gest freedom of thought along all lines of human research and activity. It demands an unfettered conscience. Every son of Wesley can join with it in this inalienable right. As a humanitarian institution its works praise it in the gates. However much Unitarians may be mistaken concerning life beyond the grave, they certainly try to make men happy in this world. They are noted, especially in Boston, for many works of philanthopy and charity. This has been their history throughout. Channing in his later years was more busy planning for the uplifting of criminal and unfortunate men and women than in writing doctrinal discourses. To help the destitute and fallen was a chief aim of Emerson and Parker, as it is of many noble souls in this persuasion to-day. New Englanders will not forget that Father Taylor's Mariner's Bethel, where the inimitable preacher had such wonderful success, could not have lived had it not been for the support given by generous Unitarians. We are not surprised that the "sailor preacher" always held a warm side to these friends, while he dissented from their doctrinal views. However, in their attempts at reforms and the amelioration of society, the liberal Christians have labored too much from the human side and too little from the divine. Well does a critic observe, "The enthusiasm of humanity cannot be a religion, cannot even preserve its vital force, if it be not constantly shot through with the living light of God."

Coming now to its theological status, we remark that Unitarianism has no creed securing uniformity of belief, and no central authority by which it could enforce this belief if it existed. As a result we find all shades of doctrines among its people, from those views nearly approaching evangelical standards to the opposite extreme of positive infidelity. Two currents of thought to-day obtain in the denomination; the one is known as progressive, the other as conservative, Unitarianism. The late Dr. Peabody, of Harvard University, well represented the more evangelical wing. His sermons and addresses for many years were not only couched in beautiful language but they spoke to the hearts of mankind, stimulating, uplifting, and blessing them. In a sermon preached in 1840, at Portsmouth, N. H., on "The Revival of Religion," and published by request, he expressed sentiments on many biblical doctrines that might

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well have fallen from the lips of a Congregationalist or a Methodist. We quote a sentence or two:

> I pity the mind that can regard without sympathy such a heaving of religious element in our midst, such deep anxiety and trembling joy—the profligate, the profane and degraded asking the prayer of God's people, and lifting their first vows and praises in the house of worship. . . . Better far the wildest whirlwind of fanaticism than the hushed stillness of spiritual slumber.

Does he not anticipate the present stage of ultraliberalism when he accuses many of his hearers as "living all through the week as if God and heaven and hell were the mere bugbears of a disordered fancy?" And, so far as we know, this pure and noble minister never altered his views on the great subjects contained in that discourse of a half century ago. What a pity it is that men of his faith are not more numerous in the Church of their choice!

The progressive party largely predominates in Unitarianism. For years this section has been drifting farther and farther from the canons of orthodoxy. One who is schooled in the evangelical faith must be repeatedly shocked when he reads how these modern Arians coolly and boldly strike at the basal principles of his theology.

Probably the chief exponent of progressive Christianity, which is another name for rationalism, is Dr. M. J. Savage. Preaching in Boston, in 1890, he said, "The distinguishing characteristic of Unitarianism is its conviction of the supremacy of reason over all Church organizations and over all books." At another time he declared that, for his own part, he "would not believe certain texts even if they were contained in the Bible." The doctrine of eternal punishment he would reject, "though it appeared in the Bible in letters of living light." Dr. Savage has somewhat recently published a Unitarian Catechism, which has been indorsed by many liberal Christians in New England. The book is important in that it puts in succinct and regular form what many modern Unitarians believe and teach their children. We give some extracts from which it will show how utterly at variance with evangelical faith are many of its statements:

> *Question.* Where are God's laws to be found?
> *Answer.* They are the laws of nature and life.

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Quest. Are they in any one book or Church?

Ans. No; and many so-called laws of God are only imaginations of man.

Quest. How long ago did man appear?

Ans. We cannot tell exactly. The best authorities think it was as much as one hundred and fifty thousand years ago, and perhaps three hundred thousand.

Quest. Was he specially created at that time?

Ans. No; he grew, or was developed from lower forms.

Quest. Was he perfect when he first appeared?

Ans. No; he was but little above the animals.

Quest. Do we believe, then, in the "fall of man?"

Ans. No; for he was never so high as to-day. It is the *ascent* of man we believe in.

Quest. Does the Bible contain God's word?

Ans. Yes; but only in part, and mixed with many errors.

Quest. What is God's perfect word?

Ans. All truth.

Quest. Is revelation finished?

Ans. No; every new truth is a new revelation.

Quest. What is its real nature?

Ans. It is a human book. In some part its teaching is barbarous and cruel, being the work of a barbarous age. It is full of magic and miracle.

Quest. Where was Jesus born?

Ans. In Nazareth, a small hill town of Galilee.

Quest. Who were his parents?

Ans. Joseph and Mary.

Quest. Did he rise again from the dead?

Ans. There is no reason to suppose his body lived again.

Quest. Did Jesus work miracles?

Ans. Not in the sense of disregarding natural laws.

Quest. Is there any reason for believing in the existence of the devil?

Ans. No; none whatever.

Quest. Is evil a thing which came into the world?

Ans. No.

Quest. Was death caused by sin?

Ans. No; it is as natural to die as to be born.

Quest. Are suffering and death any sign that God is angry with us?

Ans. No; God is never angry with anybody.

Quest. What do we believe as to the fall of man?

Ans. We do not believe only, we know that there never was any fall of man.

Quest. Does man need to be saved?

Ans. No; not in the sense that he is under God's wrath and doomed to hell.

Quest. Did the world need a supernatural revelation to teach it what was right?

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Ans. No; it learned by experience.
Quest. Are there special places called heaven and hell?
Ans. No; each soul is happy or unhappy, according to character.

These quotations show that there ever must be an irrepressible conflict between liberal and evangelical Christianity as they are now constituted. They are diametrically opposed to each other, and both cannot be right. In this catechism it is affirmed that men possess no supernatural revelation, and that the Bible is a human book, partly barbarous and untrue. The fall of man is denied, as is also the existence of the devil and of evil as a thing coming into the world. Jesus is a mere man, who never wrought miracles, and who did not arise from the dead. His atonement for sin was not necessary, as God is never angry with the sinner. There is little in this catechism to which infidels cannot subscribe. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that they are welcomed to Unitarian fellowship. "Thomas Paine," says the *Christian Register*, "though stigmatized and set aside as an infidel, finds reincarnation in the modern scientific biblical critic." This same paper would welcome Robert Ingersoll to the Unitarian fold.

In conclusion, let us examine the present influence of the liberal religions. According to its own writers Unitarianism is rather a leavening force in society than a Church gathering a great multitude of communicants. This may also be said of Universalism. These denominations make a pitiful showing so far as numbers go.

Leaving statistics for a minute, let us remark regarding the Unitarians that no Church ever had a more auspicious beginning. It owned the Church property. It had not only a large number of members, but also possessed the sympathy and best wishes of the general community. The wealthy and influential families of Boston affiliated with it. Her men of letters and leaders in intellectual life were largely of this order. After the division only one church remained to the Congregationalists in Boston. Harvard College, with its great wealth and prestige, passed into the hands of the liberals, where it has since remained. The Puritan faith in the metropolis was unpopular, and stood its ground with difficulty. Yet with all this advantage of wealth, education, and popular support, what has been the progress of Unitarianism during the past three quarters of a century?

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Our liberal brethren, at their May meeting in 1893, congratulated themselves that the denomination had grown more in the past seven years than in the preceding forty; but, after all, the growth was meager as compared with that of the leading orthodox bodies of Christians.

According to the statistics of 1895 the denomination has today only four hundred and fifty-five churches, with five hundred and nineteen ministers and sixty-eight thousand five hundred communicants. In the West the churches are few, and are struggling for support. There are, perhaps, less than twenty parishes in the whole South, and all save some five on the northern border are weak. Surely the Southern States are an uncongenial soil for heterodoxy.

Universalism is also confessedly weak in churches and adherents, although it spreads over a broader region than Unitarianism. The statistics for 1895 show eight hundred preachers, some of whom are "lay preachers," and about forty-eight thousand communicants. These are scattered over most of the States of the Union, but in many the churches are so few as to exert little appreciative power upon the people.

From this showing we reach this result, that the masses of American citizens refuse to accept the liberal theology. They plant their faith upon the strong and naked doctrines of the old interpretation—sin, Satan, heaven, hell, forgiveness through Christ's death, reconciliation with God, an indwelling Saviour, a consciousness of an inwrought holiness. Well does Dr. Cairns, of London, say:

> Why is American Unitarianism so feeble that it has some three hundred congregations against seventy thousand Trinitarians? . . . A human Christ has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. He brings no light from the higher world. The Unitarians have, no doubt, a simpler Christ, but an infinitely poorer one, who has no sympathy because he has no greatness. He was dead, but not alive, and he claimed a victory which was only delusion, blasphemy.

This poverty of members in the liberal Churches is deplored by some of their best men. Many remedies for correcting the palpable weakness have been suggested, among which may be named more organization, piety, and religion in the denomination; a positive and contagious faith; ritualism; and a hearty spirit of sectarianism. The board of directors of the American

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Unitarian Association, in 1887, called for "men like those wonderful Methodist itinerants, with Unitarian convictions."

Yet to make the liberal Churches compact, organized, and aggressive denominations, it will be necessary to change their very nature. At present they are mostly systems of negation, destructive, not constructive. They are vague in statement and belief, and allow absolute license of opinion. Their supposed strength is their greatest weakness. They sacrifice depth of conviction to broad and indefinite notions. They possess neither the cement of faith nor unity of methods needful to produce cohesive organizations. And this is likely to be true in pagan, as well as in Christian, lands. American Christianity watched with great interest the efforts Unitarianism made a few years ago to establish a foreign mission. Japan was selected as a field especially favorable for planting the valuable seed. But from reports which reach us it is difficult to tell whether Buddhism will yield to liberal Christianity, or *vice versâ*. At a Christmas gathering in the mission a memorial service to the four sages, Confucius, Buddha, Socrates, and Christ, was held! Is not this carrying out the purpose for which the mission was started, "not to convert the Japanese to Christianity, but to confer with them on the subject of religion?" The Unitarian representatives have recently prepared a form of service in which Buddhism and Christianity are recognized as of equal value. With this fact before us we are not surprised to learn that the liberal theology is not making much progress in the "Sunrise Kingdom."

While liberal Christianity is not numerically strong in the United States, it has exerted, and is exerting, a real and, as we believe, a precious influence upon large masses of people. Its power must not be measured by its numerical size. By its publications, many of which are distributed free; by the daily press, which is especially accommodating in spreading abroad its principles; as well as by ordinary methods, liberal views are being disseminated broadcast. We believe they have been powerfully instrumental, in some quarters, in shaking the foundations of the evangelical faith. This is the claim of those promoting the new theology. It is their boast, iterated and reiterated, that the thinking and progressive portions of the evangelical Churches are coming over to their side. We cannot

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disguise the fact that ferment and unrest exist in Christian Churches to-day to a formidable extent. Our conviction is that not only German rationalism but also American liberalism has had much to do in precipitating the Andover controversy, the higher criticism, and kindred evils upon the Churches. Happy that church which, dwelling in an atmosphere of theological malaria, escapes contagion! Its escape will demonstrate the fact of a sound constitution.

And is there no connection between the present agitation of doctrine in the land and the carnival of crime which reddens our daily press? Does not loose theology produce loose standards of living? That theology which degrades Jesus to a mere man, rejects the Holy Spirit, denies the inspiration of the Bible and charges it with mistakes; which exalts reason above revelation; which repudiates the great cardinal doctrines of the Bible, man's original perfection, his fall, his recovery by means of Christ's death; which eliminates hell and Satan, and invents a heaven—is a theology which all who love revealed religion will forever shun.

E. T. Curnick.

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Art. X.—A POLITICAL REFORM.

Along with much which is bad in American politics, and fraught therefore with evil to the public, it is an encouraging "sign of the times" that among the people at large there appears to be a growing demand for better methods in certain particulars of party management. To the masses of voters in some States what are known as the political "machine" and "boss" are becoming increasingly obnoxious. Their potency may not as yet be greatly diminished. Still, a healthful disposition to circumscribe and finally destroy their baneful power is evident, and in a few instances it has been made effective. Our purpose is briefly to look at the actual conditions which must be taken into account in any movement for reform, at this point, and then to suggest a remedy for the abuses in question.

With regard to the matter in hand one truly can postulate:

1. That we have now in operation, and must expect to maintain three separate, and, in some degree, independent governments over the same territory and people—the municipal, State, and national.

2. That government by the people, republican in form, as in each of these classes, is, and of necessity will continue to be, party government.

3. That party government will evolve the political leader and the "professional politician" in the future as surely as it has in the past.

With the truth of these propositions assumed we obviously are compelled to take into consideration, as quite constant factors of our political life, party government in nation, State, and city, and the organizations of voters which this implies, together with the leaders and a large class of "workers" in politics which they always produce. Thus it is not a theory, but essentially unchanging conditions, that confront the political reformer, which it will be fatal also to his hopes of improving affairs to ignore. But when these clearly are seen and firmly grasped the real problem emerges into view. It is this: Can party leadership be prevented from degenerating into "bossism," and party organizations from being turned into political "machines?"

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We do not question that, beyond what is thus suggested, there is a vast amount of work to be done in order thoroughly to purge and purify American politics. But that relates more especially to the social and moral life of the voters, and not to political reform in the aspects now under consideration. Nor are efforts to preserve the purity of the ballot to be classed with it. We have not yet attained to the level toward which, let it be trusted, the country is moving—that on which the "ballot-box stuffer" will be guilty of treason to the State, and upon conviction thereof will be "electricuted" or hung. All men in every party, except criminals of this infamous type, or the guilty and therefore equally traitorous beneficiaries of their unpardonable crimes, are agreed in trying to exterminate the political thugs who in this murderous mode stab at the vitals of free institutions.

Coming back now to the problem to be discussed, at the outset we meet facts of most serious import. The great political parties are national organizations, in the sense at least that their primary object is to obtain control of the general government. But, to this end, party domination is essential up to a certain point in the governments of the States. Practically, however, it is found that power within these commonwealths can often be gained only by the political conquest of their leading municipalities. The party complexion of Congress, and even the presidency itself, may, as they have done, pivot on this one point. As a necessary consequence the whole force of partisan feeling and interests, regarded from a national point of view, becomes centered in the results of elections in the hundreds of towns and cities which have grown up in the various States. Their political action therefore assumes national significance and importance. Hence the impossibility of its avoiding a deeply marked party character. An occasional exception to this under special circumstances may occur, as in the rescue of New York city from the felon Tweed, and the more recent deliverance of it from the villains who, in violation of official oaths, enriched themselves by blackmail levied on vice and crime which for pay they protected instead of exposed. But, as a rule, party politics will enter into, and most powerfully influence, the question of municipal control. The inevitable general result must therefore be party govern-

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ment in the town and city, as in the State and nation. This means a continuance of the struggle for ascendency in all three of these fields, with the sharp incentive to both sides that municipal victories may be the ground of State, and so of national, success. Consequent upon that condition of affairs there have been, and will continue to be, organizations and work to strengthen each contending party in municipal elections, to muster its forces at the polls, and to impress upon all adherents the political value to the party of local triumph. That this is often unfortunate in many respects may be granted. But the situation out of which it all comes is an evolution of American civil and political life, and therefore destined to last until that is radically changed.

Great political parties derive their vitality most largely from differing convictions as to what is desirable or wise in public policy, and from the measureless power of political association. Other things combine with these to give them strength and permanence—such as inherited prejudices, pride in party name or history, and hopes of personal advantage by uniting with an organization locally powerful upon the one hand, or in control of national affairs on the other. Thus far in this country no great party has been destroyed, although in a few instances names have changed and doctrinal positions have been shifted. The origin of political parties with us was in the contest for the adoption of our national constitution. For a time, under the administrations of Washington, party division seemed to disappear. But this was more apparent than real. As is now familiar, Jefferson, while still in his cabinet, was secretly organizing opposition to, and also striving to undermine, the prevailing political influence of Washington. This was the beginning of post-constitutional partisanship. The "era of good feeling" during the presidency of Monroe was but an ebb in the tide of party feeling, soon succeeded by a flood of the bitterest party strife; and since the administration of his successor the country has been the theater of an irrepressible conflict for party ascendency—now no less strong and deep than in the generations past, though, we are happy to believe, upon a generally more elevated plane. One result of this has been the growth and perfection of political organization, until the great parties who are in perennial contest for

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power and place seem about as much under control of their recognized chiefs as equally great armies. With national organizations they also have State divisions of their forces, which again are divided into various smaller groups that run down to the size of common school districts, in country, city, and village. During a general political canvass all of these have local representatives who exercise a sort of supervision over them in party interest, at the same time keeping in constant communication with those of higher rank. Out of conditions such as these, it is easy to see, comes a wide training in political tactics, worked, of course, for party success. In every locality men give more or less time to this, become thereby acquainted with the modes of effectively organizing the party voters for successful political battle, and, as ability for the work is shown, and proficiency in it developed, graduate naturally into the professional politicians who become not only party leaders, but now and then arrogate to themselves the insufferable prerogatives of a "political boss." Some of these labor thus merely to advance party interests; others serve for pay, as so many hired men; while a more ambitious class work in hope of reward by official position. Every public officer, from the chief magistrate of a State, or even the nation, down, is expected to, and commonly does, aid by money or otherwise in securing party success. As showing this by a striking example, Mr. Cleveland's contribution of $10,000 to his party's campaign fund, when he ran the second time for the presidency, will readily be recalled. The door to public office is open to all electors, but only at the word of the party to which one belongs; hence the value of this organization to the man desirous of such honors and emoluments—the selfish motive to support, work for, and become influential in it. The circumstances and conditions thus rapidly sketched create the party leaders and give special training to a multitude in "practical politics." All this we regard not only as inevitable, but also entirely right and proper. The objectionable feature more or less connected with it is the action of some who attain to leadership, in assuming the *rôle* of "bosses" and in using the party organization for the personal benefit of themselves and a band of equally unscrupulous followers.

With these forces and tendencies continuing, we repeat the

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question, Can the abuses of "bossism" and "machine politics," as distinguished from legitimate leadership and party action for public good, be generally corrected? On the assumption of integrity and patriotism in the great body of electors this appears to us possible and practicable; but the remedy, as will be seen, is almost entirely with them. A step toward it, perhaps, is general, honestly administered civil service legislation in all our governments, municipal, State, and national. That, however, does not get at the root of the trouble, while so large a body of officials remain, as they of necessity will, elective by popular vote; it merely trims off some ugly branches from the tree of party corruption. The voters in all parties are shut up to a choice between two methods of deciding who shall be their candidates for public office. One is by means of the familiar convention plan; the other, by a general vote of the party electors. So far, the latter has been used only in comparatively small districts, as in nominating candidates for county and town offices, or a candidate for Congress. Probably it will ever be regarded as impracticable in selecting candidates for State offices, as obviously it is in nominations for the presidency. Hence for elective positions of the higher grades, in practice party nominations must continue to be by political conventions. And here it should be observed that, in the making up and "manipulation" of these bodies, the "machine" is worked with greatest effect, and the tyranny of the political "boss" most signally displayed.

A party convention is constituted by delegates from the territory to which its action relates. Thus, a State convention usually will have representatives from each county or district entitled to a member in the lower house of the State Legislature, based on a specified ratio of the party vote therein at the previous election. Congressional and other districts, as well as county conventions, are made up from their respective territories upon the same principle as that for the State. These, then, we must accept as the common agencies of political parties to select their candidates for the various offices in the gift of the electors by their action at the polls. The rank and file of the organization presenting them are expected to, and as a general proposition do, support their candidates thus nominated.

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Now, it is particularly to be noted that the delegates to all of the conventions named always can be elected by the party voters themselves, at what are called "primaries." These, according to a generally settled custom, are held in the voting precincts created for election purposes. Hence, if the electors of a party insist upon it, by the majority rule they may select the delegates to every convention of the organization held within a State. Consequently, outside of the "slum districts" in large towns or cities, if the voters will demand such a system, and will turn out in force at the election of delegates, as a rule they can beat the "bosses" in their party and put up as candidates the men who truly represent them in character as well as political principles. This is true even of the presidency. Except the small number termed senatorial delegates, usually appointed by the State conventions, representatives of a party in its national convention are selected by congressional districts in which, if the congressmen be nominated by popular vote of the party, the delegates can be selected in the same way. The grounds of remedy for the evils under consideration now begin to appear. Stated in its gist, simply, what we propose is that whether party candidates be nominated by direct vote of the electors of the organization or by conventions, the entire proceedings therefore shall be as strictly regulated by law, and as open to the public, as the election itself. For example, let the enactments against the use of money to influence elections apply also to party primaries and conventions. Then, in addition, as most vital to any real reform, let there be provision for a registration of all voters at a primary, whether for selecting delegates or the nomination of candidates, and that no elector of a party who fails to vote there, unless prevented by sickness or equally good cause, shall vote at the election. Follow this with a provision disfranchising for ten years any elector who twice within five years, without legal excuse, does not vote at the primaries; and that if the offense be once repeated he shall forever be disqualified for voting or holding office. Extend these regulations also to electors who are not members of any party, but failed twice in the period named, without legal cause, to vote. In our judgment no American citizen is worthy of the elective franchise who will thus refuse to exercise it.

With the voters of political organizations alone, as is clear

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to us, is the power to break up the "machines" and overthrow the party bosses; and the plan outlined, or some other which will compel electors of all classes to do their whole political duty, is apparently the only way in which that work can be accomplished. From the nature, power, and extent of party organization, the "independent vote" will not be adequate for the task. At times it may help to put a "boss" down, but more often than otherwise this will be by supporting another, or his representative, who is not materially better. The party machine, save in the most indirect way, this voter is powerless to touch, and so his action ordinarily will leave it in perfect working order.

The plain, obvious duty of the party elector is to be present at the "initiative" of political action, which, from the structure of political organizations, is the party primary. The absence of the masses of voters from that place is at once the delight of the "boss" and the opportunity of the "machine." But with the entire proceedings for selecting candidates so regulated by law as always to bring out the party strength at the primary, the demoralizing power of the one could be broken, the bad uses of the other prevented, and party organisms left to their proper work as the great governing agencies of a free people. All political abuses would not by this means be exorcised from our public life, for neither in religion, morals, nor law have we as a nation yet approximated perfection. Nevertheless, the standard of political decency and honor might be expected to rise near to that of the average voter, which is all we reasonably can hope for at any time.

Miram L. Sibley

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EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

INDIVIDUALISM and socialism are war cries of extremists. The truth lies between them. "Bear ye one another's burdens;" "Every man shall bear his own burden," are two inspired declarations in which each limits and interprets the other, and they reach into the very heart of all controversies between individualists and socialists. Each must do for himself and for all others. There is no society without an individual, and no individual without society. The two words present different aspects of one whole, actual and ideal. To reform the individual out of existence, or, what is the same thing, to deprive him of freedom, would deprive society of the service of the occult forces which lie in the human spirit and awake only at the call of freedom. To make the individual free of moral and social restraints and duties would leave society to perish in the jaws of human wolves. Debate over either system, a society without individual liberty or individual life unrestrained by society, is a waste of words, an ineffectual logomachy. The methods by which the individual shall come to highest effectiveness and largest usefulness, and society become most perfectly fitted to produce men and women of the noblest character, may well command investigation, discussion, and, in a sense, experiment also. We do well to set out in our thinking about the question of method with a clear recognition of the end in view. It is the welfare of individuals and of society, and not of either one alone at the expense of the other. "What is good for the hive is good for the bee," and *vice versâ*. To such thinking it will readily occur that socialism protests and seeks reform in the interest of the least fortunate classes of individuals. Its grievance is not that human society is this or that, but that the present order oppresses some persons, very numerous, indeed, but still individual persons; and on the other hand what defenders of the existing order wish to preserve is the entire and unmutilated individual in his largest efficiency as a servant of society. The controversy is based on a misunderstanding.

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OUR SCHOOLS OF THEOLOGY.

THE theological school has become an institution of Methodism, but its advantages are still imperfectly appreciated by our young ministers. The cost in money and in time deters many from embracing the opportunities opened to them by the schools; and yet those who do embrace these opportunities are, on the average, as poor and as advanced in years as are those who do not embrace them. The schools of theology afford two kinds of assistance to young ministers; one is knowledge, especially of the Scriptures; the other is training in the work of a minister and pastor. It is perhaps a misfortune that the instruments used by the schools are easily obtained by any young man, and he is easily led to hope that he can use these instruments effectively in private study. But this is no more true of theological tools than it is of instruments employed in academy and college.

We refer, of course, to the text-books. Any man can read and meditate upon Phelps's work on preaching; and any young preacher will profit by such study. But the book, good as it is, is only an outline of the science; and the filling in of these outlines by a trained teacher is like putting flesh on dry bones. No doubt there are gifted men who will master the art of making and delivering a sermon by the aid of a book, or even without any book; but this rare man is too rare to be considered in this field. He profits by all school privileges; but if he were not rare there would be no schools. Preaching is a special art, and to few men does it come by nature or even by grace. Many a man preaches well who might preach much better if he had a severe training for the work. It is a painful thing to feel that our medium man might have been in the front rank; that the tolerable and tolerated man might have been more than acceptable. There are too many preachers whose imperfections are precisely those which special training would have removed. The value of this special training carried forward through three years is too high to be estimated. It is a cruelty to leave any young preacher to believe that it is only an ornamental finish; it goes to the heart of his business as a minister of Jesus Christ.

If we turn our attention to the knowledge obtained in theological schools the case is still stronger in the existing conditions. Books on exegesis of Scripture are easily obtained; but it is hardly less than dangerous for a young preacher to handle such books without assistance. They are, when they have high value,

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so special and technical that sound personal teaching is absolutely essential to the man who studies them. Their general relations and the consequences of their conclusions, as well as the limits of their meaning, need to be set out clearly and elaborately. The entire matter of scriptural criticism, historical, literary, and textual, has been misunderstood and misrelated in the popular newspaper and the popular book. The actual value, drift, relations of any piece of criticism must be by most men appreciated under personal guidance and thorough technical knowledge carefully and systematically gathered up into orderly arrangement.

This suggestion is the more important because there is a higher and a lower criticism, both too often confounded with each other and misunderstood. We have come to a time when every preacher ought to know much of a branch of learning which did not exist in the days of Wesley. This learning has not changed the symbols of doctrine, but it has thrown a penetrating light into the Bible, and made useless lumber of much old criticism and commentary. This is not the place to enter into the details; our purpose is only to insist that our preachers should know exactly, systematically, as thoroughly as possible, the nature, substance, drift, and value of the recent criticisms. There is nothing subversive and revolutionary in these critical studies as a whole. They illuminate the best of books. They strengthen the sense of its value. They prepare the preacher to present biblical fact and truth with greater accuracy and therefore with more force.

We repeat that there is only one good place for such studies, and that place is the school of theology. Private study of new exegesis and criticism will mislead or bewilder the untrained man who ventures upon it. The alternative is appalling. We must confront the probability that the greater number of the young men entering our ministry will remain ignorant of the true meaning of contemporary additions to the science which explains the word of God. It will reach them, no doubt, in some form, but the precious fruit of scriptural study under the lights of learning will be practically denied to them. What they get by reading and summer schools will have small value, because they lack the serious and careful training of the theological school. When these studies are more advanced they may be put into popular form. At present and for some years to come biblical criticism must be technical, more or less tentative, in need of the atmosphere which the skilled instructor breathes around whatever he teaches.

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The logic of the situation is that a much larger proportion of young ministers ought to enter the schools of theology. Two things more necessary than they ever were before await them there—training for pulpit work and the modern training in exegesis. The first becomes more important because there is a tendency to drown the voice of the pulpit with a hundred new voices of pleasure or information or interest. Our early backwoods preachers had the woods to themselves except when occasionally the stump orator made his round. Now, the press, the lecturer, the club, the society, whose name is Legion, all attract the preacher's audience. The critical learning has its high value as a guide to the sermon-maker—not at all as something to preach—and as a protection against misconceptions about the nature and purpose of new criticism. It will help our young preacher to preach intelligently; if it did not help him it would at least save him from criticising critics whose names he barely knows, whose contributions to sacred things he cannot estimate. To illustrate: God's chemistry has not changed, but the teacher of chemistry who should use the text-books and apparatus of fifty years ago would make a sorry figure in a modern college.

FOUR YEARS AGO: A REMEMBRANCE.

The disposition which the Chinese manifest in ancestor worship to perpetuate the memory of their predecessors is not a sign of an ignoble spirit. In any place a man may occupy nothing is more suitable and seemly than a proper respect for those who were before him and a desire that their work be not forgotten or underrated. In every post of honor filled by honorable men one may be stimulated, chastened, warned, and encouraged by thinking of the varied line of marked individualities whom he is appointed to follow. What would be the effect if from the walls of every presidential, professorial, secretarial, or editorial office, and of every pastor's study, the pictures of all one's predecessors therein looked down upon him so that he did his work as in their presence? A certain man remembers that in eight years of pastorate at St. John's Church, Brooklyn, he was ever aware of Hunt and Foss and Payne and Andrews and Chapman and Warren and Peck: all over the wide parish as he traversed it by day and by night their bright footprints were visible to him; and on many a holy day in the pauses of his preaching their voices came back to him clearer than his own from the groined arches of the

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ceiling. One's predecessors may well seem to him an unseen jury in perpetual session sitting in judgment on his work. To prove oneself, if possible, by God's help, not unworthy to stand in line with such noble workmen cannot be an unholy ambition; to consider with humble spirit what criticisms they would be likely to make upon him may be no unprofitable meditation; and a wholesome thing it will be for him to bear in mind that to maintain the work upon the level where they kept it will tax his manhood to its last fiber and minutest atom and keep him calling mightily on God for help.

As the present editor of the *Review* passed out from the closing session of the Cleveland General Conference at one o'clock on Thursday, the twenty-eighth of May, there moved into his mind a vivid recollection of his predecessor, Dr. J. W. Mendenhall. That remembrance still lingers and prompts this editorial tribute.

On the twenty-sixth of May, four years ago, a pallid and trembling sufferer passed out of the General Conference at Omaha at its final adjournment, to find his grave in less than a month. Disease, which had been making inroads for a year on a never robust vitality, was now burrowing toward the brain. Though practically a dying man, he nerved himself to be in his seat to answer the roll call which closed the Conference, and wrote in bed at Omaha what proved his last lines for the *Review*, three notes on the work of the General Conference and an editorial for the July number. The sick man spent a little time to no avail in the pure air of Colorado Springs, and then the rapid progress and acute intensification of disease laid him on a hospital bed in Chicago to die. On the eighteenth of June the fire which had blazed in his brain burned out, and "ashes to ashes" was written in the pallor of the wan, white, wasted face of the dead editor.

On the pale forehead of Dr. Mendenhall, at the Omaha Conference, rested one crown, and above it in the near heavens waited another; passing honor received from men presaged the coming of the final approval of God. At the opening of the session he had received the exceptional, if not unprecedented, distinction of special commendation, for meritorious editorial service, in the quadrennial address of the bishops to the General Conference, which made mention of the *Review* in these words: "We cannot refrain from putting on record our high appreciation of the service it has done in rebuking and refuting the arrogant

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pretensions of rationalistic higher criticism." Naturally following this came his reelection to the editorship by a largely increased vote. These facts indicate what the Church thought of him; and we are not left in doubt as to his own state of mind in reference to his work. In his last editorial, on page 615 of the July *Review* of 1892, is a proclamation of victory which gives to his friends the assurance that he died with the satisfied feeling that his labor had not been in vain, and with the belief that he had, by his own personal leadership and onset, completely repelled from our Methodism a grave and imminent danger.

Dr. Mendenhall's editorship was so unique as to invite from us, sitting where he once sat, a brief review in this respectful and appreciative remembrance. We are told by his biographer, Dr. W. F. Whitlock, that in the beginnings of his ministerial life he had been embarrassed by the consciousness that his tastes and talents were those of a disputant rather than of a preacher; and undoubtedly one thing which made the possibility of an editorship seem attractive to him was that such a sphere would afford opportunity for the free play of militant proclivities. Immediately upon election he entered on his work with the spirit of a warrior, like Job's war-horse, snuffing the air with eager desire for battle. His opening words rang with the sound of challenge, and he stepped into the arena with a naked sword. In his salutatory he said: "The *Review* is not a relic of departed giants, but a scabbardless scimiter to be used in everyday encounter with agnosticism, Old Testament criticism, and all the cognate upheavals in the path of Christian culture and progress." "Its place is not the quiet hammock in the summer or the cell of the student in the winter, but always the arena of combat where intellectual charlatanry prevails, where the diplomacy of evil is in exercise, where the biblicist is threatened with a cannon ball, where truth is gashed by the archfiend of hell." The Christian scholar must "come forth clothed with a coat of mail, speaking the talismanic word, striking the Titanic blow, fearing nothing." "It is not a poetic fight before us; it is not the jeweled hand, but the imperious sword-thrust, with God directing, which will conquer. Negotiations with Dagon as to a compromising surrender are not in order; he must be decapitated, quartered, ground to powder." "New aggrandizements of error . . . menace the peace of Zion and threaten an invasion of the temples of God." "The hour is one of farseeing calculation, and bold, almost omniscient, questioning. Ours is an age of facts, an age of blushless liberties, an

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age of prophetic interrogations; moss is at a tremendous discount." "The next step must be futureward if the ultimatum of inquiry is to be proclaimed. Obstacles must be removed; the intellectual explorer must be shouted onward, and a path must be cut out that will lead to the house of the Lord in the tops of the mountains. Severing the umbilical cord that binds the modern mind to the so-called halcyon past, it is free to roam in the new fields around and beyond it."

It is impossible to mistake the tone and meaning of such inaugural utterances. They are the words of a man bent on conflict and adventure; he meant to fight or die, or both; and whatever knight of God rides forth in such temper, with such views of the emergency and such conceptions of his mission, will not be long in finding some foe whom he may immediately utilize as a sheath for his scabbardless scimiter, in pursuance of his Round Table vow "to break the heathen and uphold the Christ." Looking right and left and scouring the horizon for enemies of the faith, he was sure he saw an "incoming tide of unfaith and antisupernaturalism that threatened to sweep away the bulwarks of our holy religion." The destructive higher critics of Germany had allies and coadjutors in England and America, and he suspected Methodism to be in peril from their insidious and injurious theories. He soon declared with tongue and pen that Yale University, through the teachings of two of its professors, was the headquarters, depot of supplies, and dispensing bureau of rationalism in the United States; and, somewhat later, that Christian thought in English Methodism was on the road to materialism. Listening to the utterances of the British delegation at the Ecumenical Conference in Washington, he was "painfully impressed" that the Wesleyan Church "manifests a tendency in marked contrast with the orthodox solidity of American Methodism;" that it is "headed toward materialism and rationalism;" and that "a division of that body on heretical grounds" is not impossible. That Yale, and British Methodism also, repelled these charges with some indignation seemed not to modify his opinions, since it did not moderate his accusations. And at the end of his editorial quadremium, having kept up a steady fire of assault for three years, he announced to the readers of the *Review* that, looking back over the controversy, he could "see no reason to be dissatisfied with the result." He declared that, having raised the battle-flag and summoned the orthodox forces of the Church against rationalistic higher criticism, he had "resisted it with such rapidity and energy as to turn

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it back from the boundary lines of Methodism;" and then, as one at leisure from a finished fight, he extended "Methodist prayers and reinforcements" to other Churches "struggling on the edges of a Waterloo conflict." Dr. Mendenhall died, flushed with victory, feeling that he had routed formidable foes.

In the smoke and noise of his battle his own position was not at first quite clear; for some time the fact did not stand out that he himself was, in the measure of his scholarship, a higher critic. But later on he said of biblical criticism, "Taking it as it is, we do not pronounce against it." He approved of "rigid and critical investigation of the literary history of the books of the Bible." He expressed desire "to promote a scientific criticism to which all controversial questions might be submitted." He declared in favor of a criticism which should "analyze the solidity of beliefs," "test the validity of the most ancient traditions," "interrogate the facts of history," and continue investigation "so long as there is anything to investigate;" a criticism which should ascertain "how many of the psalms David wrote, under what conditions the prophets predicted the Messiah, whether Deuteronomy was written in the time of Josiah, whether Daniel wrote his own book, what changes happened to the Hebrew language during the exile, how the Old Testament was organized into a canon; whether the priority belongs to Mark's gospel, whether John wrote the fourth gospel and the Apocalypse, whether Paul wrote the pastoral epistles, and how the New Testament canon was established." He always carefully abstained from any definition of inspiration. He said that he did not dread "seeing the old venerable bridges swept away by the currents of biblical criticism, whenever they can be replaced by more serviceable and permanent constructions." He recognized that "evangelical higher criticism must be as progressive as the rationalistic," "asking the same questions, employing the same methods, using the same facts, and justifying its conclusions by a logic that will make for reverence and righteousness." (Quotation marks in this article indicate his own words.)

As to our theology and polity Dr. Mendenhall was not unprogressive. He did not "regard our theology as unimprovable," but encouraged "a progressive investigation of the reasonableness of its conclusions and the ground of its authority." He said, "The hour is near at hand when theological thought must reform and advance;" but under this general assertion of the necessity for reconstruction he did not specify. Several utterances of like

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tone, however, suggest a question whether, if he had lived to develop definitely what lay under such general statements, he might, in his second editorial quadrennium, have appeared as a disturber of some things now accepted. He did "not regard the Methodism of one hundred years ago as altogether adapted to the present age," and he did "regard certain portions of the Discipline as archaic" and advocated "expurgation from the next edition."

Four years' experience in this editorship made him acquainted with certain limitations, so that he wrote: "Owing to the environments of the office and the general policy of the Church respecting periodical literature, neither our ideal nor any other of the highest grade is possible of immediate attainment." He also wrote concerning the *Review*: "We frankly apprise the Church . . . that, as a periodical chiefly designed for the ministry, it has reached the normal limit of its circulation, and a larger subscription list should not be expected from publishers and editors." One conviction which is ours as well as his he expressed in these words: "The purpose to maintain 'theological rank' at the expense of variety and utility was the pillow on which this periodical almost peacefully slept out its existence; and by that history we are warned against conceding to theology a monopoly of our pages."

The last words of this memorial tribute to our predecessor are written on the anniversary of his death, four years thereafter.

THE TASKS OF METHODISM.

Like some banquet whose music is still and whose guests are departed, the General Conference of 1896 has quickly passed into history. The polity of the denomination is fixed for another quadrennium; and all unaccomplished legislation, with the adjournment of the sole law-making body of the Church, must for the present be postponed. Wise counsels have been given our burdened benevolent organizations, and lines of procedure mapped out which look to their financial relief and their wider efficiency. The general officers of the Church have been elected for another quadrennium, and have already entered with girded loins upon their appointed work. And with a stout heart Methodism turns its face toward the shadowy future.

But what is to follow the General Conference? It would be disloyalty to believe that Methodism is the semisecular, un-

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Christly, wickedly ambitious organization which some of the telegraphic reports of the late Conference proceedings suggest. It has suffered at the hands of its friends, in the honest yet awkward attempts of secular journalism to talk our nomenclature and portray our spirit. Its leaders are not unrighteous spoilsmen. The Church is not a school for the training of parliamentarians whose God-appointed mission on set occasions is to dazzle the simple multitudes with their erudition. Nor is it an institute for the drilling of orators who shall quadrennially declaim their sounding periods to the applauding galleries. The General Conference is but a passing agency to a majestic end. Methodism means obligation. Because of its holy origin, its pentecostal fires, its illustrious leaders, its magnificent doctrine, the world will not be content with ecclesiastical dilettanteism or puny performances on the part of John Wesley's children. No denomination of the times is under greater responsibility to men.

I. Methodism must maintain her first rank among the educational forces of the day. The school has hitherto been one of its chief aids to evangelization. Through the enlightenment of men's minds it has sought, for a full century, and has sought successfully, the renewal of men's hearts. The recent Episcopal Address—than which no document illustrating higher qualities of Christian statesmanship has for years been issued in pastoral counsel to any denomination of the Church of God—recognizes this fact in our organic history. "Among the greatest victories in the Methodist Episcopal Church," it affirms, "have been those achieved in the field of education. Insisting on a Gospel that teaches a loftiness of ideal for man which has elsewhere found no higher expressions, and intimately relating the attainment of those ideals to human endeavor, the Church was logically compelled to give every one of its members the best possible means of development. Hence it has founded schools by the hundred; . . . [and] no one of these schools has ever lived in vain."

And still the Church believes in education. Among the hopeful signs of the times are the growing influence of our central Board of Education; the effort for a higher standard, with power given the Board to sanction new institutions and grade those already established; the strong coherence of our educational work as a part of our world-wide Methodist autonomy; and the great number of our institutions—rivaling in this respect those of any other denomination—which are spread over America and through dark heathen lands like links in a continuous chain of

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light. The school and the university must remain enshrined in the deepest heart of Methodism. The fathers in their penury built Kingswood and Cokesbury; the children in their affluence must lift our present institutions to enumeration with Oxford and Cambridge and Harvard. One of the missions of Methodism in the new century is to be a schoolmaster to the world.

II. Methodism must have a voice in the adjustment of the social agitations of the day. Under the gathering storms which lower in the sky no leadership, we believe, is effective except that which originates in the Christian Church. It only is divinely judicial; it is too judicial to be moved from the lines of wise administration by the clamors of vociferous malcontents who shriek for a social readjustment; yet it is so kindly judicial that it will accord the poorest vagabond in the alleys his rights among men. And Methodism is a part of this judicial body. With its clarified vision, and its heart of love for the submerged masses who mutter their maledictions against existing institutions, the mission of its people is to assist in social reform. Recurring again to the Episcopal Address, one who reads at all cannot fail to mark its timely utterances on the great questions of the day. It is not a document discussing archaic doctrines, or a paper freighted with musty platitudes. The rights of ownership, the duties of Christian citizenship, the desirability of arbitration, and the relation of capital to labor, are some of the opportune subjects it skillfully presents. "Methodists in the mines, factories, shops, and on farms of the United States," it declares, "are a most effective agency for the nation's good." In this utterance, spoken from the standpoint of practical and keenly philosophical observers, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church voice the exceeding privilege of its membership. Mixing as fellow-workers with the masses that delve and build, our people must contribute by the wholesome influence of their Christian living to the perpetuation of the social harmony.

III. And Methodism most of all must walk in the van of the revivalistic forces of the day. It has been the greatest evangelistic movement in Christian history. It is not continued in the world to copy the æstheticism of other denominations. It must have revivals or perish. In holy consecration its corner stone was laid at the Christmas Conference of 1784. The illustrious fathers who made up that gathering—Asbury, Black, Coke, Dickins, Garrettson, Phœbus, Vasey, Ware, Watters, Whatcoat, and more—prayed as well as legislated. "During the session of the

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Conference," says one of our historians, "Dr. Coke preached at noon each day, except on the ordination days, and the Sundays, when the preaching hour was ten o'clock, and the service generally lasted four hours. There was a sermon by one of the preachers at six every morning. At six in the evening there was preaching at the 'Point,' at Otterbein's church, and in Lovely Lane."* It is a further fact of interest—to compare the General Conference of 1800 with those of more recent years—that a revival was in progress during the session of 1800. This revival had begun in Cecil Circuit, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, under the ministrations of Dr. Chandler, the preacher in charge, and thence extended to Baltimore. Of the great awakening which attended the General Conference our historian further says: "The members entered heartily into the work. The divine influence fell upon the congregations with overwhelming effect. Some would fall to the floor, others to their knees. At times the excitement threatened to break up the business of the Conference. It swept over the whole city, and many were saved."† In confirmation of this record Bishop Whatcoat writes in his journal: "We had a most blessed time, and much preaching, fervent prayers, and strong exhortations through the city, while the high praises of God resounded from street to street, and from house to house, which greatly alarmed the citizens. It was thought that not less than two hundred were converted during the sitting of our Conference."‡ Marvelous would seem the repetition of these scenes. Changed conditions lead the attention of our present General Conferences in other channels. Yet the preservation of the revival spirit of 1800, in the Conference and in the Church, is essential to our prosperity. Pure Methodism is a perpetual revival. Its pulpit must evangelize no less than teach. The sweetest sound it knows is the song of converts; the most alluring sight is the waving harvests of human souls. As of old, Methodism must have the indwelling and directing presence of its Lord. "That, and that alone," says the Episcopal Address, "makes common men able to turn the world upside down. That, and that alone, can make our Church anything more than one ordinary organization among a thousand others, one argument among a thousand opinions. That, and that alone, can make it a great agency of God for conquering this world for Christ." For such a Methodism the new century has need.

* *Centennial History of American Methodism*, by John Atkinson, D.D., p. 28.
† *Ibid.*, p. 470. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 473, 474.

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PURE RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION.

Of pure religion the thoroughly practical James adduces one example. It is "to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." Parallel passages show that the visitation is one of timely beneficence (Isa. i, 17), of effective liberality (Isa. lviii, 6, 7), and of sympathetic love (Matt. xxv, 36)—the visitation of one who keeps himself unspotted by the contagious moral evil that is in the world. It is only one example of multitudes. It proves that in God's estimation true religion is a life—a life that is right, does right, and in doing right brings the Father into saving contact with his suffering, sorrowful children. Religion is not synonymous with ritualism, sectarian creed, emulous debate, or captious talk. As the characteristic of a pure life it worships, diligently seeks the truth, teaches, is a "doer of the work;" but these activities, as commendable as they must be considered, are the functions of religion, rather than religion itself.

Pure religion is the true worship of God. It is not ceremonial, liturgy, dogma, or theory. All or any of these, if offered in place of religion, is hypocrisy and self-deceit (James i, 26). Saul of Tarsus, after the most straitest sect of the Jews' religion living a Pharisee, was not purely religious (Acts xxvi, 5). Religion is the altruistic, judicious outpouring of personal gifts and resources for the relief of the needy by those whose inner life is spiritual, whose principles are of divine authority, whose will is subordinated to the divine direction, and whose ways are Christly. Such religion is a part of ideal worship which men offer, and is as acceptable to Deity as that paid by the several orders of angels.

Religion, generally, "is the pivot upon which the whole drama of human history and human development turns." Religion, scripturally, lies in the knowledge—traditional, reasoned, direct—of God; in trust unfaltering, love unfeigned, consecration entire, and in the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit as it operates on the human heart. It is oneness in thought, feeling, purpose, and deed with Jesus of Nazareth, who in a spirit of matchless self-sacrifice forgot himself for others, and who "went about doing good."

The elements of pure religion and capacity for its exemplification are more or less the possession of every human being. Responsibility is measured by endowment. Men are naturally re-

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ligious. All worship, or tend to worship, the infinite and eternal Spirit, immanent in all things and transcending all things. The idea, formerly popular, that religion is a human invention, "sprung from the cunning deception of priests and kings," is exploded. The *dictum* of John Ruskin (delightful old railer), that "our national religion is the performance of Church ceremonies, and preaching of soporific truths (or untruths) to keep the mob quietly at work while we amuse ourselves," is one that will never be wholly accepted by his countrymen. Much more will men in protest reject the gratuitous notion that religion is "a madness, a pathological phenomenon closely allied with neurosis and hysteria."

All men, we repeat, are religious by nature. If any be not so in reality it is because external evils have wrought upon them with malignant, perverting force. That they are religious, normally, appears from the fact that in all ages and countries men build houses of worship, and offer praise, prayer, and sacrifice to God, or to some more or less distorted representation of the Omnipotent. It is also clear in the light of carefully thought-out definitions of religion by sages of many climes and schools. Benjamin Kidd summarizes some of them as follows: Religion according to Seneca is "to know God and imitate him;" according to Kant, "religion consists in our recognizing all our duties as divine commands." "Religion is morality touched by emotion" (Matthew Arnold); "the worship of humanity" (Comte); "the religious sentiment is constituted by the tender emotion, together with fear, and the sentiment of the sublime" (Alexander Bain). "A man's religion," says Edward Caird, "is the expression of his ultimate attitude to the universe, the summed-up meaning and purport of his whole consciousness of things." Better is the definition of Huxley, that it is "reverence and love for the ethical ideal, and the desire to realize that ideal in life;" of Mill, that "the essence of religion is the strong and earnest direction of the emotions and desires toward an ideal object, recognized as of the highest excellence, and as rightly paramount over all selfish objects of desire;" of Carlyle, that religion is "the thing a man does practically believe; the thing a man does practically lay to heart, and know for certain, concerning his vital relations to this mysterious universe, and his duty and destiny therein;" of Martineau, that "religion is a belief in an everlasting God; that is, a divine mind and will, ruling the universe, and holding moral relations with mankind." Such propositions as these, on the part of

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some of the great thinkers of the world, serve to make clear the nature of religion itself.

All these definitions are the conclusions of disciplined reason. However imperfect they may be in comparison with one drawn from biblical data, they all recognize the absolute need of moral unity with God. So does that of Dr. Henry Maudsley, the eminent mental physiologist, who says: "It is most necessary to bear in mind that forms and ceremonies, stereotyped propositions, articles of faith, and dogmas of theology [although dignified by the name of religions] do not constitute the essence of religion, but its vesture; and that, apart from all such forms and modes of interpretation, it responds to an eternal need of human sentiment. For it is inspired by the moral sentiments of humanity, and rests on the deep foundations of sacrifice of self, devotion to the kind, the heroism of duty, pity for the poor and suffering, and faith in the triumph of good. It appeals to and is the outcome of the heart, not of the understanding. [It is the outcome of heart and mind.] It is the deep fusing feeling of human solidarity, in whatever doctrines and ceremonies it may be organized for the time, that is religion in its truest sense; for it is in the social organism what the heart is in the bodily organism, and, when it ceases to beat in conscience, death and corruption ensue." Has the erudite scientist studied Isaiah, the Christ, Paul, and James in order to reach these conclusions; or has he been led to them by a purely naturalistic route? In either case they are true. Professor Deussen goes further in affirming that "we may denote faith as that which has, as its inevitable result, morality." He is right. True faith is necessarily religious, and true religion is necessarily moral. Morality is to religion, when the comparison is instituted, what the conscious deeds of a man are to the man himself. Religion is the essence, morality the manifestation of the essence. "As [a man] thinketh in his heart, so is he."

Between religious profession and normal proof of its sincerity there is too frequent and glaring discrepancy. Many still say "Lord! Lord!" and do not the things he commands. Argus-eyed newspapers emphasize and invoke public attention to the contradiction. From comparatively few particulars many respectable men infer sweeping general laws. They infer that professors of the religion of Christ, or most of them, are hypocrites. Yet if they are invited to canvass the character of their religious acquaintances they will admit that the majority are

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more or less trustworthy, and that many are justly entitled to the fullest confidence. In the absence of any such comparison they are very likely to say, and do often affirm—and that, too, in negligent disregard of facts—that the most truthful, honest, and just members of commercial and professional society are not religious men. Among others, military officers—truly honorable men as measured by their own standard—will distinguish individuals, and say of each, "He is not a religious man"—meaning that he is not a member of any Church. He is contrasted with some bank defalcator or dishonest merchant who is, or has been, a Church member; and the unvoiced inference is that Church members, as a rule, by the very fact of their public profession, are fit subjects of suspicion among their fellow-men, if not of positive dislike—an inference that collated facts will not justify but repudiate.

"He is not a religious man!" With the foregoing judgments of Christians and non-Christians in mind will it be averred that he has no sense of dependence upon, or obligation to, or conformity with, the Almighty; that he has no love for others, no pity on the wretched, no sympathetic beneficence to the needy? "No, not for a moment. That is not what is meant. He has all these characteristics." Then he is a religious man. "Yes, in that sense, but he is not a member of any Church." Then why not say what is really meant? He is something like the fig tree—green, lush, promising, enjoying every advantage—that the Saviour cursed because it did not bear fruit, because it was not a perfect fig tree. It was not obnoxious because of what it was, but because of what it was not. Like it, "he is not a religious man," but a case of arrested development, a death-in-life abnormality, a practical abortion. As such he merits praise for the good that is in him, dispraise for the good that is not in him. He needs evolution into the ideal man, an evolution within his own power. He needs to think out to logical issues. Then reason, intuition, and experience, under the ever-present grace of the Holy Spirit, would generate faith; and faith would enkindle love; and love would humbly delight in grave yet joyous profession before many witnesses; and profession would be justified by works; and works at last would bring upon the worker, at the end of his brief day of toil, the highest of all encomiums, "Well done, good and faithful servant!" In the loftiest and deepest sense men would say of him, "He is a purely religious man."

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THE ARENA.

THE VALUE OF LAND.

My critic on page 467 of the May-June *Review* seems to suppose that in the *Industrial Utopia* I rest the case for private ownership of land upon the theory that land has no value except what has been put into it by labor. He seems to accept the theory, objecting only to the inference that the owner of land has a good moral title to the land as the proprietor—through wages, say, of the labor. I do not rest the case here. I lay much stress on the facts that land, like a baby, needs care; that each crop takes away something which some one must have a motive to restore; and that as a rule only private owners raise land to a high state of culture and keep it there. In short, I oppose practical considerations to theoretical dialectics. I may suggest, however, that the theory which assumes that society imparts all the value to land—a farmer's market making his farm valuable—proves too much if it be taken to destroy the rights of the farmer; for the same kind of an application may be made to wages or to any other earnings. Then there is the capital which is put upon land—labor expended to make it productive—and the serious doubt that the value of land exceeds this capital. And this matter-of-fact question cannot be disposed of by theoretical dialectics. D. H. Wheeler.

"IS DR. WHEELER RIGHT?"

In the May-June number of the *Review* J. L. Vallow takes exception to Dr. Wheeler's approval of the theory that land has no value except what has been put into it by labor. His objection is not so much to the theory—which he virtually accepts—as to its one-sidedness. His notion is that "land and labor depend each upon the other for its value." There appears to be considerable confusion in the writer's mind as to the relationship implied. It is not quite mutual. Labor is energy put forth by a personal agent. Land has no such energy or personal agency in it, nor behind it. The application of labor to land is optional with the laborer. The cooperation of land with labor is not optional with the former; it cannot help itself. It is true that the energy which we call labor will not be put forth except there be some material to which it may be applied. But this is not more true as to land than to leather, or cloth, or any other material on which men work. Why not then assume that governmental ownership should extend to all material to which labor is applicable, as the writer thinks it should be to land?

In addition to his confusion concerning materials, energies, and agents, the objector has fallen into another about wages, rent, and profits. No scientific economist treats the last as embracing the others. Wages are compensation for labor, and this in its widest sense includes all kinds of

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effort, mental as well as manual. Rent is the compensation for the use of land, and, of course, cannot exist unless the land has some value, which value, as is virtually admitted, must be conferred on it by some kind of labor. Profits, though sometimes erroneously used in the sense of compensation for the use of capital (that is, interest) and of management, are in the strict and proper sense a compensation for risk incurred. A large part of the productive work of the world cannot be carried on unless some risk is assumed. Herein is a liability to loss as well as gain. Sometimes the gains are very great; so sometimes are the losses. It is not certain which on the whole are the greatest; but that industrial enterprises involving great uncertainties are of incalculable benefit to workingmen there can be no question.

Our critic is culpable of something worse than confusion—though this also is involved—in his further discussion. He says, "Labor (brain and brawn) is the gift of God (nature) to the individual," and "land is the gift of God (nature) to the race." "Wages, the profit of labor by virtue of its association with land, should accrue to the individual. See Luke x, 7. Rent, the profit of land by virtue of its association with labor, should accrue to the race. See Eccles. v, 9." There is no contention as to the statement that "the laborer is worthy of his hire." But the assumption that either God or nature has given the land to the race is a pure gratuity. It seems to be a theory that suits his purpose; therefore he adopts it. He offers no scrap of proof. It can hardly be said to be self-evident, since all but a small minority of men are unable to believe it. Nature gives no testimony on the subject. The critic cites as Scripture authority a single rhetorical expression in Ecclesiastes. There are several other rhetorical statements in the same book from which he might just as easily prove that there is no future life, or that all things come by chance. The Bible does not give any instruction on the question of land tenure, but, so far as it has any reference to the subject, it recognizes the ownership of land by individuals.*

Mr. George's theory is that the proper rent of all land should go to the community in the form of taxes. But this he teaches should be reckoned on the bare value of the land aside from its improvement. Now, if there were no value in the land prior to that which is effected by labor either on the land or in some relation to it, there would be no rent at all. This may be illustrated by a great number of concrete cases. Here are two parcels of land of the same quality and situation, occupied respectively by two men. At the end of twenty years one of these parcels has been transformed, by the labor, intelligence, enterprise, and energy of its occupant, into a bountifully productive farm. It is fenced, drained, tilled, fertilized, and subdued in every part, and has a value of fifty dollars an acre. That of the other man, through ignorance, indolence, and general shiftlessness, is little better than waste land, and the owner is fain to run away and leave it, and no man will give any price for it. Yet the value

* See Old Testament regulation of landed possession in the Israelitish commonwealth, and in the New Testament, Acts v, 4.

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of the bare land, aside from improvements, is just as great in the latter case as in the former. How would Mr. George's theory work in such an instance?

GEORGE M. STEELE.

Auburndale, Mass.

AN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION.

IN the "Arena" department of the November-December *Review* there is a short article, entitled "Of What Use is It?" I need not ask excuse for saying that I am astonished such a question should be propounded, and that I am even more astonished at the answer given in the article.

As a prelude to the reply I propose to give I will say that, some fifty years ago, I read the work of an English scholar and divine who stated in effect that the Bible was even more the illiterate and poor man's book than it was that of the learned and the rich, for the latter had to come down from their conceited attitude to the place where the former stood, to be prepared duly to appreciate and understand it. He gave the following illustration: "See the poor man sitting in his cottage door with the Bible open before him, with his wife and their boys and girls around him, telling them how great is the Almighty, and how precious is Jesus." From years of observation I am convinced that, as important as scholarship is, the chief difficulties in Scripture interpretation have arisen among our men of learning, many of whom, it may not be harsh to say, have assumed to be "wise above what is written," often repudiating or perverting the word of God and "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

Now, if the question under consideration be proper, may not similar ones for the same reason be asked with reference to other books or portions both of the Old Testament Scriptures and the New? My astonishment arises from the fact that ever since my childhood—over sixty years ago—the Song of Solomon has been in our family and Church Bibles. And I am not mistaken, am I, when I suppose it was in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, which the Jews held sacred, and from which the Saviour quoted? Furthermore, I heard from the pulpit in my boyhood certain quotations made by the preachers of those days that I have ever cherished in my memory. For instance, "I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys;" "My beloved is . . . the chiefest among ten thousand;" and the question asked the watchmen, "Saw ye him whom my soul loveth?" In the sixth chapter of the Song there is also the following verse: "Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?" Where will one find a more exquisite and perfect overflow of figurative thought, or a combination more radiant and sublime? A proper analysis and exegesis of this passage would, I think, reflect light upon the whole Song, sufficient to vindicate its excellence and keep it in the oracles of God.

Again, the subject has called up a reminiscence of my early ministry, over forty years ago. A Hebrew Christian and missionary visited a Presbyterian clergyman in the town where I lived. He was an educated man. I invited him to preach at one of my country appointments, which

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he did. In our conversation reference was made to the Song of Solomon. He said it was held in high esteem by the Jews, as referring to the Messiah; and that it was valued highly by Christian Jews as a metaphorical treatise of Christ and his Church. He also thought it less appreciated by many Christians than it should be, because of its oriental style.

I am aware of some of the beliefs of various critical readers and writers about Solomon's Song, as well as about Genesis and Job and other portions of the Bible. Even our great Dr. Adam Clarke, whose Commentary I read in my youth, discounted the Song of Solomon by speaking of it as a kind of romance or love story. Now I think I am right in saying —and charity softens the expression—that some good and knowing men have their mental and moral aberrations as well as the novices in error and sages in skeptical lore.

I am quite sure that the September-October writer on "the Song of Songs" is as free from "nonsense" as are his critics. Job's head was more level—with a blistered body—than were those of his three generous and boastful friends. I have always seen the use of some things I did not understand, and have often found out the worth of some things that I was tempted to think useless. I am of the opinion that a higher value will be given to the Song of Solomon when Bible readers reach a higher grade of "spiritual understanding." For it would seem that in all ages some things have been hidden "from the wise and prudent" that have been "revealed unto babes." In concluding my answer—through reverence for the "precious Bible," and in brotherly kindness and candor —I would advise the author of the question to reconstruct his article, with a recantation of its hostile bearing to the Song of Solomon.

Stockton, Md. B. F. Price.

THE CARBON COMPOUND.

In the March-April number of the *Review* H. H. Moore is good enough to refer to a brief note of mine on the relation of chemistry to the doctrine that what we call life is the natural resultant of organic molecular complexity. He is not sure as to the ground occupied by myself with regard to the distinction between organic and inorganic matter. I am sure there is no reason for regret, if any indistinctness in the article mentioned has led Dr. Moore so clearly to point out the essential sameness of these modes of matter. But he writes as one more in touch with philosophy than with science; for, while matter may be one in the thought of the philosopher, it is wonderfully diverse to the observations of the scientist; and it is to the scientist, more specifically to the chemist, that the question of the material origin of life must be referred.

It clearly resolves itself into a question of fact, whether the elements known to the chemist are capable under any conditions of evolving life. To speak of "living matter" is of course to beg the question, unless we use the phrase as a convenience to denote the lowest forms of apparently unorganized living bodies which lie as the basis of organized life. So also to speak of organic matter as though within it are latent probabili-

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ties of life is an assumption with little to commend it. Nevertheless, organic differs from inorganic matter in several ways: (1) Organic compounds exist in great number and reach out to extreme complexity of structure; inorganic bodies are comparatively few and simple in structure. (2) Organic chemistry is often called the "chemistry of the carbon compounds," because carbon is an essential element in an organic body. (3) And, further, organic bodies are very largely the product of living organisms, vegetal and animal. The building up of urea, however, by Wöhler was the first of an increasing series of masterly synthetic experiments which gave color to the belief that in the laboratory some day living matter would be produced from nonliving compounds. This hope has not been realized, the fact being that all chemical processes of which we know begin and end in the domain of physico-chemistry.

I wrote without reference to any underlying philosophy; but not so Dr. Moore. The second paragraph of his note contains at least three assumptions: First, that in the beginning God gave existence to a vital as well as to a material world; second, that life is a substance; third, that there are myriad kinds or forms of life-substance. This is, in my opinion, a most unwieldy, unnecessary theory. It is not more probable than alchemy or astrology.

I hope I have mistaken Dr. Moore. But does not the theory demand the preexistence and continued immortality, after a brief physical embodiment, of all the myriad forms of human, *animal*, and *vegetable* life?

The preexistence and unconditional immortality of the "harmless and necessary cat" is, notwithstanding the wisest of men, something new under the sun.

WM. HEAP BUTLER.

Hull, Mass.

DR. McCREARY ON SOCIOLOGY.

To Dr. McCreary's "Study in Sociology," published in the November-December number of the *Review*, I would give my sincere approval. Permit me to add, however, the following comments:

1. It seems to me that the writer quite mistakes the genius of the "historical sociology." It is quite true that Spencer, Huxley, and many of their school forecast a dismal future for society, but not, it would seem, for the reason Dr. McCreary supposes. While they see in the history of society an alternation of advances and retrocessions, this is not why they expect the present period of advancement to come to a gloomy ending; past experience has been that each social declension has not usually sunken so low as preceding declines, while each successive advancement has usually gone higher than the one before. Therefore these pessimistic conclusions have been barred on very different grounds, namely, that this alternation must soon cease, owing to the formation of a fixed and uniform type of character due to the anticipated predominance of socialism. Their pessimism comes not by inference from historical precedent, but rather as a foreboding that historical precedent is shortly to be abandoned. Therefore pessimism is no essential feature of the historical

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method. And all evolutionary sociologists are by no means prophets of woe—as witness John Fiske in his *Destiny of Man*, Benjamin Kidd in his *Social Evolution*, and Professor Le Conte in his address on "The Effect of the Theory of Evolution on Education."

2. I can hardly think Dr. McCreary means to proscribe "theoretical sociology" as either worthless or insignificant. Its indispensable value is apparent when we simply consider that (fortunate blunders excepted) every actual advancement realized by society has first existed as a theory in the mind or minds of somebody.

3. Nor is the following an entirely happy characterization of Christian sociology: "The cardinal doctrine of Christian sociology is that the reformation of society and the perfection of the social order can only be effected by the moral regeneration of the individual." This may or may not be true. If it means simply that there can be no real social reform that does not make individual men and women happier and better, the statement is obviously true and amounts to little more than saying that social reform must be social and reformatory. But, if the proposition means that the moral regeneration of society is to be promoted solely by direct efforts for the personal conversion of individuals, it misses the mark entirely. Dr. McCreary correctly states that the motto of Christian sociology is, "Make the tree good, and the fruit will be good also." That is to say, the social problem is ultimately a problem of character, not of environment. But this is far from warranting the conclusion at which he seems to hint, that character is not immediately and largely a problem of environment. How shall the tree be made good? By direct attention to the character of the tree itself? Yes, in part; but all this will be in vain if I do not give attention to certain matters of environment—as water supply, fertility of the soil, obstructions of sunlight, etc. I know a young man of weak will and unhappy surroundings who is a slave to the liquor habit. How shall this tree be made good? By giving him well-nigh constant attention his Christian faith and purpose can be kept strong, but while I am doing this my time and effort are withheld from many others; while I work to save this tree the rest of the orchard may be ruined. If I could remove the environment of saloons and other enticements to drink, the problem would be solved indirectly; the noxious stream that flows through my orchard once turned aside, my attention will be partly released from the one tree, giving all the orchard a better chance for character and fruitage.

Indeed, there scarcely seems to be a hard-and-fast line to be drawn between these several schools of sociology. The divergence in their methods is rather a difference of accents than a difference of essence. The criticism to be made of any one of them is not to be directed so much against their contents as their omissions. The true sociology should be sufficiently comprehensive to seek a right reading of historic experience, to justly appreciate the indispensable service of theory, and to seek sustaining vitality in the spiritual life of Christianity.

River Falls, Wis. W. M. Balch.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE MINISTER'S IDEALS.

EVERYONE has his ideals, whether consciously or unconsciously. He may not always be thinking of them, but they constitute, nevertheless, a power over his life, and mold both his thinking and his acting. This is one of the commonplaces of all teaching addressed to the young. The danger, however, arises out of a false selection of ideals. There is no sphere in which this danger is more likely to do injury than in that of the Christian ministry. The ideals here entertained are largely conspicuous and well-known individuals, and one can often explain a minister's methods and style by a knowledge of those for whom he is known to have a high admiration.

Who, then, are some of the ideals which the young minister should choose? He should not choose any man for his ideal merely because he has become popular. There is a distinction always to be observed between popularity and usefulness. Some preachers, who are followed by crowds of admiring hearers, leave only a passing impression, and die without achieving any valuable service to the cause of Christ. Popularity is often the result of a temporizing expediency, which notes the conditions of popular thought and caters to them. It is sometimes also the result of boldness of attack and recklessness of statement which attracts the attention and wins the admiration of the thoughtless. For the time being he carries them away by denunciation, and repeats it whenever possible, to the admiration of the unthinking crowd. It is sometimes the result of mere rhetorical power, and of popular eloquence, which are always winning, and which should not be despised by anyone who proposes to achieve the best results. True, it is not to be forgotten that there is a genuine popularity growing out of noble achievements which have been grandly performed. Yet it is not against this that we are contending; but it is against following in an over-reverential way those whose claims for distinction are secured by an effort to acquire popular applause through other than genuine methods.

A young minister will mistake if he only selects his ideals from persons who have attained high position in the service of the Church. He is apt to think that those who have secured office or posts of honor outside of the pastorate are the proper ideals whom he should imitate. There is a measure of reasonableness in this, but it is specially dangerous for a young minister to assume that position is necessarily a proof of high achievements in the service of Christ. In all great organizations, the Church included, men sometimes reach positions by other than Christian methods. High position in the Church should be a badge of honorable achievement and of high ability, but there are exceptions enough to this law to make it exceedingly dangerous to follow another as a model merely

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because he has accomplished that which in worldly language is called success. The minister's work is so peculiar in its nature, and his achievements in spiritual labor are so different from what the world is accustomed to consider as success, that his ideals must be chosen from a different standpoint.

The minister's best ideal is, therefore, to be found in those who have achieved that kind of success to which his own life is consecrated; namely, success as preachers and pastors of the churches. The Church has no office which is higher in real dignity than the pastorate. To say of a man that he is a great pastor and a great preacher is the highest compliment which can be paid him as a minister of the Gospel. Nor must we forget that ideals for the ministry may also be found among laymen. There are those in our churches who have never received ministerial orders whose life and conduct, and whose devotion to Christ, constitute studies for those who preach the Gospel. The laymen are often models of piety and models of devotion to the Church, and in this regard are often fit ensamples for the ministry who stand in the pulpit and preach to them the word of life on Sunday.

We purpose to consider some of those who may be reckoned as ideals for ministers to follow. It is always to be assumed that the ideal preacher is the Master himself. Whether as preacher or as teacher, he stands supreme, and all other lives and all other teachers who would be perfect must conform to his standard. His standard, however, is so high that none have been found, as yet, who have attained to it; and we are compelled, therefore, to study those who are nearer to ourselves, and who are models toward which we may not only look, but whose standards we may absolutely reach. The first ideal preacher whom we would present for the consideration of our readers is the great apostle to the Gentiles, Paul himself. His characteristics, which constitute him a model for the preacher of to-day, we hope to consider in another number.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE CHURCH TO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

When we distinguish, as it is necessary to do in accurate definition, between education and information the educational problems of our time show themselves to be exceedingly complex and difficult. Education, that is, the training of our intellectual powers, is the same as ever. It requires the same methods and the same amount of time spent in its accomplishment as it did centuries ago. The child of to-day who starts to secure an education is not brighter intellectually, and has no more mental capacity, than the Greek or Roman child before the Christian era. We imagine that the fathers and mothers in those ancient times were as proud of the abilities and proficiency of their sons or daughters as the fathers and mothers of 1896 will be when their children shall graduate at the approaching commencements. Few will question that for mental grip and logical power Aristotle was fully the equal of John Stuart Mill or Bishop Butler. And comparisons might be multiplied, showing that the natural

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capacities of to-day are not superior to those of centuries ago. The educating forces also are the same, and do not change with the varying decisions of the popular majority.

But information is a very different thing. The advances in knowledge have been marvelous within recent times. The Baconic method of investigation is modern. All the great sciences have sprung into maturity within the century which is soon to close, and the accumulated historic researches of recent years fill the shelves of our great libraries. Of these great advances we are the recipients, and in consequence of this the student of to-day starts with a far greater task before him than the student of the palmiest days of Greece and Rome. The Greek student had comparatively little information to acquire, for progress was in its infancy; but the modern scholar within a few years of school life is expected to intermeddle with all knowledge, and to begin his career by mastering the results of twenty centuries of investigation.

The problem of education is further embarrassed by the multifarious views which are held on that subject by various conflicting schools of thought. One argues for a course of study which shall be chiefly ancient, another for a training which shall be entirely modern. One would lay great stress upon the classics as an educating force; another affirms that the modern languages will just as surely accomplish the desired results. Science and philosophy, mathematics and history often stand at the door of the student; and each says to him, "Follow me if you would enter the portals of high scholarship and of worldly success." Thus he is drawn in different ways, and is liable to be bewildered.

But the question which affects us at this time more particularly is the relation of the Church to education. Can she pass it by at pleasure, or must she look upon it as a necessary element in her progress, and fundamentally related to the salvation of the world? We observe, first, that the Church is obligated to supply to her own people and to all who desire the benefit the highest educational facilities possible. There is a sense in which all her work is educating. The preacher is a great educator; the meetings of the Church are places of training, often directly, but chiefly indirectly. All religious thinkers who make known their thought to others are educators. The writer of a great Christian book is a great contributor to the world's education, for the study of one book has often changed and molded a human life. But when we mention education we mean a systematic course of study in the schools, begun at a proper period of life and carried forward under competent instructors until its completion. No one questions the possibility, and in individual cases the success, of self-education, or private education, or training by general courses of lectures; but this is not the education of which we are speaking. We refer to education in classes in the midst of educational influences, libraries, and all those appliances gathered in schools at vast expense which cannot be found elsewhere. We mean first the academy, with its elementary drill. This is the starting point, and in some respects the most important of all our institutions. Scholarship can no more be secured without careful

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preparatory drill than a house can be built without a suitable foundation. The next step is the college. If the preparatory school has done its work well, the college course opens before the student the various lines of thought with which it has to do. Here are found classics and mathematics, the sciences and the modern languages, philosophy and metaphysics, indeed everything that can develop and strengthen the intellectual and moral faculties. Its doors open into every realm of knowledge. The next step is the professional school, where the student devotes himself to such studies as bear more particularly on his lifework. There he is taught the history and progress of the profession he has chosen, the difficulties he has to meet, the methods to be pursued, and the special information that he needs for his daily work. All are set before him by those who are supposed to be competent to give instruction at this point in his life. He has become a specialist, bringing all the accumulations of the past, and the resources and opportunities of the present, to bear upon his lifework.

And now the question is whether the Church has any obligations to these institutions. It is now conceded that she has obligations to education in general, but not to a specific form. Objectors will say that her relation to the college and the academy are proper, but will probably deny that she should have anything to do with the professional school. They will demand to know what relation a law school or a medical school has to the Church. Now, of course, no one supposes that Methodists or other organized denominations have any particular civil laws under which they live, or by which they are to defend the property of others. It is not conceivable that Christian physicians have any peculiar medicines which they give or take. It is agreed, however, that a Church has theological views which it desires to have perpetuated, and schools of theology are therefore important in order to the most successful teaching and transmission of these doctrines. But we go further than this. What we claim is that the Church should open up, under her own auspices, opportunities for all professions and for all studies. This may appear to some unnecessary, but we urge it as important, because we believe her impress should be upon the professional world and the commercial world; and this cannot be, if during their educational period candidates for the legal or medical profession are beyond her control.

THE REVISED TEXT IN 1 TIM. iii, 16.

THE changes in the text of the New Testament adopted in the revised translation have caused serious embarrassment to many readers of the word of God. They have failed to remember that these text changes were merely the approach to the original autographs of the sacred writers, and, so far as this is the case, they represent the truth and not the mere speculations of critics. For a long period New Testament scholars were dependent on more recent manuscripts, but the discoveries in this department have led to a better knowledge of the original manuscripts of the Scriptures, and consequently to their more accurate presentation in the

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revised translation. Some of the changes caused by the study of the original text have appeared arbitrary and, at first view, seem to obscure rather than illuminate the meaning of the passage. Hence, many have rejected the new as absurd, and have regarded the change as a serious defect in the translation.

Such is the passage in 1 Tim. iii, 16: "Great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh," etc. The Revised Version reads, "Great is the mystery of godliness; He who was manifested in the flesh," etc. This change seems very remarkable, and grows out of the presence or absence of a small line or mark in the Greek letter. With a slight variation the word "who" and the abbreviated form of the word "God" in Greek are alike, and it has been a question in which generations of scholars have been interested whether the clause should read "who was manifested" or "God was manifest." The revisers followed the most ancient manuscripts and rendered the passage "He who."

A careful study of the passage will show us that the revised translation is a better rendering of the passage than the St. James Version. First, the revised translation does not do away with the divinity of Christ, for He who was manifest in the flesh could be none other than God. One who was manifest must have been before he was manifest, and this we affirm of God; consequently the divinity of our Lord is more authoritatively affirmed in the new rendering than it was in the old. It seems fair to assume that the word "God" was not inserted here, as some have claimed, for dogmatic reasons. Second, to say that God was manifest in the flesh would not suit the following clauses in the passage. We could not well say, "God was manifest in the flesh, God was justified in the spirit, God was seen of angels, God was preached unto the Gentiles, God was believed on in the world, God was received up into glory." Whereas, speaking of Christ as the incarnate Son of God, we can say, "He who was manifested in the flesh," etc. Again, the revised rendering brings out with great clearness a truth elsewhere taught in the New Testament, namely, that the essence of godliness, according to the New Testament teaching, is the person of Jesus Christ. It is a person who is manifest. Our religion, then, contains the element of personality. It is not a mere doctrine, not a mere creed; but if we were asked what our religion is we would say our religion is centered in the person of Jesus Christ. He is its Alpha and Omega, its beginning and its end, its first and last.

We have, therefore, in this passage a specimen of many other passages which have been severely criticised because of changes in the text; but, as they have been studied more and more, it has been found that the nearer we approach to the original autographs of the sacred writers the choicer will be the meaning and the more precious the thought. The advances in this department of criticism are not to be discarded because at first view the results seem to be obscure, but are to be studied with constant reference to the fact that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God."

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ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

HAUPT'S POLYCHROME OLD TESTAMENT.

In our last issue we called attention to the many errors which have crept into the Hebrew text of the Old Testament—errors which puzzle and perplex all those who read the Bible critically. We also referred to Professor Haupt's new edition of the Hebrew Scriptures, which "aims at presenting as clearly as possible, by an entirely new process designed by the learned Baltimore professor, the results of the higher and lower criticism."

Professor Haupt's work is printed in colors, so as to show at a glance the exact portions of any book belonging to the various editions. Of the parts already published we might mention that Leviticus is printed in three colors. The main part, or "priestly code," is in black letter on white background—a fact which is true of the main part of every book; then the "law of holiness" (chapters xvii–xxvii) is given in yellow, while the later additions are printed in brown. The Books of Samuel are printed in eight colors, to show that there were as many elements used in their composition, or seven original documents cleverly put together by a later editor. Inasmuch as many great biblical critics are almost color-blind, this polychromatic edition of the Books of Samuel may yet prove a fertile source of discussion, especially if some of these great men have to read through colored glasses. The Book of Job, though the first part published, will be marked number seventeen when the entire work of twenty parts is completed. It is from the pen of Professor Siegfried, of Jena. Like every other book in the Old Testament, Job also, we are assured, is composite in its nature. The colors, here again, help the reader without any effort whatever to analyze the grand old poem, and to see at one glance the exact portions belonging to the several writers, as well as the number and age of the interpolations. About two thirds of Job is given in black letter on a white background; this represents the original poem, pure and unadulterated, just as it came from the lips of its great author. According to Professor Siegfried—though, so far as we know, no other critic on earth agrees with him in every particular—the following is the exact order: Chapters **1–12**; **13**, 1–27; **14**, 4. 3. 6. 18. 15–17. 1–2; **13**, 28; **14**, 5. 7–12. 14. 18–22; **15–19**; **20**, 1–15a. 23a. 15b–29; **21**, 1–8. 11. 10. 9. 12–34; **22–24**, 8. 10–25; **26**, 5–14. 1–4; **27–28**; **29**, 1–6. 19–20. 7–11. 21–23. 12–13. 15–17. 24–25. 14. 18. **30**, 1–24. 26–31; **31**, 1–20; **30**, 25; **31**, 21–23. 38–40. 24–37. 40c; **38–42**; **32–37**. The speeches of Elihu and the twenty-eighth chapter—being polemical interpolations directed against the tendency of the poem, are printed on green background, and the former are included in a special appendix at the close. What are termed corrective interpolations, inserted to harmonize Job's speeches with the doctrine of retribution, are shown in red color. Then follow a number of passages in blue, which are called parallel compo-

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sitions, that is, repetitions or amplifications of ideas already expressed. What the author regards as hopelessly corrupt passages are dropped out entirely from the text, and their place is indicated by dotted lines, while the proposed corrected text is reproduced in the critical notes at the end. Then we have a large number of still later interpolations, which likewise are relegated from the body of the text and appear as notes at the bottom of the page. Besides the different colors and footnotes we have diacritical signs, especially invented for this work, to indicate about six hundred proposed emendations. These corrections are often based upon the ancient versions, and are therefore entitled to a careful consideration. Sometimes the *k'ri*, the suggested corrections of the Masorites, have been adopted in preference to the *k'thib*, or received text. But a very large number of the so-called emendations are purely conjectural, and are therefore, practically, of no value. The well-known passage, chapter xix, 25, 26, has been relegated from the text, with the remark: "We look upon the whole passage as a later gloss in which the resurrection of the just is regarded as a possibility (comp. Dan. xii, 13; Macc. vii, 9–11) contrary to the opinion put forth in the Book of Job, with regard to Sheol." As much as we respect the great erudition of Professor Siegfried, many of his notes involuntarily remind us of a teacher of composition in some grammar school, who flippantly dismisses what does not suit his ear with some such offhand remarks as, "evidently wrong," "interpolated in order to correct," "seems to be a fragment of a new verse," "must either be canceled or altered," etc., etc.

This will fairly indicate the style and scope of the great work, which is certain to bring light upon many a dark passage, and which cannot fail to stimulate thought and promote the study of external criticism. In spite of the many excellencies of this new edition of the sacred books of the Old Testament, there is one fatal objection—it is entirely too subjective; and many of the proposed emendations are purely conjectural, neither supported by any recently discovered manuscript, nor even by a consensus of opinion, but simply evolved from the author's fancy. Were it not for the seriousness of the matter, it would be really amusing to see how a professor of Hebrew, without a very large amount of poetic genius, sitting in his study on the picturesque banks of the Saale at the close of the nineteenth century, reviews and emends an ancient poem—written at least twenty-five hundred years before, by some great literary genius whose work still towers up among the highest peaks in any literature—just as if it were a new poem or essay published in the last issue of some German literary magazine in Leipsic or Berlin. What is true of Professor Siegfried's work on Job is equally true of Wellhausen's edition of the Book of the Psalms, with this addition, that Wellhausen has disappointed his friends all around in this last effort, which is less scholarly in every way than his work of more than twenty years ago on the Books of Samuel.

We repeat that the entire work is entirely too subjective to be of permanent value. The fact that Professor Siegfried, Wellhausen, or Budde characterizes passages as "impossible, absurd, or nonsensical," does not

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make them so. Bold assertions are often made without assigning any reason whatever. This perhaps must be overlooked, inasmuch as we are promised full explanations and comments in connection with the proposed English and German translations of the Old Testament for which this critical edition of the Hebrew text is to serve as a basis. It would possibly be unjust to anticipate any of the "full explanations" to be found with the English translation, and yet we cannot refrain from prophesying that when the English and German translations appear we shall read in more than one place, as some difficult or dark passage is considered, such a note as the following, "As was clearly shown by Professor Siegfried, Wellhausen, or Stade in his notes on the Hebrew text."

From a paragraph in the March number of the *Biblical World* we learn that Professor Haupt has just arrived from Europe, where he has visited many of his distinguished collaborators in the interest of his work, and that already six parts of the English translation are in the press—three of them to be out "in the early spring," namely, Isaiah, in three colors, translated by Professor Cheyne; Judges, in six colors, by Professor G. F. Moore, of the Andover Theological Seminary; and the Psalms, by Professor Furness, of Philadelphia. The latter for some reason translates the Psalms not from the original text, but from the German version of Wellhausen. This critical German prose translation of the Göttingen professor is, however, to be turned into a poetical form by Professor Furness.

We are not informed as to the number of colors in this new Psalter, but presumably the English and German editions will agree in this regard with the Hebrew as given by Wellhausen, who has not followed the general plan, but instead has used red letters here and there as follows: "The titles of the Psalms, including historical and musical notes, as well as 'selah' and other liturgical formulæ (for example, 25. 22) have been printed in red; also the acrostic letters in the alphabetical Psalms (9, 10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 119, 145), the doxological subscriptions at the close of the first four books (41. 13; 72. 18; 89. 52; 106. 48), and the headings, *sepher rishon* (first book), etc., indicating the traditional division into five books. None of these elements (the acrostic letters, of course, excepted) formed a part of the original text of the Psalms to which they are attached."

Though we are assured that it is the aim of the great scholars, who have this new English translation in hand, "to make it at once more accurate and rhythmical than either the Authorized or Revised Version," it is safe to predict that it will never displace either one or the other, but will slowly find its way into our large libraries and into the studies of advanced students of the Bible.

ECCLESIASTICUS AND PHILO.

One of the most interesting discoveries of the year is that recently made by Mr. Schechter, a Talmudic reader, or lecturer, at Cambridge, England. It is that of a small portion of the apocryphal book called "Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach." Though but a small fragment of only one leaf, and that "dirty and ragged at the

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foot," it will prove of great value to biblical critics in helping to determine the age of several of the Old Testament books. It was before known that Jesus ben Sirach's work had appeared in Hebrew; indeed, Jerome expressly states that he had seen a copy of his work in that language. There is also reference to it in the Talmud. This is, however, the first time that modern critics have had an opportunity to examine any part of Ecclesiasticus in the original, for the reason that the oldest manuscripts yet discovered were either in Greek, Syriac, or Latin. As already stated, this fragment will prove very useful in fixing the dates of some of the later canonical books, since all know that Hebrew, like all other written languages, has had its history and development. Of late years it has been quite fashionable with a certain school of Old Testament scholars to depress the date of composition of a very large portion of the Hebrew Scriptures. Now, with this fragment written between three and two centuries before our era as a base of comparison, we have good reason for expecting some very positive results; for all will admit that an ounce of solid testimony is worth more than a ton of the most learned conjectures.

Though the discovery was made in the study of Professor Schechter, at Cambridge, the leaf, with a number of others, was purchased by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson during a recent tour to Egypt and the Holy Land. These ladies, so well known in connection with the last Syrian manuscript of the gospels, had no idea what treasure they had in that little bundle of greasy-looking leaves, secured for a trifle from an oriental dealer in antiquities and curiosities; and what treasures may yet be concealed in some out-of-the-way place in many a Palestinian city!

We notice also with pleasure the revived interest in the study of Josephus and Philo, especially of the latter. Professor Ryle has devoted much time to the examination and collection of the quotations of Philo from the Old Testament. Philo speaks in no uncertain tone regarding the authority and inspiration of the Hebrew sacred books. His writings abound with such expressions as "the inspired oracle," "the divine word," and "the most truthful witnesses." The scope and value of the book can be best stated in Professor Ryle's words: "Philo's testimony to the Greek Bible is indisputably pre-Christian. In that fact lies the special value of his scriptural citations. The earliest manuscripts of the Septuagint have all come down to us from Christian sources. The earliest copies are ecclesiastical books, written for use in Christian churches. The oldest, *Codex Vaticanus*, belongs to the late third, or early fourth, century. Philo's testimony has, therefore, the twofold value of being earlier, by more than two centuries, than our earliest extant manuscripts, and of being derived from a non-Christian, a Græco-Judaic, source, separate in time and character from the great mass of other evidence."

Biblical criticism has too long neglected a thorough study of Jewish literature which originated in the times between the Maccabees and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. It is really as important to know what Philo and other pious and learned Jews of his age thought of the Holy Scriptures as it is to have the theories of modern speculators.

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MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS AS SEEN ON FOREIGN MISSION FIELDS.

We have been confident that in due time the Parliament of Religions would come under the review of able men on the foreign mission field, and have patiently waited their utterance, in the light of at least a short experience, to confirm any theory they might have held in the first instance. That they are not really unanimous is no matter of surprise; but the consensus of view seems clearly to be that at least till now the result has been prejudicial to the interests of missions.

Thus, Mr. Banerjai, a capable, scholarly native of India, said at the Calcutta Missionary Conference that the Parliament was likely to strengthen the popular belief among the people of India that all religions are true, being different revelations for different conditions of men; and hence it would tend to revive the dying religions in India, and would encourage the simulation of Christianity in the interest of certain non-Christian faiths which have already divided the Hindus into various new and schismatic bodies that to an extent have adopted Christianity in parts —these schismatics being more difficult to bring to real Christianity than are the original, out-and-out Hindus. He instances Keshub Chunder Sen's rehabilitation of Hinduism in Christian attire as having deceived many. He further sets forth that it is likely to produce the impression that morals are distinct from, and must take precedence of, doctrine; and that it will tend to divorce morality and theological thought. Again, he deprecates an almost necessary impression that there is a better and broader attitude toward non-Christian religions than that assumed by the missionaries, and deplores the erroneous conception had in Christian lands of what the missionary attitude often is—a conception which only aggravates the result. For there is a popular notion of the methods used by missionaries which is far from a correct representation of the facts, and this misapprehension is likely to be much more widespread by utterances made on the platform at the Parliament of Religions.

The advantage taken of the return of the Buddhist representatives to Japan—who were not, however, delegated by anyone, but were acting solely on their own responsibility—to attempt a revival of Buddhism is well known. Large crowds assembled to hear their report of the Parliament, under the auspices of the Buddhist Young Men's Association in Yokohama. Seven hundred people assembled in a large theater, and for nine hours continuously were addressed by these men, who recounted the reception they had received and their impressions of the meeting. The audience was informed that the object of the Parliament was to learn more of oriental religion, since the people had come to realize the weakness and folly of Christianity; and that these representatives had reached

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the conclusion there was no better country in which to attempt the propagation of Buddhism than the United States. They reported that the great majority of Christians drink intoxicating beverages and commit the grossest sins. Whatever may be thought of such untruthful representations, they incited a prejudice against Christianity which will lurk for many a day in the minds of large numbers of people before they can be made to realize the inaccuracy and unfairness of the statements. This was, whatever else there might be to ultimately offset it, one of the results of the Parliament of Religions.

Replies to, or criticisms on, the papers and addresses made at the Parliament by representatives of non-Christian religions have appeared in short articles, published at widely separated centers of influence, which if collected would make a volume of Christian apologetics of no small value. The *Christian Patriot*, of Madras, India, remarks as something amusing the celebrity suddenly acquired at Chicago by men wholly obscure in their own lands, who appeared as champions and authorized exponents of their several faiths. Thus, the editor declares Swami Vivekananda to have been unheard of in all India till he appeared as a great light at the World's Fair. The *Madras Mail*, a secular paper of repute, but not especially a defender of Christianity, characterizes the attacks on Christian missions as the stuff which in India is permitted to the university undergraduate, or as the coarse tirade of the crowd huddled at a street-preaching to interrupt the service. There was absolutely nothing novel in it all; nor was it in any way a contribution to the argument as to the respective merits of the several faiths, being the thousand-times threshed straw of the commonest of the common people in India. Replying to a Brahman who charged that the representations of the condition of women which reached Christian countries was an insult to the women of India, the *Madras Mail* pertinently asks for a comparison between what Christianity and Buddhism or Hinduism has done for India's women. It says: "We will content ourselves with inquiring, Who have done most for the emancipation of Indian women from the disabilities under which they have labored for centuries—these Western religionists whom it pleases Vivekananda and his friends to taunt, or Brahmans and ascetics of different schools? Who has ended sutteeism and infanticide? Through whose influence are widow remarriages made possible in India? Where did the agitation against monstrous alliances between old debauchees of sixty and little Hindu girls of six originate? Who is it that lovingly give of their substance in order to send the sweet amelioration of woman's woe into Indian homes, offering the best results of Western science and learning in the name of Him whom even Vivekananda reveres? And all without fee or reward. And all in spite of bitter taunts and cheap jibes from men who live in glass houses, and therefore should not throw stones."

Turning to China we meet with much vigorous rejoinder to the statements made at Chicago derogatory to Christianity and Christian missionaries. For instance, the Rev. Timothy Richard, reviewing the paper of Pung Kwang-Yu, Chinese Secretary of Legation at Washington, notices

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his statement that the translation of our Scripture into Chinese is poor. Mr. Richard's retort is that the poverty of our translation cannot at least arise from want of literary ability, for the most literary viceroy in the empire to-day employs the same scholar, Wang T'au, who translated our standard Scriptures, to do literary work for him now. To the criticism of Mr. Pung, that missionaries do not attempt the study of the political institutions of China, Mr. Richard says that, unfortunately for Mr. Pung, he has not brought out a single fact of importance in regard to the political institutions of his native land not already perfectly well known to missionaries. Mr. Pung made an exception in favor of Dr. Martin, of the Imperial University at Peking; but Mr. Richard asks if Mr. Pung does not know of the works of Legge, Williamson, Edkins, Eitel, Faber, and others, adding that if he does not he is certainly incompetent to discuss missionary matters.

We have thus merely intimated the valuable chapters of Christian apologetics which are filtering through the press in various parts of the world, as one of the results of the discussions at the Parliament of Religions, a large part of which would have had little attention at the hands of secular Christendom but for these attacks made at Chicago. This line of apologetics, it is, however, rather humiliating to think, is more needed in Christian than in heathen lands. They are threadbare charges regarding the methods and success of Christianity in missionary fields, answered in all particulars by the facts surrounding the people in everyday life. They fall harmless at the feet of the missionary on the field, because the common people know their fallacy.

AFFAIRS IN FORMOSA.

THE Christian public cannot fail to be interested in the prospects of Christianity in Formosa under the new conditions imposed on it by the outcome of the China-Japan war. Several things have already been shown, and others give hope for the future. The war brought something like a crisis to the little church in Formosa. Missionary work came practically to a standstill, the missionary ladies being obliged to flee for safety to the mainland, and all schools being closed. The native Christians were exposed to unusually severe trials, being in the North charged with collusion with the Japanese and threatened with general massacre. In the city of Kagi Sabbath services were suspended; at another place an attack was made on the chapel, the preacher narrowly escaping a violent death, while at another place the pastor's house was wrecked. The arrival of the Japanese, while it quieted this commotion, resulted in a new strain, in the emigration of Chinese to the mainland and a steady movement of colonization from Japan.

The quarter of a century of mission work in Formosa, under the Presbyterians, has resulted in the creation of a Christian community represented at a recent Conference by eighty delegates. These were men who had been tried as by fire. One of these delegates had spent seven weeks in a

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filthy dungeon in his early life because of his profession of Christianity, and had twenty years of Christian service behind him. Some of these representatives had traveled nine days to reach the Conference, and had crossed a mountain range six thousand feet in height.

The future prospect of Christianity in Formosa, under the new conditions, is summed up by the Rev. William Campbell in the following statement: "No one would claim for the Japanese that they are a Christian nation, but surely they will show among us the same tolerance toward the Church and intolerance toward opium which they do in Tokio, Kyoto, Nagasaki, and other cities throughout the empire. Substantial help will arise through completion of the Tamsui-Taiwanfu Railway and the construction of those well-made roads that will be carried through every part of the island. Besides, a little incident occurred in the Pescadores some months ago which has its own significance in the present connection. It was that of several high-class Japanese officers, with a company of their men, making written request to our preacher at Makeng that he would grant them the use of the chapel every Lord's Day afternoon for Christian worship; a request which was at once and most willingly complied with. Further, two or three Japanese statesmen, who have had a very large share in the recent making of the country, are also men of outstanding Christian character. One more hopeful item is that the Presbyterian native Church in Japan has just sent two commissioners to Formosa to see what opportunities for fresh extension there may be among its millions of newly-made fellow-subjects. 'Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the Lord our God.'"

THE BEARING OF CONFUCIANISM ON CIVILIZATION.

This theme is discussed in the *Chinese Recorder* by that eminent authority, the Rev. J. Lambert Rees. He charges Confucianism with eliminating God as the basis of morals. The worship of God being relegated to the emperor alone, the element of the divine will fades from the minds of the common people as an ethical basis, and produces a tendency to agnosticism. The worship of ancestors grew to fill the gap. Filial piety is as the natural root of all virtuous conduct in man. Soldiers, scholars, or statesmen—in short, all classes of society—must perform their respective duties aright, lest they bring disgrace on their parents. God is not in all their thoughts. Retribution is confined to this life, and consists in the injury to the family name, which the spirits of ancestors will avenge here and now. The result is that morality is "family centered," and a universal brotherhood of man cannot be erected on it; for so comprehensive a feeling cannot be created by it, while toward anything supernatural a Confucianist is necessarily skeptical. While a Chinese may be a respectable, and even a generous, man, a high state of civilization is absolutely impossible to a nation erected on the absence of conditions which impress the ideas of the existence of God and the brotherhood of man.

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FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

J. Meinhold. In 1894 this theologian made himself no end of trouble by a popular lecture on the beginnings of the Israelitish religion and history. He took the position of the higher critics, that the conception of Old Testament religious history which has hitherto prevailed can no longer stand in the presence of literary criticism; that the patriarchal history, while containing traces of fact, must fall, as a whole; and that, prior to the time of Moses, Israel must be regarded as a conglomerate of nomadic tribes, devoted, like all primitive peoples, to fetichism and totemism, and worshiping stones, trees, water, and animals. Moses was an historical personality through whom Jehovah led the Israelites out of Egypt. He was the prophet of Jehovah, and next to Christ the greatest figure known to religious history. Jehovah had been known to the Israelites before the time of Moses, but only as the God of thunder. Moses corrected their conception of Jehovah by declaring to them some of the spiritual and ethical attributes of God. His knowledge of those attributes was not gained by profound reflection, nor by keenness of insight, but by a real revelation to him, though the revelation was limited in its completeness. Yet there still remained an undeniable dualism, traces of barbaric and fleshly conceptions. To Moses and the prophets it is due that the worship of Jehovah grew more and more pure. The final victory of the spiritual prophets preceded the fixing of the legal code. Christ completely purified the idea of God from all that is erroneous. Against objections to these views Meinhold declares that the evangelical Church is being eaten to the heart by its little faith. The faith of the letter, the doctrine of verbal inspiration, is not only false but it is dangerous. Meinhold demands that the Church go back to Luther, prize what aids the faith of Christ, and disregard what does not lead to him. The sacred Scriptures are not the result of dictation by the Holy Spirit, but holy men of God spoke as they were moved by the Holy Spirit, yet in such a sense as that this human nature was not overridden or destroyed. An idea of the earnestness of Meinhold's belief may be gathered from some of his words: "O, thou poor, evangelical Church! My heart bleeds whenever I think of thee! Thy children forsake and despise thee. Thy enemies laugh thee to scorn. Thy friends mourn and are silent. Physicians offer their aid, but their remedies only harm. . . . God only can help."

E. Schäder. Some of the very best thinking of Germany is done by men who have occupied only subordinate positions in the universities. Often it is in view of this good work done in the lower ranks of the teaching force that the performers come to recognition. Schäder is but a

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tutor, yet he has given his superiors some hard nuts to crack. In a recent work entitled *Die Bedeutung des Lebendigen Christus für die Rechtfertegung nach Paulus* (The Pauline Conception of the Relation of the Living Christ to Justification), Gütersloh, 1893, he undertakes to prove that Paul brings the risen Christ and the justification of the sinner into immediate relation. For Paul the saving value of the death of Christ is found only in connection with his resurrection. The Pauline doctrine is that when God graciously justifies the sinner it is not in view of any historical achievement of Christ whatever, much less in the entire course of his life, but on account of the living superhistorical Christ, and in him only in that he has behind him the events of his death and resurrection conceived in their saving influence. This seems to contain nothing new, and it is not as new in America as it is in Europe. But, whether new or old, it opens the question anew as to the relation of Christ's death to our justification. It puts the emphasis in a new place. We are not justified on account of the death of Christ nor on account of his life as a whole, nor because of any event or series of events in his history. We are justified on account of Christ himself, on account of the Christ who lived, died, and rose again, and who now lives in heaven. True, he thinks that the basis of the significance of the living Christ for justification is found in his vicarious death and its pardoning, justifying effect. Yet it is not on account of what Christ has done, but on account of Christ himself, that we are justified—on account of the risen Christ. This is different from the old idea that what Christ was gave to what he did a saving value. The idea here is rather that what he did, while not directly available to the sinner, gives to Christ a worth in God's sight on account of which God forgives the sinner for whom Christ died. God does not justify the sinner on account of the death of Christ for men, nor of all that Christ did, but on account of Christ himself, although he would not forgive man on account of Christ if Christ had not done what he did, and to this added resurrection and ascension. All this has the merit of putting the emphasis upon Christ just as the modern theology is wont to do—upon the risen Christ and not upon any deed of Christ. We confess to being greatly interested in this new-old putting of the case, although it is impossible to give our adherence to it at once. It is to be hoped that the view will be given further study by capable minds, and that it will be sifted of its chaff and the fine grain weighed in the balances.

Paul Ewald. Among those who have directly or indirectly spoken on the evidences of Christianity in modern times this thinker deserves a place, even though we cannot grant to his argument the weight which it has in his own mind. He regards it as the first duty of theology to enfold in a series of postulates the facts of Christianity in its essentials. The second task is to test those postulates by the history of the origin of Christianity, and to enlarge or correct them. The third is to develop these corrected postulates into a system of Christian truth corresponding in form to a philosophic view of the world. In the use of a proper exe-

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gesis, and by a correct criticism of the text and canon of Scripture, we may employ the Scriptures as a trustworthy source for the history of the Christian revelation. Criticism, however, must always remember that the Scriptures profess to give a history of the unfolding plan of salvation; and the critic must judge of the Scriptures with this fact in view. We begin at this point to make our objections to the positions of Ewald. No two thinkers, coming to the Scripture without a previous scheme in their minds, will be likely to understand the plan of salvation there revealed exactly in the same way. Each, therefore, taking for his guide the fact that the Bible is a record of the plan of salvation, will have his own opinion as to the religious contents of the Bible. As he comes, therefore, to the correction of his postulates by the contents of Scripture religious history, he will differ from that of his neighbor. When he comes to develop these postulates into the system he will reach results differing from those of his neighbor. Thus, there will be as many Christian systems as there are individual thinkers, and those systems will, in some cases, be mutually exclusive. In this way, therefore, no general apologetic can be gained. Each will have his own opinion, and will be firm in the same; and, just in proportion as he feels the opinion of his neighbors to be inadequate or dangerous will he be zealous to overturn it, and thus while winning converts to himself he will be unsettling the opinions of others. The unbeliever, meanwhile, waiting for a demonstration of the truth of Christianity, sees nothing but a conflict as to what Christianity is. The fundamental error in the method of Ewald, however, is that it places the burden of proof upon the ratiocinative faculties, whereas it belongs in the realm of the powers of perception. There is where our Lord placed it, and had it not been that apologists felt it necessary to meet the philosophy of the world with a philosophy of Christianity, there it would have, as it ought to have, remained.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Vie de S. Francois d'Assisi (Life of St. Francis of Assisi). By Paul Sabatier, 1894. This most excellent life of Francis has been translated into English, and is therefore more gladly noticed here. In France the work has excited the most astonishing interest, largely owing to the fact that it represents the summit of historical investigation and at the same time combines therewith the highest biographical skill. The author did not write from imagination. He knew the places sacred to the memory of his hero, and with true artistic genius places them in possession of the reader's imagination. In fact, the personality of the saint seems to have lived in the mind of the author, who has succeeded in making him live in the mind of the reader. Thus the book has all the strong assurance of scientific research and all the power of affection over the sympathies of the reader. Sabatier does not follow the newer method of biographical writings, which allows the subject to speak

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for himself through his letters, journal, or other utterances; but on the other hand he does not construct a fancy sketch of his subject and present it as truth. It is almost with an oppressive interest that we turn to the first appendix, which is a critical study of the celebrated stigmata. Sabatier defends their historical reality on the ground that there was no motive for a pious fraud, but rather the contrary; that the story of the stigmata fits perfectly into the history, and that there is perfect unanimity among the witnesses, whose interests would have led them to differ. But their miraculous character he denies, if miracle be thought of as an interruption, or a perversion, of the laws of nature, or as an intervention of the First Cause in certain instances. Such a miracle he regards as not only contrary to scientific truths, but contrary to good morals. The conscience demands the equality of every man before God, while miracles in the above sense seem to deny that equality. Now, "herein is a marvelous thing." If Sabatier's reasoning on the point be correct we certainly must charge God with immorality. For nothing is more evident than that, if God has anything to do with men, he does favor some men more than others in temporal things. But, if the historicity of the stigmata is to be maintained, we think Sabatier is perfectly right in attributing them to purely natural causes, such as the effect upon his body of constant thought on the passion of our Lord, his mystical fervor, and the nearness, at the time the stigmata are said to have made their appearance, of the festival of the uplifting of the cross.

Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte (Text-Book of Church History). By Wilhelm Möller, 1894. There is an awakening interest among American theologians of the present day in the study of Church history. The days of the exclusive reign of dogmatic theology are numbered. Our theologians are beginning to acquire the sense of perspective in their studies. This result is partly due to the new interest in Church history, and partly causes that interest. The two will go on side by side, and hand in hand, for the destruction of narrow thinking and for the correction of much ignorant and useless speculation. The careful and diligent reading of Church history has a marvelous power to reveal the truth that there is no new thing under the sun. If our theological renovators only knew what has been thought in the past, they would generally discover the fact that their views have long ago been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Thus they might save themselves and their deluded followers much time and trouble. A knowledge of Church history would serve a similar useful purpose to the defenders of the faith. But the vast majority cannot be original investigators, and hence the desirability of works like the one named above, which give the best and latest results of historical research. This particular work is here mentioned because it is being translated into English; the first two volumes, already translated, bring the history of the Church down through the Middle Ages. After Möller's lamented death the work was taken up by Kawerau, and it is expected that the entire work will be completed by him. The third volume,

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which is still untranslated, covers the period of the Reformation down to 1648. We know of no work which in the same space gives so good an idea of the Reformation and the counter-Reformation, and at the same time carries along the political history necessary to the understanding of the history of the Church. The arrangement of the material is better than that usually followed, and avoids repetition as much as possible. Yet there are certain sudden and confusing breaks in the history as here given, and certain reform movements which ought to have been made co-ordinate are put into the relation of whole and part. We confess that the arrangement is on the whole logical, judged from one standpoint. But history admits of a variety of logical arrangements, and the writer of history ought to seek that distribution of his matter which will, on the whole, most contribute to an easy grasp of the principles that produce the facts, considered in themselves and in their mutual relations. We sincerely wish that, though this work suffers from the defect mentioned, it might be widely read.

Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte (Text-book of the History of Religions). By P. D. Chautepie de la Saussage, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Amsterdam, 1889. It is a misfortune that this great work in two volumes is not translated into English. But to the reader of the German it is a storehouse of information to which we enthusiastically call attention. The work is divided into four parts, designated severally as General, Phenomenological, Ethnographical, and Historical. In the first part are treated such subjects as the "Science of Religion," the "Science of Religion and the Doctrine of Evolution," "Man and Animals," "The Primitive History," "Prehistorical Archæology," "The Origin of Religion," "The Classification of Religions," and "Principal Forms of Religion." The phenomenological part deals with the objects of worship, idolatry, worship of nature, men and gods, magic and divination, sacrifice, prayer, and other religious acts, sacred stones, trees, animals, places, times, and persons, religious fellowship and books, mythology, relation of religion to morals, etc. The ethnographical part takes up the various religions according to groups, such as the Africans, the American Indians, the Semitic, etc. The historical part, which occupies nearly the half of the first and all of the second volume, gives a history of the religion of all the more important nations, in the following order: Chinese, Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Indians (including the ages of the Vedes and Brahmans, Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism), Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, and lastly of Islam. While the survey of the field is thus seen to be most comprehensive it will be of interest to know that the author rejects the purely evolutionary explanation of religious phenomena as not sufficient; and that he denies, not that animals are religious, but that we have any proof that they are religious; while on the other hand all probabilities point to the possession of some form of religion, however imperfectly developed, by all men, even the most savage. In fact, all the talk of evolutionists concerning the religiousness of animals

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only shows how little they know about the real nature of religion and how poor are their powers of discrimination, or else how willing they are to magnify, minify, or warp the facts, to suit their theory. The fear and love, faithfulness and reverence, that animals are supposed to cherish toward one another or toward men, are social virtues or vices which in men endowed with the power to conceive of God take on a religious significance, but which have no religious significance to a being who knows not God. There is no evidence that the animals have the idea of God, and hence their religiousness is a figment of the evolutionist's imagination.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Recent Disputes Relative to the Lord's Supper. Very much of the theological discussion of the day is adapted to strike a chill to the marrow. This is as true of the treatment of that sacred theme, the Lord's Supper, as of any other. It is not that there is not sufficient or even a superfluity of heat manifested between the disputants. The chill springs from the icy scientific coldness with which the subjects themselves are treated. The majority of the theologians pride themselves on the unbiased character of their investigations. They treat the doctrines, institutions, and history of Christianity as though they had absolutely no personal interest in them. For practical consequences they care not a fig; and they care as little for the practical utility of their investigations. All these contemptible things are left for the lesser lights in the pulpit and at preachers' conferences. This is exactly the state of affairs in Germany and France, and to some extent in England. There is a marked tendency in the same direction in America. We want exact scholarship; we must have it. Yet, what possible practical benefit is to be derived from the recent disputes concerning the Lord's Supper? For example, the question is raised whether Jesus in that memorable night meant, by the supper in which he gave bread and wine to his disciples, to institute a sacrament which it should be the duty of his disciples to repeat with more or less frequency; or, whether he had in mind only the one performance, and left it to his disciples to do as they pleased about its repetition. The consideration of that question has aroused the greatest interest and set many heads a task. Then, the question whether the first celebration of the supper by our Lord was intended by him to refer to his death, while more vital, is yet bandied about in such a way as to deprive it of all its sacred import, and to give it value merely as a question upon which men may display their acumen. The same may be said of the question as to whether Jesus celebrated this last supper as the Messiah, or not. This is so treated as to nourish only the interests of the theologically curious. Even the question as to what the significance of the supper was, whether a memorial or a sacrament through which blessing should come to the participant, is looked at purely from the standpoint of the scholar. It has no interest for these men as Christians.

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Now it is without doubt true that the investigator should be unprejudiced. But it is also true that the Christian theologian should expend his energies on those subjects which have a practical bearing on life, and in such a manner that this practical bearing shall be apparent. Along the road to the answer to these questions lie many critical questions. The exact form of the original text must be settled. The priority of Paul's account must be determined. Questions of interpretation arise in connection with the proof-texts employed. The discussion widens until there seems to be no end to it. Each author thinks and strives to prove that all the others are wrong. What was an innocent, incidental expression of opinion, it may be, is like a bone cast out amidst a pack of hungry dogs. Each one fights for it, and the one that gets it gets—a bone, without any meat. That it is right and proper that each one should investigate these and all other subjects, when the more weighty things are all attended to, is undeniable. But the world is not dying to know what each one thinks, and it would kill the world should it try to keep up with everybody's thoughts. Let theologians keep some of their thinkings to themselves. The world will be none the poorer. In this respect Schaff was worthy of all imitation. He had the outfit mentally and educationally of all the most scholarly Germans. He kept up with everything that was said and done in the theological world. He produced an immense variety of works. But there is very little in his writings which ministers to mere curiosity. He had a practical aim in all his work. He does not appear, therefore, so scholarly as some of his European contemporaries. Yet he seemed never to forget that he was not merely a theologian but a Christian theologian. He had a mission which scholarship was to serve. Scholarship was his helper, not his goal. But, of all questions which should be looked at from the practical standpoint, the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper most deserves such examination. This our German and French brethren in the field of theology seem to have overlooked. It is not so much the conclusions they reach by mere intellectual appliances to which objection is made, although doubtless these are defective for want of broad sympathy. It is the tendency to make the most sacred things the toys of the mind, to take them out of the realm of the heart-life, and to fix strongly the attention of the intellect upon them while the heart is cold concerning them, to which we take exception. We protest that it is time for these scholars to cease their wrangling, to think of the Lord's Supper each as his own judgment and heart suggest, and to leave every other one to do the same, while all strive to make it minister to spiritual good and edification.

Methodism in Austria. The Wesleyan Methodist Church in Vienna is now permitted to go on its way unhindered. The law forbidding the Wesleyan services has not been abrogated, nor have the police authorities guaranteed protection, but the Church is simply let alone. Upon the reopening of the services a "protracted meeting" was held with good results, in which many youth were awakened and converted. A work

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has also been opened among the Bohemians in Vienna. Certain Bohemians who were members of the Young People's Society sought to induce their acquaintances to attend the preaching service. Meetings are held every Sunday, attended by about thirty Bohemians, and are led by a member of the congregation. Methodist doctrine has also found friends in Hungary, where two Bohemian sisters have opened a Sunday school and are earnestly wishing to have a preacher sent to conduct services.

The Protestant Church in Madagascar. The possession of the island by the French does not probably mean interference with Protestantism. Dr. W. F. Cousins said recently at the anniversary of the London Missionary Society that in protecting his work there God had used a variety of means, and that the future of the Protestant Church looked promising. In the Zanzibar treaty it was stipulated that the Protestant Church should have perfect freedom of development, and nothing but a breach of faith on the part of the French government could prevent the carrying out of the treaty provisions. The French statesmen know that the Protestant Christians are the best part of the Madagascar population, and have unequivocally made known this belief, together with their desire to secure the good will of the Protestants. Professor Herman Kruger has been sent with M. Langa, by the Protestant missionary committee of Paris, to study the missionary condition of the island.

Sunday School Work in Russia. Growth is seen in every department. The number of scholars grew, in 1894, from 19,012 to 26,219, the number of teachers from 1,382 to 1,612, and the number of schools from 93 to 112. St. Petersburg and vicinity furnish 1,124 of the scholars, the East Sea Provinces 9,087, Poland 2,191, and the remainder of Russia 3,694. While these numbers are small compared with the entire population, yet the progress is a cause for gratitude.

The Church of the Waldenses in Italy. The Annual Report (for 1895) shows that the number of hearers per Sunday is about 7,590; occasional hearers, 68,500; communicants, 5,326; number received during the year, 778; children in Sunday schools, 3,208; contributions for various objects, 73,461 Italian lire; whole number of pastors, etc., 130; number of Waldenses in the Piedmont valleys and mountains, 25,000. Outside of these in all Italy there are 50 evangelization schools and 40 organized congregations, part of which are financially self-supporting, while the preaching places number 120.

The Berlin Society for the Diffusion of Christian Literature. The social democrats of Germany, in order to protect their doctrines, have prepared a calender in the interest of the socialistic movement, which they are circulating widely among the people of the country. That they may the better checkmate this dangerous propaganda the Berlin society has gotten out a Christian calender for use among the working classes. It is called "The Workers," and costs about two cents per copy.

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SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

MANY of the kingly spirits of the world have missed the scepter and the crown. This truth, which has its illustrations in Church no less than State, inspires the entertaining historical article of J. M. Rogers in the May number of the *North American Review*. Before the amendment of the Constitution in 1804, "providing that electors should vote separately for President and Vice President," the writer shows how Thomas Pinckney, Charles C. Pinckney, and Aaron Burr might have been elected President, "not one of whom was a candidate for the office." In 1812 De Witt Clinton contended for the presidency with Madison, and lost the prize by a closer margin than the mere figures show. "The war question was then rife, and there was great dissatisfaction over the Congressional caucus nomination of Madison, while all over the country there was a feeling that Virginia was getting an undeserved monopoly of the presidency. Embargo and the war question were the main issues. Had Pennsylvania supported Clinton and a peace policy he would have been elected." In 1840 Tyler was nominated as Vice President—and consequently succeeded Harrison in the presidency after a short month—as the result of a trifling circumstance. "Among Clay's ardent supporters was John Tyler, of Virginia, who was so chagrined over the defeat of his chief that he wept bitter tears. The convention was desirous of placating Clay's friends, and, seizing on these tears as evidence of warmest personal and political friendship, Tyler was nominated for Vice President. It seems likely, from all reports, that the choice would have fallen on John M. Clayton, of Delaware, but for those tears. If Clayton had been President, instead of Tyler, how different might have been the history of the Whig party!" In 1844 Polk's nomination, our author says, was "an accident." Van Buren was the leading candidate at the Democratic Convention in Baltimore. "By the seventh ballot his support began to go to Cass, who would probably have been nominated but for adjournment. A combination was made over night, and Polk was nominated next day. But for this totally unprecedented move in politics either Clay or Cass would have been elected President, with chances in favor of Clay. Neither ever won that goal." In 1848, when Zachary Taylor was elected, "Webster threw away the only chance he ever had for the presidency. He was offered the nomination for second place, but refused it. Had he accepted, he would have succeeded Taylor at the latter's death; and such were his conservative views that he might have been elected in 1852 if he had lived." In 1864 our writer tells us that "Johnson was an accident. The nomination for Vice President was offered to General Benjamin F. Butler, who declined it." This interesting outline—to which we need not add more recent illustrations—is supplemented by Joel Benton in the June *North American*. According to his belief Nathaniel P.

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Tallmadge, of Poughkeepsie, "a rising and brilliant lawyer," might have had the vice presidency instead of Tyler, in 1840, had he not written beforehand a letter of declination. And again, in 1852, except for his loyalty to Cass, Daniel S. Dickinson might have had the nomination, "which went, almost by accident, to Franklin Pierce." On such small circumstances turns men's promotion to the throne.

In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July O. T. Lanphear, D.D., writes of "Some Misapprehensions concerning Calvin" which prevail, and points out seven particulars in which the great theologian has been misunderstood. Dr. Adam Clarke he cites—without specifying volume or page, though we would be pleased to know the connection in which the great theologian made the utterance—as saying, "It might not be wise in God to foreknow all future events." And Dr. Whedon he represents—while the former makes no reference to Calvin by name on page 247 of the *Bibliotheca* for April, 1862, from which Dr. Lanphear quotes—as concluding that foreordination implies God to be "the author of sin." This portrayal of our doctrinal position is, we think, unintentionally a misrepresentation. Methodism is not unwilling to match its theologians against the world. Let them, however, be fairly quoted. In his second paper of the series James Monroe, LL.D., still considers "The Divine Origin of the Religion of the Bible," in his aim to show "how a layman thought out his evidences." The religion of the Bible, he argues in conclusion, is "a natural result of tendencies directly opposed to all the tendencies of its own age;" and its rise in men's estimation during three thousand years "affords satisfactory evidence that it can never be outgrown." It is, therefore, "not of man; it is not of Satan; it is of God." Professor F. H. Foster, D.D., continues his "Studies in Christology," and the Rev. J. W. Falconer writes of "Origen and the Return to Greek Theology." In the fifth article Professor Jacob Cooper, D.D., makes "Gladstone's Edition of Bishop Butler's Works" the basis of his discussion. Of the fitness of Gladstone for this late editorial labor he says, "Common consent will pronounce him the most competent for the task of all who have lived since Butler's day." And of the value of the text which Mr. Gladstone has revised he says: "His mastery of the contents is perfect, and he gives a reproduction of the matter digested anew by a genius equal to the original. This division [of the text into paragraphs], with the appropriate head-lines, will make Butler accessible to many who would have been repelled from undertaking to read him, and render the task easy for such as determine to master the contents." C. B. Waring, Ph.D., writes "a second paper for scientists," entitled "The Hebrew Cosmogony Again." He says of Genesis, in conclusion: "Can any modern cosmogonic work show as much truth in the same space? Can anyone be found touching on these themes, and written fifty years ago, in which it is not easy to pick out gross errors?" The concluding papers are "Individualism and Societism," by Z. Swift Holbrook, and "The Restriction

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of Immigration," by E. W. Bemis, Ph.D. The former declares that Christianity is "the science of statehood;" the latter for an educational test, like that of the McCall bill, excluding "all immigrants between sixteen and sixty years of age who cannot read and write in the English or some other language."

THE *Methodist Review* of the Church South for June opens with an appreciative biographical notice of "Bishop Atticus Greene Haygood, D.D., LL.D.," by Bishop O. P. FitzGerald. "The Church he served so well will guard his fame, which will brighten as the world hastens on to the good time coming for which he prayed and worked." Under the title, "Some Later Histories of the United States," W. A. Vaughn, LL. D., notices eight volumes on our national development of more or less recent publication. "The Letters of Matthew Arnold" are reviewed by R. E. Blackwell, Ph.D., and not only "help us to form a more correct view of one of the foremost writers of our time," but also "make us better acquainted with a cultured and gifted family, the head of which has influenced us for good ever since we went to Rugby with Tom Brown, and stood with him in tears by the new-made grave of the great head master." A noticeable paper in this number of the *Review* is "Dr. Mudge on Growth in Holiness," by Bishop J. C. Granbery, D.D. The article is commendatory of the book, though it does not entirely agree with Dr. Mudge on every point. It opens with these words: "This is a helpful book. The author is an able minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He has read wisely and thought much on his great theme, and it has had for him a peculiar fascination during thirty years. Why is there so much dispute, so little harmony of views, on this prominent doctrine? He finds a chief reason in the absence of a scientific treatment, of precision and consistency in the use of language, by the many writers who have discussed it. He seeks to remedy this evil by carefully defining his terms, by nice discriminations, by not employing the same word in a variety of senses without indicating which is intended. We thank him for the honest effort and for the actual service he has rendered to the Church. He did not expect 'to satisfy everybody, or present a perfect solution of the problem.' Of course not. That is a kind of perfection not attainable in the present life." Other articles are "Armenia and Its Place in Christendom," by H. M. Du Bose, D.D.; "China Since the Late War," by Bishop E. R. Hendrix, LL.D.—a paper of much discrimination and force; "The Monroe Doctrine in the Light of History," by T. J. Dodd, D.D.; "The American Bible Society," by R. J. Bingham, D.D.; "Christ in the World's Thought," by H. W. Featherstun, D.D.; and "The Making of Methodism," etc., by the editor.

WITH so diversified a table of contents as that of the *Nineteenth Century* for June the most fastidious tastes must be satisfied. It includes: 1. "The True Motive and Reason of Dr. Jameson's Raid," by G. S.

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Fort; 2. "Some Flaws in the Education Bill," by J. G. Fitch, LL.D.; 3. "Cardinal Manning's Memory—Fresh Lights," by R. G. Wilberforce; 4. "America as a Power," by Alexander Maclure; 5. "Mutual Aid Amongst Ourselves," by Prince Kropotkin; 6. "Natural Requital," by Norman Pearson; 7. "The Regulation of Street Music," by J. C. Hadden; 8. "Murder by Measles," by F. J. Waldo, M.D., and David Walsh, M.B.; 9. "'Round Pegs in Square Holes,'" by B. M. Godsall; 10. "John Addington Symonds," by Frederic Harrison; 11. "Did Chaucer Meet Petrarch?" by J. J. Jusserand; 12. "Achthar—the Story of a Queen," by Cornelia Sorabji; 13. "Has Our Army Grown with Our Empire?" by Lieutenant-Colonel Adye; 14. "A Plea for the Resurrection of Heraldry," by Everard Green; 15. "Sheridan," by the Right Honorable W. E. Gladstone.

THE opening article in the *Forum* for June, by Senator J. H. Mitchell, argues for the "Election of Senators by Popular Vote." A weighty judgment, on an important question, is expressed by Professor W. G. Sumner, in "The Fallacy of Territorial Representation." Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in "A Keats Manuscript," analyzes a photographic copy of the first two stanzas of the "Ode on Melancholy," and feels himself "coming into close touch with the mental processes" of Keats. "To be brought thus near to Keats suggests that short poem by Browning, where he compares a moment's interview with Shelley to picking up an eagle's feather on a lonely heath." In "Ego et Rex Meus—a Study of Royalty," "Ouida" pulls aside with a democratic hand the veil that hides the European kings from the common view, and shows them to be "as inane, as commonplace as the rest of the world at large." They are "the creatures of artificiality." The Crown Prince of Prussia, but eleven years of age, is "the most dreary and self-conscious little prig that ever was drilled in pipeclay and buckram," and royalty is "the very greatest" factor of war. Such articles as this would in time unsettle all the thrones of Europe.

THE Methodist Episcopal Church has reason for pride in the investigations of Professor Atwater at Wesleyan University, and will read with interest the illustrated article in the June *Review of Reviews* on "The People's Food—A Great National Inquiry. Professor W. O. Atwater and His Work."——In the *Yale Review* for May the article on "The Economics of Improved Housing" particularly commends the Belgian insurance plan, and shows how under its operation the working-man may acquire a home.——The *Missionary Review of the World* for June has "Recent Progress in Central Africa," by C. J. Laffin, M.D.; "Nine Centuries of Buddhism—III," by F. B. Shawe; "The Recent War in Madagascar and Some of Its Consequences," by Rev. W. E. Cousins; and "The Martyrdom of Armenia," by Cyrus Hamlin, D.D.——The *Preacher's Magazine* for June has a discourse on "The Life Indeed" by Rev. W. L. Watkinson, and "A Flower Sermon" by Dean Farrar.

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BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Religions of India. By EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 612. Boston: Ginn & Co. Price, cloth, $2.90.

The wider meaning of the word "religion," so familiar to scholars of the present day, does not necessarily imply any calling down of Christianity from the paramount place which it so easily holds above the various other systems of faith and worship that have in many lands and times expressed and assisted, however imperfectly, the spiritual needs of the human race. The historical study of religions has in late years been absorbing more and more interest among learned men, and the volume whose title is given above is doubly a token of this interest in that it has resulted from it and will be demanded by it as well as promotive of it. It is the first of a series of handbooks on the history of religions to be rapidly issued under the editorship of Dr. Morris Jastrow, of the University of Pennsylvania. All students in this fascinating field will rejoice at the prospect of having the ascertained results of latest scholarship in their department put thus conveniently within their reach. The effect must also be to advance investigation and still further improve the already improved methods of studying these subjects. And if the other writers, to whom have been assigned the various non-Christian systems, do as well with their themes as has Professor Hopkins (lately called to succeed his former teacher, Professor Whitney, at Yale), the public will have much reason to be happy. The work on the religion of Israel, by Professor J. P. Peters, of New York, which is promised for next year, will be looked for with special eagerness. The book we are noticing takes up in its ample pages, after a brief sketch of the people and land, the beliefs and customs of the Vedic period, then in turn Brahmanism, Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. It describes quite fully the modern Hindu sects, the Shivaites and Vishnuites, including Ramaites and Krishnaites, touching also upon the Sikhs, and coming down to the recent Brahmos, rent already into many divisions. A most interesting chapter follows on the "Religious Traits of the Wild Tribes," and then comes one of still greater interest, the nineteenth, on "India and the West." A most valuable bibliography and a full index very fitly complete the volume. We have given a somewhat careful examination to this valuable treatise, but space will not permit us to enlarge as we would like on its many excellences nor to enter on particular criticisms; for the latter there is indeed very little call. The positions of the author seem to us for the most part judicious; his interpretations are marked by uniform sobriety and fairness; his conclusions will carry the assent, we think, of nearly all who are qualified to form an opinion in these recondite matters. He takes a conservative view of the date of the Rig-Veda Sanhita, or collection of oldest hymns, putting it about on a

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par historically with Homer, that is, assigning the bulk of it to somewhere in the region of 1000 B. C., and the earliest beginnings to 1500 B. C., a more moderate claim by a thousand years than that put forth by many. His claim also as to the value of the Vedic hymns and the tone of the religion taught therein is much milder than one sometimes hears, and more in accordance with manifest facts. It is, indeed, facts that the author especially seeks, aiming "to reveal the religions of India by causing them to reveal themselves." This constitutes the prime merit of the volume. It is in the last chapter only that Dr. Hopkins touches briefly the influence upon India of Mohammedanism and Christianity, the two great monotheistic systems that have in the past few centuries been striving to overturn India's ancestral faiths. He thinks India has taken much from the Mohammedan, little as yet from the Christian. The author shows by a few expressions that he is not overfriendly to the Christian Church, not particularly conversant with missionary operations, but his natural fairness as well as the special scope of his discussion keeps him from anything that could very seriously be taken exception to, and his conclusion will satisfy those who believe with him that India's true progress is conditioned on her acceptance of the Christian religion. He says, "In her own religions there is no hope for India, and her best minds have renounced them. The body of Hinduism is corrupt, its soul is evil. As for Brahmanism the spirit is departed, and the form that remains is dead; but a new spirit, the spirit of progress and of education, will prevail at last. When it rules it will undo the bonds of caste and do away with low superstition. Then India will be free to accept, as the creed of her new religion, Christ's words, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and thy neighbor as thyself.' But to educate India up to this point will take many centuries, more, perhaps, than will be needed to educate in the same degree Europe and America." The comparatively small progress of the missionaries he explains by the striking and painful contrast between the invader's precept and example, as obtained both when India first made the acquaintance of Christians militant and to some degree since. "Against what odds had not the early missionaries to struggle! Not the heathen but the Christian barred the way against Christianity." He has two or three incisive sentences in relation to an imposture, somewhat popular a few years ago, but pretty thoroughly exposed since. "This Yogism and Mahatmaism, which is visible even in the Rig-Veda, is today nothing but unbridled fancy playing with mesmerism and lies." "Apart from philosophical influence there is at present more or less interest in Europe and America in Indic superstition and spiritualism, and half-educated people will doubtless be influenced for some time to come by Mahatmaism and Yogism, just as they are moved by native seance spirits and mesmerism. Blavatskyism, which represents no phase of Buddhism, will always find disciples among the ignorant classes, especially in an agnostic or atheistic environment, so that one should attribute the mental attitude of such minds to their lack of culture rather than to India, for if Mahatmaism had not been discovered they would still profess

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it under another name." To this notice of *The Religions of India* we feel moved to append the words of Sir M. Monier Williams: "Go forth, ye missionaries, in your Master's name; go forth into all the world, and, after studying all its false religions and philosophies, proclaim fearlessly to suffering humanity the plain, unchangeable, eternal facts of the Gospel—nay, I might almost say the stubborn, unyielding, inexorable facts of the Gospel. Dare to be downright with all the uncompromising courage of your own Bible, while with it your watchwords are love, joy, peace, reconciliation. Be fair, be charitable, be Christlike, but let there be no mistake. Let it be made absolutely clear that Christianity cannot, must not, be watered down to suit the palate of either Hindu, Parsi, Confucianist, Buddhist, or Mohammedan, and that whosoever wishes to pass from a false religion to the true can never hope to do so by the rickety planks of compromise or by the help of faltering hands held out by half-hearted Christians. He must leap the gulf in faith, and the living Christ will spread his everlasting arms beneath and land him safely on the eternal rock." We give our hearty sanction to these ringing and decisive words of a great savant, a learned man, a scholar of the highest authority, who knows the religions of the East as well as he knows Christianity. For the Hindu, the Mohammedan, the Parsi, and the votaries at all other heathen shrines, there is no way of transition to the Christian faith but through the Man of Calvary.

The Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament. An Historico-Critical Enquiry. By Dr. G. WILDEBOER, Professor at Groningen. Translated by BENJAMIN WISNER BACON, M.A., D.D. Edited, with Preface, by Professor GEORGE F. MOORE. 8vo, pp. 182. London: Luzac & Co.

The last years have been prolific in books upon the canon of the Old Testament. The earliest of them was by Professor Buhl—then of Copenhagen, now of Leipzig—in the Danish language, published in 1885. This was followed, in 1891, by an enlarged edition of the same work in German. In 1892 Professor Ryle's brilliant book on the same subject was published by MacMillan & Co. Between the works of Buhl and Ryle stands the book of Professor Wildeboer, of Groningen, Holland, which was first published in Dutch in 1889, in a second edition in 1891, and was published in German at Gotha in 1891, and now appears in English. Buhl's book has also been translated into English, and published in 1892. We are, therefore, in possession of three important books on the canon of the Old Testament, each excellent in its way. He who desires an historical account of the formation of the canon, written in a vigorous and entertaining style, must have Ryle's book; but the man who desires to investigate the subject carefully for himself will not find in Ryle the material for the verification of each individual point. He will therefore naturally turn to Buhl, whose book cannot be read consecutively, as Ryle's book can, but is broken up into sections, each section accompanied by elaborate references to the literature of the subject; but even this book, admirable though it is, the work of a trained theologian and a brilliant scholar, is nevertheless incomplete, and needs supplementing

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from other sources. The book of Wildeboer supplies the lack both of Ryle and Buhl. It is not a history, as Ryle's book; it is not a discussion of the development of the canon, with references, as Buhl's book; but is, on the other hand, exactly what its title-page indicates—an historico-critical inquiry. Of the one hundred and sixty-five pages of the book only about thirty pages are devoted (in large type) to the setting forth of the development of the canon from its earliest beginnings to its conclusion. The rest of the book is made up of selections of the passages in ancient literature which refer to the canon, and incisive criticism of these original sources. It is plain, therefore, that the man who would study the question in an analytical fashion must have recourse to Wildeboer's book. The English translation is superior to the German or the Dutch text, for in it are incorporated not merely corrections by the author himself, but also additions which have been made by the translator, Dr. Bacon, and by the editor, Professor Moore. Unfortunately, the book is somewhat marred by *errata*, and the table at the end does not include all the errors that are found in the book. It was, we believe, printed in Holland, and the mistakes are such as would naturally be expected from a printer not thoroughly a master of the English tongue. Yet, in spite of these errors, we are glad that Messrs. Luzac & Co. have made this unusual book accessible to those who do not use either Dutch or German. It has a proper and useful place to fill.

How Christ Came to Church. The Pastor's Dream. A Spiritual Autobiography. By A. J. GORDON, D.D. With The Life-Story, and The Dream as Interpreting the Man. By A. T. PIERSON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 123. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Only sixty-six of these pages are from the pen of Dr. Gordon, his last gift to the Church, his final message to men ere he went to God. It is a brief account of a dream, which is made a text for the preaching of a sermon. The pastor thought himself in the pulpit, one Sunday morning, when a stranger entered whose peculiarly serious look riveted the preacher's attention from the beginning to the end of the discourse. Unable to reach the visitor before he had slipped away in the crowd, the minister eagerly inquired of the gentleman who had been beside him, "Can you tell me who that stranger was who sat in your pew this morning?" In the most matter-of-course way he replied, "Why, do you not know that man? It was Jesus of Nazareth." With a sense of the keenest disappointment the inquirer said, "My dear sir, why did you let him go without introducing me to him? I was so desirous to speak with him." And with the same nonchalant air the gentleman replied, "O, do not be troubled. He has been here to-day, and no doubt he will come again." So the second chapter of the booklet is on "Here To-day," the third on "To Come Again," and another on "Cleansing the Temple." It is to some slight extent "a spiritual autobiography," in that Dr. Gordon shows how this dream and the thoughts to which it naturally gave rise shaped his ministry and gave tone to the policy of church management by which Clarendon Street, Boston, has become so marked a power in the land.

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No life can fail to be uplifted that is lived under the immediate influence of the inspiring thought, "Jesus is really here; what does he think of me? What would he have me to do?" If more of our churches would arrange all their services after this pattern it would certainly be well, and there would unquestionably be some changes in the direction of simplicity and unworldliness. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that there would still be honest differences of opinion as to what would please the Saviour, and what would best promote his cause in our modern conditions. How true, as Paul says, that "there are diversities of workings, but the same God, who worketh all things in all!" He worked in Dr. Gordon the most profound convictions as to the necessity of immersion, the privilege and duty of faith healing, and the paramount importance of looking for the immediate second coming of Christ. He works in others equally dear to him, equally consecrated, and equally single-eyed in their pursuit of truth the very opposite persuasions. So "there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit," and "diversities of ministrations, and the same Lord." If the fact could only be remembered by all Christ's followers what an immense gain to Christian unity would accrue. Criticisms upon the beliefs of others, in matters which are really nonessential, would cease; and, in the realization of that true brotherhood which the Master taught to be possible for his Church, it would move forward and accomplish its allotted work of making ready the world for his coming again.

Essentials of New Testament Greek. By JOHN H. HUDDILSTON, A.B., Instructor in Greek in Northwestern University. 16mo, pp. 233. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

No minister of the Gospel or Sunday-school worker can excuse himself for inability to read, in their original, the New Testament credentials of the religion which he is to expound, when an expenditure of seventy-five cents and of a few moments of earnest study a day for two or three months will put him into possession of the necessary equipment and skill. These lessons are not an untried experiment, but have been tested and developed in the author's elementary classes in the Garrett Biblical Institute. He says in his Preface, "I have made the explanations in the lessons so full that much progress may be made by private study, without a teacher." The first part consists of a series of thirty-two lessons, into which some of the best features of the inductive method are incorporated, though the lessons themselves are based upon a systematic study of the grammar. Sufficient practice is afforded in both English and Greek translation, and preference is given to those words in New Testament vocabulary that are of most frequent occurrence. These lessons are followed by the Greek text of John's first epistle, the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer from Matthew, the parable of the Prodigal Son from Luke, and the thirteenth chapter of I First Corinthians. Vocabularies, paradigms, word exercises on the irregular verbs, a brief syntax, and indexes fill the remainder of the volume. The Bible student in search of a work on the elements of New Testament Greek will make no mistake in buying and diligently using this.

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PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCES, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Eden Lost and Won. Studies of the Early History and Final Destiny of Man as Taught in Nature and Revelation. By Sir J. WILLIAM DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., etc. 12mo, pp. 296. New York: F. H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

In this important volume Dr. Dawson writes of certain questions whose solution concerns science no less than Christianity. Science cannot, in fact, avoid the consideration of these problems; nor has it in lukewarm zeal manifested any recent disposition to shun their full discussion. The interests of religion and science are in reality identical. Should the methods of critical dissection which are now applied to the Pentateuch "bring into discredit, even for a time, the testimony of the early books of our Bible, the consequences," says Dawson, "may be serious to the progress of science as well as to the higher interests of society in general. To science these books have been of inestimable value, as establishing in the popular mind a broad basis for scientific work. Their distinct testimony to the unity of nature as the product of one design, to the unity of man, to the progressive development of the creative work, and to the regulation of all things by invariable law, has emancipated the human mind from tendencies the most hostile to true progress." Of three matters only is there now opportunity to notice Dr. Dawson's treatment. In his chapter on "The Book of Genesis" he enumerates some of the objections which have been made to the biblical narrative of the creation—such as the introduction of light before the sun and of land plants before animals, or "the omission to mention the earliest marsupial animals." We must not quarrel with the scientist who in a reverent and teachable spirit raises such objections as these. Certainly they have not, in all cases, been captiously made, and they merit the best answer that theological scholarship can give. Of these doubts concerning the Genesis narrative Dawson says: "Over against these objections we may place certain grand dominant principles and facts in which this early record is in harmony with all the true science and philosophy that the world has ever known. We have here a grand conception of the unity of nature and of the interdependence of all its parts as a continuous work of an Almighty Power. In the physical world the light, the ocean, the atmosphere, the dry land, even the distant luminaries of heaven, are all parts of one system. In the world of life the plant and the animal are linked together, and all the forms of animal life, from the lowest to the highest, constitute one series. . . . Our old record also anticipates, in some of its aspects, the nebular theory. It recognizes the distinction of light from luminaries, even from the great sun himself. . . . It knows that the land arose out of the primeval ocean; that plant life on the land must precede that of the animal, even by a long time. . . . It thus informs us of successive reigns of invertebrates, of reptiles, of mammals, and of man; and in the whole appear design and development combined." Such words are illuminating, and show that the differences between science and religion, as to the creation, even if they are not yet all adjusted, are at least not

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insuperable. To "Early Man and Eden" our author also devotes an able chapter. The identification of the four rivers, Euphrates, Hiddekel, Pison, and Gihon, he attempts; and the general locality of Eden he establishes "by both the physical and the historical geography of our narrative." In the early antediluvian time, or the second continental period of geologists, "it [Eden] must have been higher than now, the Persian Gulf must have been in part dry land, the four rivers must have been more nearly united, and the marshy Babylonian plain may have been comparatively dry and forest-clad. Our old narrator must have known this as an historical or traditional fact, and that the site of the Garden of Eden has become greatly deteriorated if not obliterated in his time. Therefore, though he is bold enough to place the aboriginal abode of man in this unlikely locality, he makes no attempt to identify the precise site of the garden, but only of the district in which it had been situated. This is the attitude, not of a writer of fiction, but of an annalist living near to the times which he describes, and rigidly adhering to the evidence before him, even when appearances were against it." Such an attitude is in the interests of accuracy and must enhance the credibility of the sacred narrative, even by the concession of the most bigoted scientist. And, once more, Dr. Dawson in a valuable chapter considers "The Fall and Its Consequences." The story of the transgression in Eden, and its ill results, must not be coolly thrust aside by science as chimerical. "The more we ponder on the few but graphic touches of the primitive painter of Eden and the Fall, the more we must recognize their truth to nature and the certainty that they must truly represent the experience of the earliest human beings, and the reason of that degraded condition in which we find the oldest tribes of men yet known to us." Certain legitimate conclusions of science reached thirty-five years ago, which current theories of evolution have not affected, our writer quotes, though there is no room for their present citation. "When, therefore," says he, "we find the earliest men known to us to have been barbarous hunters and manslayers, at war with nature and with one another, and out of harmonious relations with their environment, we may be sure from the deductions of geological and archæological science that there has been a 'fall of man.'" Much more that Dr. Dawson says, which is vigorous, attractive, and faith-inspiring, must here be passed by. We have quoted so frequently from him because the scope and spirit of his book are thus best shown. The point which particularly impresses the reader is that science should not antagonize religion, and cannot successfully do this. The interests of both are common. The same God who has written the inspired Bible of the Christian has fashioned the rocks in which the scientist reads the story of antediluvian life.

Browning and the Christian Faith. By EDWARD BERDOE, member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. 12mo, pp. 233. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Gradually this age is finding out how much it owes to Robert Browning. The eccentricities of his poetic manner make no more against the value of his service to the intellectual and spiritual life than Abraham

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Lincoln's gaunt and awkward form detracts from his usefulness to his time and his country. The author of this book, an English physician, tells in its pages the story of his march from agnosticism to Christian faith with Browning as his guide. One day the agnostic heard a lecture on "Sordello." He tells what followed: "The next day I purchased a set of Browning's works. The first poem I read was 'Saul.' I soon recognized that I was in the grasp of a strong hand, and as I continued to read 'Paracelsus,' 'Men and Women,' and 'A Death in the Desert,' the feeling came over me that in Browning I had found my religious teacher, one who could put me right on a hundred points which had troubled my mind for many years, and which had ultimately caused me to abandon the Christian religion. . . . By slow and painful steps I found my way back to the faith I had forsaken." Dr. Berdoe dedicates his book thus: "To the clergy, ministers, religious teachers of all denominations of Christians, and to those who are perplexed and in doubt concerning questions of the utmost importance to all, these pages are respectfully dedicated by one who has himself wandered in the maze and found its clew." His Introduction begins thus: "A student at one of our theological colleges once consulted the divinity lecturer as to the best books on modern theology which he could present to a clerical friend. The answer came promptly and decisively, 'Give him a set of Browning.' The advice was not followed; the student was only partially familiar with the great poet's works, and could not quite see how they would help a country parson in his pulpit duties. But some years after this suggestion he took up the study of Browning more systematically, and then he saw the wisdom of his tutor's advice." "At first sight it may seem strange that we should be invited to study Browning as a religious teacher. It is not usually to the poets that we turn for lessons in philosophy and theology, but it is perfectly certain that Browning wrote with this object in view. The religious motive is plainly to be seen in almost every poem. He was above all things a great philosopher. The unity of his work is manifest to the most superficial observer, from the first lines of 'Pauline,' his boyish effort, to his death-song in the Epilogue to 'Asolando.' In 'Pauline' the poet confesses his sin and degradation, consequent on his all-encompassing selfishness; he tells how his soul was called out of mental darkness to the light of Christianity; how his redemption and restoration were wrought by divine love by means of the mediation of human love; and from that time onward to the day of his death Robert Browning never once looked back; never faltered in his message; never once despaired of God, of life, of human love, or of the infinite worth of the soul's period of training and passage—

> "Never doubted clouds would break,
> Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
> Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
> Sleep to wake.

"From the first pages of his first volume down to the closing lines of the last, one clear trumpet note rings through his whole long life work, 'I believe in God!'" "Browning was much more than a theist, he was a

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Christian. The Son of God made man for us solves for Browning all the hard problems of existence. By Christ he came to know God, and knowing God as he can only be known in the God-man, the infinite worth of the soul, the value of life, the certainty of a future state, the mystery of evil, pain, sin, and death, were made plain to him. In his teaching on these high matters we have a religious system definite enough to satisfy all Christians save those who demand scholastic definitions of every article of their faith, and rigid lines of demarcation which must not be transgressed under pain of deadly sin." Browning is the poet of the soul and its salvation. He believes the truth of God is meant for men; that God will find them when he can and save them if he may, in life through its experiences, or sometimes possibly in that dire ultimate emergency by a sudden flash of truth in the hour and article of death. Thus the pontiff clings to the hope that somehow Count Guido, the bloody arch-villain of "The Ring and the Book," may be saved by a knowledge of the truth before he dies:

> I stood at Naples once, a night so dark
> I could have scarce conjectured there was earth
> Anywhere, sky or sea or world at all;
> But the night's black was burst through by a blaze—
> Thunder struck blow on blow, earth groaned and bore,
> Through her whole length of mountain visible:
> There lay the city thick and plain with spires,
> And, like a ghost disshrouded, white the sea.
> So may the truth be flashed out by one blow,
> And Guido see, one instant, and be saved.

Such is Browning's faith in the Christ who saved the dying thief on the next cross from whose penitent lips came the last kind words which fell on the ears of the dying Saviour. We say to ministers, read Dr. Berdoe's book. If after that you can let Browning alone, well and good; it will be clear that Browning was not meant for you. And we then would recommend Tupper's "Proverbial Philosophy," Young's "Night Thoughts," and Pollock's "Course of Time."

HISTORY. BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes. By JOHN T. MORSE, JR. 2 volumes, crown octavo, pp. 358, 394. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

A physician, a professor of anatomy, a man of letters, a popular lecturer, a poet, a wit, Dr. Holmes was one of the really interesting men of his generation. Of the best New England stock, he was a New Englander through and through. His writings preserve to future generations the quality and culture of the New England which was and is not. To him Massachusetts State House was "the hub of the solar system," and he said, "You couldn't pry that out of a Boston man if you had the tire of all creation straightened out for a crowbar." Of Bostonians he writes, "We all carry the Common in our heads as the unit of space, the State House as the standard of architecture, and measure off men in Edward

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Everetts as with a yardstick." His father was an orthodox minister, and the son says he too might have been one, "if a certain clergyman had not looked and talked so like an undertaker;" a man with "a sad face and wailing voice" who "did more to unchristianize" the youth who knew him "with his woe-begone ways, than all his sermons were like to accomplish in the other direction." Early in life Wendell came to regard the ministry as "a perilous profession, in which no man could embark without great danger of becoming exceedingly disagreeable to others, and even personally unwholesome and distasteful in himself." Holmes felt old in youth and young in old age. At twenty-four he calls himself "old and tough," "the skim-milk sentiment of younger days" having "hardened into the white-oak cheese of maturity;" and when past eighty he looks back upon "the comparatively immature age of three score and ten." The youth, writing from Paris for money, encourages his father to persevere in denying himself for the education of his boy by sagely suggesting that nothing better can be done with money than "putting the means of instruction—the certain power of superiority if not of success—into the hands of one's children;" and he thinks twelve hundred dollars a year is not money thrown away on him; because nine tenths of it goes straight into his head in the shape of knowledge; "a boy is worth his manure as much as a potato patch." In return for the money spent on him he claims to be pursuing the study of his profession "by habits formed in severe and sometimes painful self-denial." Trying to ascertain what stuff may be in himself and to bring it out, he writes, "How much I must learn—how hard I must work, before I have wrought this refractory ore into good, tough, malleable, ductile, elastic iron!" In London he goes to Edward Irving's church and describes him as "a black, savage, saturnine, long-haired Scotchman, with a most Tyburn-looking squint," who "said nothing remarkable," and "owes much of his reputation to a voice of great force and compass." Irving and his flock are "poor enthusiasts, drunk with their celestial influences and babbling paltry inanities," "rolling up their eyes so as to show the whites in a formidable manner." The King of England, William IV, "looks like a retired butcher;" he "blew his nose and wiped the royal perspiration repeatedly from a face which is probably the largest uncivilized spot in England." Milan Cathedral, "with its hundreds of spires and thousands of statues, is the most glorious piece of embroidery in stone that man might wish to see." Dr. Holmes said the thing that pleased him best about practicing medicine was that he had to keep a horse and chaise. Of his wife it is written, "she took care of him, and gave him every day the fullest and freest chance to be always at his best, always able to do his work amid cheerful surroundings." This professor of anatomy always manifested abhorrence for death and tenderness for animals. When it became necessary to have a freshly killed rabbit for his lectures he always ran out of the room while his assistant was chloroforming it, beseeching him not to let it squeak. Experience as an instructor convinces him that instruction is successful in proportion as it is

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elementary. He tries "to teach a little and to teach it well." "Individuals may learn a thing with once hearing it, but the only way of teaching a whole class is by enormous repetition and illustration in all possible forms." He aimed at thoroughness, hated smatterings, saying, "Our American atmosphere is vocal with the flippant loquacity of half knowledge." He insisted on the elevating influence of his profession on its practitioners; "Goldsmith and even Smollett, both having studied and practiced medicine, could not by any possibility have outraged all the natural feelings of delicacy and decency as Swift and Zola have outraged them." The "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" was one of the brilliant men who made the lecture platform famous forty years ago. His landlady gives us a glimpse of his experience when she says that he generally came home from a lecturing excursion "with a cold in his head as bad as a horse distemper," and expresses the opinion that man ought to prefer "natural death to puttin' himself out of the world by any such violent means as lecturin'." The one achievement which brought distinction to Dr. Holmes's professional career was his discovering and proving the contagiousness of puerperal fever, resulting in the saving of countless lives through all subsequent time. Two famous Philadelphia obstetricians, Hodge and Meigs, denied his assertions and opposed his conclusions, but were vanquished by overwhelming proof. Dr. Holmes called Agassiz "Liebig's Extract of the Wisdom of Ages." Perhaps heredity may account for the fact that this son of a clergyman cared more for theology than for medicine or literature. He was a natural reactionary product of early New England Calvinism. He said that the Puritan preachers took Christ out of the Bible and put Jonathan Edwards in, that they made heaven hardly as big as a modern hotel, that they damned the heathen who lived before the advent of Christ, and the later heathen who missed hearing his name and the poor babies who died before the minister could get to the bedside to baptize them; that they damned everyone who did not agree with them, and damned each other, too, pretty freely; and that any decent person ought to go mad who held such opinions as to the fate of the human race as they held. Nevertheless he wrote that in spite of their beliefs "We have a right to be proud of our Pilgrim and Puritan fathers among the clergy. They were ready to do and to suffer anything for their faith, and a faith which breeds heroes is better than an unbelief which leaves nothing worth being a hero for." A good deal of unprofessional and polemic preaching went into his writings, the text for most of it being, "If a created being has no rights which his Creator is bound to respect, there is an end to all moral relations between them." He insists that all men, women, and children are "under the tender care of a Being who understands their natures, who knows all their griefs, who in allowing them to be born into consciousness—into intelligence and affection—took on himself all the duties and obligations, and, more than all, of the best of earthly parents." The faith he thinks able to sustain men is a "trust in something better and wiser than we are, whether it comes to us in the inner light which we believe is the direct gift of the infinite Spirit, or

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takes the human aspect in the person of Him who brings the Divine face to face with us; or whether . . . we stretch forth our arms 'like an infant crying in the night,' and implore the Being who gave us life to give us even the crumbs of faith which fall from the table of the triumphant and unquestioning believer. . . . If we have a Father he will care for us and do what is best for us; and if he is as good as even our earthly fathers and mothers have been, will judge us not by our poor stumbling acts and shortsighted views and pitiable shortcomings, but in the light of his own magnanimous, forgiving, loving nature." Holmes thinks that under the influence of Christian civilization and homes, "a good proportion of children will grow up spiritually minded, if they are treated as Christ would have treated them—'Of such is the kingdom of heaven;'" but he adds, "At the same time I wish you distinctly to observe that I recognize sudden changes of character as one of the means by which the Spirit of God reclaims those who have wandered from the path in which they have been or should have been trained." "Education in a Christian community and family ought to be a kind of congenital conversion." He lives in "the habitual trust that this life is a school, the seemingly harsh discipline of which will be explained when we get into one of the upper classes." "I am a man of large faith, and though the devil is a personage of remarkable talents I think the presiding Wisdom is sure to be too much for him in the end." There is no lack of variety or interest in Dr. Holmes's letters or Mr. Morse's biography of him. To glean miscellaneously: Moncure D. Conway interviewed Lincoln in war time and thought him "honest enough, but simply incompetent and without a plan." Holmes having met and talked with Grant not long after the war, wrote: "He is one of the simplest, stillest men I ever saw. He seems torpid at first, and requires a little management to get much talk out of him. Of all the considerable personages I have seen he appears to me to be the least capable of an emotion of vanity. His entire sincerity and homely truthfulness of manner and speech struck me greatly. He said he was a good sleeper; commonly slept eight hours; could set a battle going, go to sleep as if nothing were happening, and wake up by and by when the action had got along somewhat. Grant has the look of a plain business man, which he is. I doubt if we have any ideal so completely realized as that of the republican soldier in him." Stanton, speaking of the campaign of the Wilderness, said, "It was the bloodiest swath ever made on this globe." In 1870 Dr. Holmes writes to Motley in Europe about the new president of Harvard: "Eliot has turned the whole university over like a flapjack. He makes the corporation meet twice a month instead of once. He comes to the meeting of every faculty, ours among the rest, and keeps us up to eleven or twelve o'clock at night discussing new arrangements. He shows an extraordinary knowledge of all that relates to every department of the university, and presides with an *aplomb*, an imperturbable, serious good humor which it is impossible not to admire. . . . I cannot help being amused at some of the scenes we have in our medical faculty, this cool, grave young man proposing in the calmest

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way to turn everything topsy-turvy,"—"with an organizing brain, a firm will, a dignified presence, taking the ribbons of our classical coach-and-six, feeling the horses' mouths, putting a check on that one's capers, and touching that one with the lash—turning up everywhere and taking it all as naturally as if he had been born president." Byron "diabolized the literature of his century." "Æsthetically speaking, America is a penal colony." One of Holmes's reasons for going to church regularly is given thus: "There is a little plant called *Reverence* in the corner of my soul's garden which I love to have watered about once a week." Remarking that "Rock of Ages" has been set down as the best hymn in the English language, he says, "I recognize its wonderful power and solemnity. If you ask me what is the secret of it, I should say that of all the Protestant hymns I remember it is richest in material imagery, . . . and that is what most of us must have to kindle our spiritual exaltation to its highest point."

Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America. By RICHARD HARDING DAVIS. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 282. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.25.

Most of the material included in this volume is familiar to many of our readers, having appeared in late issues of *Harper's Magazine*. As a record of personal adventure and experiences the book is bright and entertaining, and is written in a vivacious, journalistic style; but it is not to be taken too seriously. Those who search its pages for any adequate account of the countries visited and of the social and industrial life of the Central and South American people will be disappointed. The very title of the work savors of journalism, being an evident attempt to take advantage of the recent interest in Venezuelan boundary disputes. As a matter of fact the chapter on Venezuela is the last in order, and occupies but sixty-two of the whole two hundred and eighty-two pages; and twenty-eight of these are devoted to full-page illustrations, without counting other illustrations of smaller dimensions. The author seems to have seen nothing of Venezuela except Caracas and its seaport La Guayra, nor does his stay in the country appear to have been at all protracted; consequently it is not to be wondered at if his brief "exposition" of the Monroe doctrine is decidedly amateurish and superficial. Within its limits, however, the work has a certain value, and imparts information in an interesting way to those who are not likely to seek for it in any less sprightly form. It makes clear—what is apparent to even the hastiest observer—that the republics of Spanish America are republics only nominally. On page 19 the author remarks the very perceptible change to be noticed in passing from the colony of British Honduras to the soil of republican Guatemala. "Livingstone," he says, "was like a village on the coast of East Africa in comparison with Belize." "The Central American politician has to show the faith that is in him by going out on the mountain-side and hacking his way to office with a naked machete in his hand; and if his leader fails he loses his life, with his back to a church wall and looking into the eyes of a firing squad." The ruin which the ever-recurring revo-

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lutions "bring to the country while they last, and which continues after they are over, while the 'outs' are getting up another revolution, is so serious that any sort of continued prosperity or progress is impossible. Native merchants will not order goods that may never reach them, and neither do the gringos [Englishmen or Americans] care to make contracts with men who in six months may not only be out of office, but out of the country as well. Sometimes a revolution takes place, and half of the people of the country will not know of it until it has been put down or has succeeded; and, again, the revolution may spread to every boundary, and all the men at work on the high roads and in the mines or on the plantations must stop work and turn to soldiering, and pack mules are seized, the mail carriers stopped, plantations are devastated, and forced loans are imposed upon those who live in cities, so that everyone suffers more or less through every change of executive." Mechanically the book seems nearly perfect, and the illustrations are both numerous and excellent. On page 74 is a portrait of Henry Somers Somerset, son of Lady Somerset, and one of the three "gringos" of the title; while on page 64 all three are represented seated, with rather less than more of dignity, on the bumper of a Central American locomotive.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Barabbas. A Dream of the World's Tragedy. By MARIE CORELLI. 12mo, pp. 317. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. Price, cloth, $1.

Somewhat in the style of Bulwer's *Last Days of Pompeii* is this romance, dealing with the supreme crisis of human history and weaving into a well-connected and not wholly fictitious narrative the figures and events which moved about the trial, crucifixion, resurrection, and post-resurrection life of Jesus Christ. Written by a woman, it is more passionate than a man could make it. It has the solemn and pathetic dignity of the "Passion Play" as seen at Ober-Ammergau. It will make more vivid and not less hallowed in the minds of many who read it the one transcendent tragedy of time. It imagines what may have been the character and fortunes of Barabbas, and sees the whole history as if hand-in-hand with him. Rightly enough, the murder of the Nazarene is laid at the door of Caiaphas: "Through Caiaphas the stain of treachery will rest on the dead Judas; through Caiaphas the resurrection will be denied; through Caiaphas the very name of Christ will be banished from the Jewish annals." The book, though a work of the imagination, contravenes no history. To some minds it may be a reinforcement by its filling in, its coordinating of events and personages, and showing how it all may have happened. Barabbas, in the judgment hall of Pilate, perceives the Christ to be a superior being; knows him to be spotless as surely as he knows himself to be worthy of death; follows with the crowd to the place of crucifixion, in a rage that innocence should be so treated; exclaims, "I would have died willingly to save yon kingly man,"

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its. History has been unkind to them. They were Czechs and Slavs; their name was called Awley, and that of a savage tribe who had preceded them imposed upon them, so that the word "Bohemian" is as untruthful as the word "Indian" applied to our American predecessors. For us the interest of the work centers in the long struggle for liberty, which is not yet ended, and in the fierce fight of the Reformation period. The treatment of both these topics is careful, and the tone of the work inspires confidence. Of course, the history of little Bohemia is, in some sort, history of Europe, in outline at least, and is a good point from which to survey, for example, the Thirty Years' War. This is the only history of Bohemia in the English language; and after reading it one must wonder why we have had to wait so long for so important a piece of the experience of mankind.

Lakewood. A Story of To-day. By MARY HARRIOTT NORRIS. 12mo, pp. 330. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, cloth, illustrated, $1.

This is the latest book from the pen of its accomplished author, who is known as one of the most cultivated women of our Methodism, a student and a teacher especially in history and in literature. Miss Norris is no stranger to our readers, having appeared as a contributor to the *Methodist Review.* In appearance and in contents this is an admirable volume for use in the gift season of the Christmas holidays.

Westminster. By SIR WALTER BESANT, M.A., F.S.A., etc. 8vo, pp. 399. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, cloth, ornamental, gilt top, $3.

This is not a history of Westminster. The author does not attempt to tell the story of the Abbey buildings, nor of the great functions held in them, nor of the monuments in the Abbey. His endeavor is (1) to show, contrary to received opinion, that the Isle of Bramble was a busy place of trade long before London existed at all; (2) to restore the vanished palaces of Westminster and Whitehall; (3) to portray the life of the Abbey, with its services, its Rule, its Anchorites, and its Sanctuary; (4) to show the connection of Westminster with the first of English printers; (5) to present the place as a town and borough, with its streets and its people. The publishers have issued the book in sumptuous style, with one hundred and thirty fine illustrations. It is a valuable work.

Joel Chandler Harris. By WILLIAM M. BASKERVILL. 16mo, pp. 48. Nashville, Tenn.: Barbee & Smith. Price, paper, 10 cents.

This is the first of a series of studies, biographical and critical, of Southern writers, to be prepared by Professor Baskervill, who proposes in twelve papers "to give a tolerably complete survey of that literary movement which, beginning about 1870, has spread over the entire South." The subsequent papers are to be as follows: Maurice Thompson, Sidney Lanier, Irwin Russell, Margaret J. Preston, G. W. Cable, Charles Egbert Craddock, Richard Malcolm Johnston, Thomas Nelson Page, James Lane Allen, Miss Grace King, Samuel Minturn Peck.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1896.

ART. I.—THE LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY.

THE historiography of the Church has developed, from such humble beginnings as the disjointed and questionable accounts of the earliest Greek collectors, into an elaborated and well-organized department of scientific research. Its progress from Hegesippus, in the second century, to Neander, in the nineteenth, is as great as the fabled growth of the world, as described by Ovid, from the golden to the iron age. The oldest historical records of Christianity are contained in the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and such parts of the pastoral and general epistles as throw incidental light on the condition and growth of the Church in that genetic period. The second and third centuries witnessed the struggle of Christianity for existence and expansion. There was neither the motive nor the adaptation to record the story of its brief life. Its literary energies were required for combating error, formulating faith, and making sure a life whose history might well be committed to a more judicial future.

The writers of ecclesiastical history may be grouped into five general classes:

I. *The Early Greek Historians.*—Hegesippus, a Christian convert from Judaism living in Asia Minor, wrote his *Memoirs of Ecclesiastical Affairs* in the middle of the second century. He was simply a collector of such historical traditions as he could glean from aged people and others most likely to give

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him information concerning the events of the former half of the second century. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, was the first writer who can be called in any sense a reliable historian of the Church. He bears the same relation to ecclesiastical historiography that Herodotus does to secular, and has been fitly called the "father of Church history." His *History of the Church*, in ten books, extends from the birth of Christ to the year 324. The emperor Constantine, who was his personal friend, placed at his disposal all the political and ecclesiastical archives of the empire. In addition, Eusebius, besides making copious use of the gospels, did not hesitate to introduce material from the apocryphal writings, traditions, and all other available sources. He even incorporated without change much of the legendary matter of Hegesippus. He also wrote a *Life of Constantine*, which has a measure of historical value, but is too laudatory to be accepted without qualification. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, island of Cyprus, wrote a work against the prevailing heresies which possesses value as a record of the contemporary opposition to Christianity.

Philip Sidetes, in Pamphylia, wrote a superficial and ill-arranged history at the close of the fourth century. Then came Philostorgius, the Eunomian, who wrote a history of the period A. D. 300–423, with the purpose of proving that Arianism was none other than original Christianity. The works of both these authors have been lost, and without any appreciable detriment to historical literature.

In the fifth century we meet with the first real successors of Eusebius—Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius. Socrates wrote a continuation of the history of Eusebius, extending it to the year 439; Sozomen gave a narrative of the same period, but with the introduction of much irrelevant matter; Theodoret, of Mesopotamia, continued the history of Eusebius to the year 429; and Evagrius, of Antioch, continued the works of his immediate predecessors down to 594. The work of the Greek historians, as a body, was conducted amid great difficulties. As soon as Christianity became tolerated and was made the religion of the State, in the fourth century, the facilities for independent inquiry were multiplied. But there was a constant danger of exaggerating the traditional and marvelous elements. On the other hand, the histories of these writers were

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written near the scene of the events and in the atmosphere of the first centers of Christian thought, and hence there is a strong general presumption in favor of the main body of their narratives. After making all just allowance for the apocryphal material which they may have subsidized, there must still remain a large measure of positive history.

II. *The Early Latin Historians.*—These men, far removed from the Eastern theater of religious activity, rendered but little service to the early historiography of the Church. The Roman was always a borrower from the Greek. His best philosophy was only an Italian reproduction of that of the Stoa. His drama was merely the thin disguise of the masterpieces of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. In the first Roman historians of the Church there was the same dependence upon the first group of Greek historians. There was no claim to original investigation. Rufinus, of Aquileia, writing about the year 400, translated and modified the history of Eusebius, bringing it down to A. D. 395. Had he confined his labors to a translation he would have rendered valuable service to the Christians of the West who spoke the Latin tongue; but he made so many alterations and additions, and yet without sufficient ground, that his work possesses but little value. Jerome prepared a *Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers*, which possessed value because of its preserving from oblivion the names and writings of many writers of the earliest period.

Sulpicius Severus, of Gaul, wrote in 403 his *Sacred History*, extending from the creation to A. D. 400. It is only a summary of the better parts of the works of the Greek writers. The style is, however, close and attractive, and has gained for him the name of the Christian Sallust. Of more importance is the *De Viris Illustribus*, by Gennadius, of Marseilles (died circ. 518), a continuation of the catalogue of Jerome. It is impartial, and based on extensive research. Paul Orosius wrote his *Seven Books of History* against the heathen in 417, a work of too much apologetical character to be of value as a reliable history. Cassiodorus, once a Roman statesman in Ostrogothic service, wrote a *Tripartite History*, which was a condensation of the continuations of Eusebius. It was the best work on Church history produced by the early Western Church, and served as its text-book during the whole mediæval period.

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III. *Historians of the Mediæval Period.* — During the Middle Ages there was a general stagnation in historical studies. The Greek Church had been largely consumed by internal controversy, and its territory was reduced by the conquests of Mohammedanism. The best historical works of the Latin Church were chiefly monographs on the missionary fields. Nicephorus Callistus, a preacher of Constantinople, wrote, in the early part of the fourteenth century, a *History of the Church* from the time of Christ to the year 610. A portion of his work, five out of twenty-three books of which it consisted, has been lost. He made full use of his predecessors, and, being probably a monk connected with St. Sophia, enjoyed the full privilege of the great library of that church. The historical work of Eutychius, of Alexandria, written in Arabic about the year 950, and describing the time from the creation to the year 940, possesses value only because of some confused memoranda descriptive of the rise of Mohammedanism.

The Byzantine historians wrote at intervals during a period of one thousand years, from 500 to 1500. Their works are of chief value in civil history, but, incidentally, they throw important light on the relations of the Eastern Church to the government. The best of their productions is the *Paschal Chronicle.* It covers the period from the creation to the twentieth year of the reign of the emperor Heraclius, or A. D. 630. It seems to be the work of two authors (some say of three), neither of whom is now known, one writing of the period to the year 354, and the other completing the history.

The Latin Church, although much farther developed, and with less opposition than the Greek, was nearly as unproductive of ecclesiastical history as the Greek. Society was unsettled. There were constant migrations and consuming wars, while within the pale of the Church there was a great decline of spiritual life and theological development. There were annalists of secular affairs, but they usually wrote in the interest of the ruler or conqueror, and their chronicles are of little value toward understanding the actual history of the mediæval Church. The *Pontifical Book* contains an account of the popes down to the death of Stephen VI, A. D. 891. The librarian Anastasius was for a long time supposed to be the author, but it has been recently proved that the biographies of the last

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popes are the only product of his pen. This work possesses value both as a papal and general Church history of the period treated by it. The best general Church history produced during the Middle Ages was the *Historical Summary*, by the Archbishop Antonine, of Florence, which extends from the creation to the year 1459. Of other works in Church history the following may be mentioned: The *Ecclesiastical History* of Bishop Haymo, of Halberstadt, about 853; the *Ecclesiastical History* of the abbot Odericus Vitalis, of Normandy, about 1150; and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bartholomew, a Dominican monk of Lucca, about 1300.

The special or national ecclesiastical histories are of chief value during the mediæval period. The best of these were the *Church History of the Franks*, by Gregory of Tours, who died in 594, and the *Church History* of the Anglo-Saxon people, by the Venerable Bede, who died in 735. The *History of the Lombards*, by Paul Diaconus, was only a civil history, but it possesses value because it stands nearly alone as an authority on the ecclesiastical condition of that people. The author wrote his history to the year 773, but it was continued by Erchempertus to 889. Adam of Bremen, who lived in the eleventh century, wrote a Church history of the bishoprics of Bremen and Hamburg, which, incidentally, embraced a description of ecclesiastical progress in all the Scandinavian countries. Its chief value lies in its preservation of original documents bearing on the evangelization of northern Europe. Albert Krantz, who died in 1517, wrote a Church history of northern Germany. It related chiefly to Hamburg, Bremen, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony. Among the secular annalists whose labors have aided toward an understanding of the Church of the Middle Ages the following may be mentioned: Regius, of the ninth century; Hermann and Lambert, of the eleventh; Otto and Siegbert, of the twelfth; and Matthew of Paris, of the thirteenth.

IV. *Historians of the Period of the Reformation.*—Until the German reformers appeared Church history had been entirely in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church. It was a strange combination of legend and fact, and no one had possessed independence enough to question the accuracy of the received histories and to begin the process of sifting. But

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when the Reformation became established the attention of German Protestant thinkers was directed toward the regeneration of this department of theology. In the revival of classic learning in Italy, which had extended to France and Germany, historical studies had shared largely. But the history of the Church was too distinctively theological to receive a decided impulse from humanism. In fact, humanism was skeptical and out of sympathy with ecclesiastical thought and life. It was a purely literary movement, but, undesignedly, it had a direct bearing on sacred subjects.

It was seen by the reformers, and particularly by Melanchthon, that the history of the Church would need to be entirely rewritten, and that unless the existing theology were made to give up a large measure of its fanciful annals the theological reform would be but half achieved. The result was the adoption of a scheme, in large measure fulfilled, for a complete history of the Church. It bore the title of the *Magdeburg Centuries*. Matthias Flacius, a pastor of Magdeburg, organized the work. He gathered able colaborers about him, the chief of whom were Wigand, Judex, Faber, Corvinus, and Hulzhuter. The work was in thirteen folio volumes, each volume being devoted to a century, and each century divided into sixteen subdivisions. The *Magdeburg Centuries*, although based on the unphilosophical and unnatural principle of the centurial division of periods, produced a literary revolution in the Church second only to the one wrought by Luther and Melanchthon in the field of doctrinal theology. It proved a powerful agent in exposing the errors into which Roman Catholic historians had fallen, and gained a literary recognition for the new Protestantism in circles hitherto untouched.

The Roman Catholic Church was suddenly thrown on the defensive, and in a direction entirely unanticipated by it. The work produced consternation in every European country that had not become Protestant, and even in Rome itself. The effect was an upheaval of all the historical records of Romanism. It was the successful appeal of Protestantism to history as a justification of its right to existence. As an antidote to the *Magdeburg Centuries*, Cæsar Baronius, of Rome, published his *Ecclesiastical Annals*. All the literary treasures of the Roman Catholic Church were placed at his disposition. His work occu-

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pied thirty years in composition, consisted of twelve volumes, and was nineteen years in process of publication in Rome (1588–1607). The time treated by Baronius was twelve centuries, or down to 1198. His work is a great achievement. But, while reproducing many of the traditions of the early histories, it passed over some of the more ridiculous in silence, and thus surrendered them. As a literary work, in all the essentials of historical accuracy, research, vigor, and symmetry of construction, it fell far below the *Magdeburg Centuries*. The work of Baronius was continued, at different times, by Raynaldi, Laderchi, and Theiner. Less important are the continuations of Bzovius, Spondanus, and Rinal. So far as a Protestant reply was needed, the task was performed by Casaubon, in 1614, and by Spanheim, in 1687.

V. *Protestant Church Historians.*—The example of the *Magdeburg Centuries* proved the ability of Protestantism for thorough historical research. The historical spirit has from that beginning distinguished every Protestant period and all Protestant countries. "Before the Reformation," says Schaff, "the historian was, so to speak, of one growth with his subject. Now he rose by reflection above it, and, instead of at once receiving on authority everything Catholic as true and condemning everything not Catholic as false, he began to subject the whole development of the Church itself to critical examination, judging it, without regard to papal decrees, according to the word of God and common reason."

In Protestant ecclesiastical historiography we observe the following departments:

1. The Confessional and Orthodox. Here, as in the three succeeding departments, Germany has made the most important contributions. First in order after Flacius, and first in the line of Church historians of the Reformed Church, stands Hottinger, the author of the *Ecclesiastical History of the New Testament.* It was completed in 1667, and treats the history of the Church down to the sixteenth century. Spanheim, of Holland, wrote a *Summary of Ecclesiastical History* which extends over about the same period and was published in 1689. The most of the historiography of this period had a strongly confessional tendency, for it was the time of sharp antagonism between the Lutherans and the Reformed. The works of Chemnitz, Ger-

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hard, and Quenstedt are fair illustrations of a large class of doctrinal theologians who made ample, but not always legitimate, use of history in defense of their confessional position.

2. The Pietistic Historians. Pietism marks the German theological boundary between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was one of the most important movements in the modern Church. Spener, its founder, protested against the exhausting controversies, and contended for a return to the letter and spirit of the Scriptures. With his death pietism passed out of its calmest and purest period. The first and only great pietistic historian was Gottfried Arnold, the author of the *Impartial History of the Church and Heretics* (1699). It treated the period from the beginning of the New Testament to the year 1688. His purpose was altogether new in ecclesiastical historiography. He aimed to show that not only was Roman Catholicism corrupt, but that rigid sectarians in all periods had violated the essential spirit of Christianity, and that pure piety, in whatever form, was the necessary savor which had preserved the Church from utter ruin. He gave all possible credit to schismatics in all periods, and commended them for having saved the Church from destruction. Not doctrinal correctness, but moral purpose and spiritual enthusiasm were with him the great criterion of excellence and service. Spener heartily disapproved of it, though the pietists, as a class, indorsed it. Its thorough independence of confessional restraints, its recognition of the overlooked and despised characters in history, and its charity toward those who had been branded as heretics and died by violence or in exile constituted it a transitional work, from the old and narrow and rigid modes of historical interpretation to the new and more liberal judgment which has ever since prevailed in Germany. "No historical work," says Baur, "has ever borne more decidedly than Arnold's the subjective impress of the author's spirit.

3. The Rationalistic Historians. Ecclesiastical history follows in the order of theological changes. Pietism was succeeded in Germany by rationalism. The rationalistic mode of treating the history of the Church was a part of the general reaction which began in the middle of the eighteenth century. Semler was the first historian who represented the tendency. He was, indeed, the first to bring rationalism out of the narrow limits of

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the Wolfian philosophy and to apply it to the entire domain of theology. His principal historical works were his *Select Chapters of Church History* (1767), and his *Historical Commentary on the Ancient State of Christianity* (1771). Semler had no adequate conception of the Church as an organic unity, but regarded it as the theater for the play of individual affinities. Christ gave to his disciples the right of private judgment, and the history of the Church shows how this has been freely and properly exercised, and that the true and the good can be perceived here in better form than in public religion. There is nothing permanent and steady in the life of the Church. The Church in its organic form has been of less service than in its disjointed and individual relations. The ocean is good, but its drops are better. The Church is an agglomeration of individuals, each having his complete vitality and independence. We here see the fundamental thought of Semler's entire theology—the right of the individual.

Henke, in his *General History of the Christian Church*, may be regarded as the leading historian of the rationalistic school. He wrote in a sarcastic spirit, and charged a large measure of the errors of the Church to the despotism of doctrinal and ecclesiastical restraints. His work was edited and continued by Vater. In the works of Schmidt and Danz we observe rather an indifference to the spiritual element in history than a positive rationalism.

Crossing the Channel, we find the last of the race of English deists busily engaged in writing history and, whenever they could, eliminating from general history the positive Christian element. Hume's *History of England* (1754–62) is tinged with a bitter Toryism throughout, a one-sided record of the rise and growth of the English people and their government. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–88), perhaps the greatest historical work ever written, though somewhat hostile in spirit to the Church, is invaluable for its marshaling of facts and for its free, broad, masterly treatment of the whole historical movement from the third century to the middle of the fifteenth. Later researches have corrected Gibbon in but few particulars, and this wonderful monument of patient industry remains to this day as much an authority as ever. Priestley wrote, in the full rationalistic spirit, a *History*

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of the Corruptions of Christianity (1782), in which he endeavored to show that the history of the Church was fundamentally a departure from the spirit, practice, and commands of Christ and his apostles. Priestley, however, will be less known to posterity as an historian than as the discoverer of oxygen.

4. The Liberal Orthodox. Mosheim was the founder of the modern scientific method of ecclesiastical historiography. He still adhered to the fanciful centurial division of Flacius, but was painstaking and accurate and dealt justly with all characters and periods. He was a distinguished preacher, and, while he wrote in faultless Latin, he was not less thorough in his researches or less judicious in his management of materials. His *Dissertation on the History of the Church* was issued in 1743, and his *Commentary on Christian Affairs Anterior to Constantine* in 1753. His masterpiece was his *Institutes of Ancient and Modern Church History*, published in 1755. It was translated from the Latin into the German with additions and continuation by Von Einem, and issued in 1769. This work has passed through many editions and into the leading modern languages, and in a more or less disguised form has long been the basis for text-books in Church history in most Protestant countries. It has been completely superseded in Germany by works of more modern character, but still holds a place in Great Britain.* Schröckh's *Christian Church History* is the largest work in its department in the whole field of German theology. It appeared in forty-five volumes, beginning in 1768 and concluding in 1810. The last two volumes are by the masterly hand of Tzschirner. We find in it a vast mass of important matter, with but little attempt at scientific classification. Schröckh was the disciple of Mosheim, and his work is fair, sound in the main, and still indispensable. Planck was a rigid defender of

* I remember once, when listening to a lecture by Tholuck, in Halle, that that veteran teacher smiled with evident composure as he mentioned the fact that Mosheim's history was still used as a text-book at Oxford. John Wesley published an abridgment of Mosheim, and an Anglican clergyman performed the same service. This latter work was made the basis of a Church history by Ruter, published in New York, which first appeared as the work of a firm and bearing the name of Ruter's Gregory's Mosheim's *Church History*. That work in time lost its partnership and finally appeared as Ruter's *Church History*. But Mosheim can be seen on every page of the poor plagiarism. There have been many editions in English of Mosheim's *Institutes*. The best is by Stubbs, London, 1862. That by Murdock, new ed., 3 vols., New York, 1874, is enriched by the copious notes of that industrious Andover scholar, one of the founders of the science of Church history in America. The other editions are of little value. The *Commentary on Pre-Constantine Affairs*, also by Murdock, 2 vols., New York, 1853, is full of learning and acute disquisitions.

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orthodoxy. His *History of the Rise, Changes, and Development of Protestant Doctrine* appeared in 1781–1800, and was the most important contribution to doctrinal history during the eighteenth century. Stäudlin wrote several important monographs, his *Universal History of the Christian Church* being especially valuable as a compendium of facts. The *Text-book of Church History* by Gieseler, one of the best fruits of this school, is a dry recital of facts in a thoroughly critical and impartial spirit. It is invaluable for its study of the sources, many of which are largely quoted or transferred bodily at the foot of the text. This makes Gieseler's work unique. Hase has written a *History of the Christian Church* in a moderately rationalistic spirit. It is an artistic presentation, bright with many original and pregnant characterizations.

5. The German Mediatory School. Out of the conflicts of German theology on the respective claims of faith and science there arose the mediatory school, which sought to reconcile the two. Schleiermacher, in his own remarkable personality and labors, constitutes the transition from the cold rationalism of the eighteenth century to the scientific evangelical theology of the nineteenth.

Neander was the first German theologian who stood fairly on the positive side. He spent his best efforts in historical studies. He was fascinated by the Church in its genetic stage, and no man of any age has equaled him in ability to penetrate its mysteries, separate the true from the false, discover the pure and worthy in our common Christianity, and clothe the life of the Church in vigorous and sympathetic language. His purpose was "to exhibit the history of the Church of Christ as a living witness of the divine power of Christianity; as a school of Christian experience; a voice, sounding through the ages, of instruction, of doctrine, and of reproof for all who are disposed to listen." He believed that the force and significance of the Church lay in its individual life, rather than in its universal character. His monographs on Julian, the Gnostics, Tertullian, Chrysostom, and Bernard indicated his emphasis on the value of the spiritually illuminated individual as a factor in the development of the Church. His great work, for which all his previous works were only a preparation, bears the title of *History of the Christian Religion and Church*. It was well said

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at his grave, "The last of the Church fathers has gone." His thirty-seven years as professor in Berlin, his gentle and loving spirit and childlike faith, the enthusiasm with which he lectured and wrote on the history of the Church, and his profound learning had the effect of imparting and enkindling an unparalleled interest in historical studies.

The best writers in historical theology who have appeared in Germany during the last three decades belong to the school of Neander. Hagenbach delivered his *History of the Church* in the form of lectures to his students in Basel, and excels in freedom, clearness, and beauty of diction. Kurtz has written an excellent *History of the Church*, but it is too encyclopedic to be attractive and inspiring. The *Manual of Church History* by Guericke is an attempt to combine the history of the Church with a history of doctrine. Niedner, the successor of Neander at Berlin, and Semisch, the successor of Niedner, have each written in the spirit of their master, Neander.

The whole field of historical theology has been worked over in recent years in Germany with the utmost enthusiasm. A new spirit came in with Harnack, the disciple of Ritschl, a successor of Neander in Berlin University. With a clear view of Christianity as a supernatural force, and yet with a minimizing of miraculous details, Harnack has subjected the early literature to a penetrating criticism, and has given a fresh view of the growth of doctrine in his *Dogma-History*.

There has been a remarkable advance in the ecclesiastical historiography of the German theologians in the most recent years. It is impossible, in brief space, to individualize them. Zahn has made some fresh studies of great importance. The *Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie*, the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, and the numerous other scientific journals of theology and history have done much for the advancement of this study in Germany. The historical articles in the new edition of Herzog's *Encyclopædia*, edited by Herzog, Plitt, and Hauck, are exhaustive discussions giving the recent views.

6. The Tübingen Historians. This group of historians of the Church is of combined rationalistic and pantheistic spirit. Ferdinand Christian Baur, professor in the University of Tübingen, was its chief representative. He carried into the do-

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main of ecclesiastical history one of the fundamental principles of the Hegelian philosophy, the subordination of the individual to the general; the control of all minds and the ordering of all events by what he calls a rational world-spirit, whose laws are necessary and infallible. Christianity is considered rather a fruit of this spirit than itself creative, the servant rather than the master. Baur, in his *Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ*, makes the apostolic period his chief field of attack upon the evangelical school. The contention of Baur is that early Christianity was composed of two elements, Paulinism and Petrinism, and that the Catholic Church of the second and third centuries was the result of the conciliation of this primitive Judaism and Universalism. Later studies have shown that Baur greatly exaggerated the antagonism between the Jewish and Christian elements, and his various conclusions concerning the New Testament writings have been revised. The spiritual sense in him was overshadowed by an intense intellectualism, and this unfitted him for weighing spiritual phenomena. But his influence on historical research has been most profound, and he first marked the way along which much fruitful work has been done. He was the founder of the Tübingen school, which has long since had its day.

Strauss, whose *Life of Jesus* appeared in 1825, applied destructive criticism to the Gospel history. It was the natural culmination of the pantheistic theology taught in Tübingen. Zeller has written in the spirit of Baur. Much of the Tübingen virus has passed into the present German Protestant Association, whose center is the Heidelberg University. This organization proposes to do away with all confessional restraint and to introduce the so-called liberalism into every theological department. Schenkel, in his *Character of Jesus Portrayed*, was the first to define a doctrinal policy for the new movement.

Nippold, of Heidelberg, later of Berne, now of Jena, has written a *History of the Church in the Nineteenth Century* from the point of view of the German Protestant Association. All the history produced by this school betrays a total absence of appreciation of the deep religious life of the Church and of the supernatural force whence it derives its origin and spirit. Rothe, when he wrote his *Beginnings of the Christian Church and Constitution* (1837), had not exhibited any sympathy with

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this free-thinking group. In his last years, however, with the skeptical tendency in the other lecture rooms of Heidelberg, and depressed by serious domestic affliction, he used language at variance with his earnest and evangelical sermons delivered at Rome when chaplain in the Prussian embassy and with his masterly *Ethics* and *Beginnings*. But the evidence is too strong against his having given any hearty support to men of the Schenkel school, although they used all possible efforts to get the support of his strong name.

7. The Evangelical Historians of other European Countries. In England very decided interest in historical theology has been awakened during the last few decades. One of the first effects of the Tractarian movement at Oxford in 1833, under the leadership of Pusey, Keble, and John Henry Newman, was a new interest in the purer and better days of the Roman Catholic Church. One of the most original of these historical studies was Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, which appeared in 1845, shortly before his formal entrance into the Roman Catholic Church.

The historical writings of the English theologians were, however, not at all confined to the Tractarian leaders. Waddington, Dean of Durham, wrote a clear and concise *History of the Church* (1833), covering the ancient and mediæval periods, and, later, a *History of the Reformation on the Continent* (1841). Milman has written a *History of Christianity*, a *History of Latin Christianity*, and a *History of the Jews*. His style is attractive, and his *Latin Christianity* especially is a noble monument to his great scholarship, liberal views, and fine historical sense. Dean Stanley has excelled all the Church historians of England in the glow and purity of his style and in the arrangement of his material. His chief historical works are a *History of the Eastern Church* and a *History of the Jewish Church*. His *History of the Church of Scotland* is of less value. James Craigie Robertson, Professor of Church History in King's College, London (died 1882), wrote a *History of the Christian Church to the Reformation*. It is a dry piece of historical patchwork, but it is fair, written from the sources, and is a convenient chronological work.

Robert Vaughan (died 1868) was one of the most thorough students and discriminating writers on the origins of the Non-

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conforming Churches. His *Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, *Religious Parties in England*, and *English Nonconformity* are excellent monographs. His son, the saintly Robert Alfred Vaughan, lived only long enough to produce, in his *Hours with the Mystics*, the best work on the history and opinions of the mystics in any language. Stoughton has written a *History of Religion in England*, extending from the opening of the Long Parliament to the end of the eighteenth century (new and revised ed., 1881, 6 vols.). Perry, in his *History of the Church of England*, has described the Established Church from the death of Elizabeth to the present time. Much valuable information on the ecclesiastical development of England is to be found in the works of Hunt and Tulloch, who treat theology, rather than history, and of Green, who shows how far the progress of England is owing to the presence of the religious element in all stages of her growth.

In France, Matter, a professor in Strasburg when Alsace belonged to France, wrote a *General History of the Christian Church*; while his *History of Moral and Political Doctrines of the First Three Centuries* and his *Critical History of Gnosticism* throw special light on these departments of ecclesiastical history. The historical labors of Pressensé, with the exception of his *Religion and the Reign of Terror*, have been confined to the early period. He has written largely with an apologetic purpose in view and with glowing style and profound sympathy with his themes.

In Switzerland, Merle d'Aubigné held a high place as an ecclesiastical historian. While yet a young man he chose the Reformation as his field, and adhered to his purpose, with the exception of some minor monographs, throughout his life. His *History of the Reformation* has been translated into all the principal languages, and, while it has been superseded by later works and is no longer an authority, it is a brilliant and, in the main, correct account by an enthusiast. Professor Chastel, of Geneva, in his *History of Christianity*, produced a work of great learning and ability, abounding in valuable historical monographs. The late Ernest Renan followed his *Life of Christ* with a *History of the Origins of Christianity*, written in fascinating style, and, especially on Marcus Aurelius and the second century, he has presented much new and striking

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matter. Paul Sabatier has published a *Life of St. Francis of Assisi* (1894) which has attracted considerableattention for its human interest and impartial method. It is one of the best studies of the Middle Ages. Its author, a Protestant, received the pope's blessing for his work, but the book, nevertheless, received the honor of being placed in the *Index.*

In Holland we meet with the names of Hofstede de Groot, Spanheim, and Venema, whose Church histories reach to the sixteenth century and are written with abundant learning. The works of the Basnages, father and son, are also of great service; and in Jean le Clerc's *Study of the First Two Centuries* (1716) we come upon good specimens of historical criticism. Van Oosterzee has treated ecclesiastical history only incidentally, his labors being largely occupied with doctrinal theology, particularly on its apologetic side. His *Life of Christ* is a masterpiece of combined historical and apologetic treatment. Chantepie de la Saussaye has written a work on the *Religious Crisis in Holland*, a choice monograph on the later attempts to infuse rationalism into the fiber of the Dutch Church.

VI. *Modern Roman Catholic Historians.*—After the Reformation had become an accomplished fact the historical labors of the Roman Catholic Church were largely confined to a defense of the earlier history. Even Baronius had nothing new to present. As to the French writers, they were more independent than either the German or Italian. Here and there an Italian broke loose from the prevailing submissiveness, as with the monk Sarpi. His *History of the Council of Trent* was in a measure an attack on the historical delinquencies of Romanism. Among French historians were the following: Godeau, the author of a *History of the Church of Christ to the Ninth Century;* Natalis Alexander (Noël), who wrote an *Ecclesiastical History to the Council of Trent;* Bossuet, a *Universal History from the Beginning of the World to the Empire of Charlemagne;* Fleury, an *Ecclesiastical History* extending down to 1414; and the Jansenist Tillemont, who wrote an *Ecclesiastical History of the First Six Centuries.* Both Fleury and Tillemont were distinguished for elegance of style and a critical spirit. Dupin (died 1719) published a *Biographical and Literary History of the Church down to the Seventeenth Century*, which was followed by a similar work by

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Ceillier—both works of immense learning and research and written in an independent spirit. The French Benedictines of St. Maur did great service by critical editions of the fathers and by their works on Christian antiquities. Mabillon, Montfaucon, Ruinart, Martène, Durand are a few of these eminent names. The more important historians of the eighteenth century were Choisy, Ducreux, and Berault-Bercastel. To the present century belong Lacroix, Robiano, Henrion, and, most important of any French ecclesiastical historian of the nineteenth century, Rohrbacher, who wrote a *Universal History of the Church.*

Among the German Catholic historians are the romanticist and poet Stolberg, who wrote a *History of the Religion of Jesus Christ*, extending to A. D. 430; Katerkamp, a *History of Religion to the Founding of the General Church* and a *Church History* to A. D. 1153; Döllinger, a *Text-book of Church History;* and the Church histories of Alzog, Kraus, and Hergenröther—all scholarly works written by original investigators, though in the Roman interest. The Wetzer and Welte *Church Lexicon* is rich in historical matter; but in the second edition by Kaulen the revisions are reactionary and prompted by the Vatican spirit. Hefele's *History of the Councils* is our best authority for the general councils of the Church. It was continued by Knopfler and Hergenröther down to, and including, the Council of Trent. Locherer and Jungmann have written solid histories. Johannes Janssen attempted the reconstruction of German Church history in his *History of the German People*, which created a sensation in Germany and elicited numerous Protestant replies. The Belgian Benedictine, Bellesheim, has written a *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, which, for the most part, may be highly commended.

In England the Roman Catholic historians have done but little as yet. The best is Lingard, whose *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church* is now somewhat antiquated, but whose *History of England* to 1688 is of great permanent value. Lingard was a scholar of judicial spirit, and, though he needs correction in the light of later writers, he is indispensable as giving the conclusions of an independent Catholic investigator. Cardinal Newman wrote while still a churchman a *History of*

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the Arians in the Fourth Century, to which he added various interesting essays. Allies carried forward an ambitious work on the *Formation of Christendom*, which is still incomplete. Gasquet and Bridgett have written on various aspects of the Reformation and post-Reformation periods in English history, and their researches are indispensable to the student of English Church history. Morris, Drane, Gillow, Pollen, H. T. Coleridge, and Formby, in collections of original documents and in other works, have rendered great service to historical literature. Two English churchmen should not be forgotten—Frederic G. Lee, because of his *Studies of the English Reformation*, and Samuel R. Maitland, because of his *Dark Ages*. The latter brings much new light and in a fresh and charming manner dissipates many venerable prejudices.

VII. *American Ecclesiastical Historians.*—It has been a just ground of lament that until recently but little taste has been manifested in the United States for Church history. The late Henry B. Smith thus accounted for our dearth of the historical spirit:

> As a people we are more deficient in historical training than in almost any other wants of scientific research. We live in an earnest and tumultuous present, looking to a vague future, and comparatively cut off from the prolific past which is still the mother of us all. We forget that the youngest people are also the oldest, and should therefore be most habituated to those "fearless and reverent questions of the sages of other times which," as Jeffrey well says, "are the permitted necromancy of the wise." We Americans love the abstractions of political theories and of theology better than we do the concrete realities of history. Church history has been studied from a sort of general notion that it ought to be very useful, rather than from a lively conviction of its inherent worth. History is to us the driest of studies, and the history of the Church is the driest of the dry—a collection of bare names and facts and lifeless dates. It is learned by rote and kept up by mnemonic helps.

This is confirmed by a statement of J. A. Alexander, who says:

> Our national tendency, so far as we have any, is to slight the past and overrate the present. This unhistorical peculiarity is constantly betraying itself in various forms, but it is nowhere more conspicuous and more injurious than in our theology. Hence the perpetual resuscitation of absurdities a thousand times exploded, the perpetual renewal of attempts which have a thousand times been proved abortive. Hence the false position which religion has been forced to assume in reference to various

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inferior, yet important, interests—to science literature, art, and civil government. Hence, too, the barrenness and hardness by which much of our religious history is distinguished, because cut off from the inexhaustible sources which can only be supplied by history.

But it is now forty-five years since these regrets at the neglect of historical studies in American theology were expressed, and during this interval great progress has been made. Church history was, earlier, a neglected department in our theological schools; but no theological seminary of fair character in the United States is now without its professorship of historical theology. The labors of Prescott, Bancroft, Motley, Kirk, and Parkman and the genial works of Irving have had an important effect in awakening a popular historical taste, while the contributions in the theological department are fully equal in ability and interest.

Our chief support has come from abroad. The best historical works of Great Britain and Germany have been promptly introduced among us. Professor Henry B. Smith published an excellent original *Tabular History of the Church;* Lamson, a *History of the Early Church;* Shedd, a treatise on the *Philosophy of History* and a *History of Christian Doctrine;* Henry Charles Lea, a layman, important monographs on the Church in special relation to Roman Catholicism, showing immense research and opening up new fields, and a monumental *History of the Inquisition;* Fisher, a *History of the Reformation, Beginnings of Christianity*, an admirable *History of the Church* in one volume, and some masterly historical essays.

The labors of Philip Schaff belong rather to the United States than to Germany. Although a native of Switzerland and a student in the German universities, his remarkable literary productiveness is a part of the theological wealth of this country. No ecclesiastical historian has equaled him in the general arrangement, grouping, and proportionate use of historical material, nor in the literary and religious genius which pervades the whole. His *History of the Christian Church* bears all the traces of his German culture and profound sympathy with the spirit and instructions of Neander. At the same time all his theological labors reveal his thorough identification with American institutions and a clear conception of the needs and opportunities of the ecclesiastical life of the Church in the

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United States. What Carlyle did for the introduction of German literature into England Schaff did for the introduction and safe utilization of the evangelical theology of Germany in the United States, the third and largest home of the Teutonic race.

Schaff went over more ground than any other historian, treating the whole history of the Church to the Reformation in an elaborate manner, including two volumes on the German and Swiss Reformation. The second part of the mediæval period was left incomplete at his death, but it will appear. Of equal importance is his *Creeds of Christendom*, the most extensive work of the kind in any language. Schaff founded the American Society of Church History in 1888, which has been the means of eliciting invaluable monographs from him and other American scholars, and has published annually a full report of its proceedings, etc. (1889–96, 8 vols., New York).

Henry C. Sheldon has written an excellent *History of Doctrine* and a *History of the Church*. Henry M. Baird has made extensive studies in French Huguenot history, and R. W. Thompson has investigated the *Relation of the Papacy to Civil Affairs*. Mombert has given the best history of Charles the Great in any language, and in briefer form has done work equally well on the *History of the Crusades* and the *History of the English Bible*. Gillett traced the *Course of English Religious Thought in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, and wrote a *History of John Huss* in two large volumes, both works monuments of American scholarship. The following special works are conscientious studies by careful writers: *Bernard of Clairvaux*, by Storrs; *Knox*, by Taylor; *Savonarola*, by Professor Clark, of Toronto; *Mediæval History*, by Professors McLaughlin and Emerton; *Molinos*, by Bigelow; *Alcuin*, by West; *The Early Religious History of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, by Cathcart, Moffat, and De Vinne respectively; *The Reformation in Sweden*, by Butler; *The Canons of the First Councils*, by Fulton; contributions to Dante literature, by Davidson, Longfellow, Norton; *History of Humane Progress*, by Brace; *Mediæval Civilization*, by Adams; *The Lutherans and the English Reformation*, by Jacobs; *Baptism in History*, by Burrage; a *History of the Anabaptists in Switzerland*, by the same author; and various works by that enthusiastic investigator, Henry M. Dexter.

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The American Church has produced more denominational histories than works of a general historical character. This is largely due to our active confessional life and the absence of the State Church system. Bacon, Dexter, Punchard, and Williston Walker have written on the Congregational Church; White, Burgess, Perry, McConnell, and Tiffany, on the Protestant Episcopal Church; Hodge, Gillett, Webster, Briggs, and R. E. Thompson, on the Presbyterian Church; Bangs, Stevens, and Atkinson, on the Methodist Episcopal Church; McTyeire and Alexander, on the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Mayer, Harbaugh, and Dubbs, on the German Reformed Church; Demarest and Corwin, on the Reformed Dutch Church; Wolf, Jacobs, Gräbner, Schæffer, and Schmucker, on the Lutheran Church; Ellis, Ware, and Allen, on the Unitarian Church; and Noethen, Shea, and Clarke, on the Roman Catholic Church. The American Society of Church History has inaugurated a series of denominational histories, written with reference to the best authorities and in a liberal and catholic spirit. The books in this series already published are the earnest of a grand future for American historiography.

There need be no ground for alarm as to the future progress and independence of historical theology in the United States. The conditions which have limited our development in this respect in the past are rapidly disappearing. The American Church has been compelled to address itself to grave social and evangelistic questions, and has confronted them with courage and vigor. At its distance from the great fields of persecution and protracted controversy it will in time acquire that needful equipoise of mind for inquiring carefully and pronouncing judiciously concerning the great matters of the general life of the Church. We can well expect that the American Church will become a wise inquirer concerning the past and an apt disciple at its feet.

John F. Hurst

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Art. II.—EMERSON AS A PHILOSOPHER.

I. The beginning of Emerson's philosophical activity was contemporaneous with the inception of the transcendental movement in New England, and they cannot be studied apart. Undoubtedly he was greatly affected by this deep-sea wave of sentiment; but more than its effect upon him was his influence over it. He proved to be its guiding spirit; at his hand the movement eventually received its best statement; and to him reference is almost always made when writers attempt to designate the representative man of the epoch.

The transcendental movement began about 1820 as a reaction against custom, institutions, and authority. The younger thinkers of New England, having been aroused to a richer consciousness of life, chiefly through the scientific and philosophical deliverances of Goethe, the presentation by Edward Everett, Andrews Norton, and N. L. Frothingham of some of the phases of contemporaneous German philosophy, and the progress of modern science—in particular, the sciences of astronomy and geology—made an effort to break away from tradition and to return to normal, natural methods of thought and life. Up to this time the sensuous philosophy of Locke had ruled the thought of New England. The *Essay on the Human Understanding* continued to be used as a text-book at Harvard until 1817, at which time it was superseded by the Scotch philosophy. The works of Paley were then introduced as text-books, and the views of this author were authoritative up to the year 1836.

Transcendentalism, which at first manifested itself as a mere tendency, came to receive form and expression in the most casual way. Mr. Emerson, George Ripley, and Frederick Henry Hedge, on the day of the celebration of the second centennial anniversary of Harvard College, chanced to confer together on the state of theological and philosophical opinion. In this conversation there was expressed a strong dissatisfaction with the reigning sensuous philosophy. The following week these three called some like-minded gentlemen together at the home of Mr. Ripley, where these questions were further discussed. This was the inception of the movement. There was no specific object; no regular organization, simply a conjunction

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of like-minded persons. Those who were present at the meeting held at the home of Mr. Ripley, together with J. S. Dwight, W. H. Channing, C. A. Bartol, O. A. Brownson, Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth P. Peabody, and others, continued to meet, at uncertain intervals, for three or four years. The meetings were informal in character; the company adopted no name; and it is not known who first called the members "transcendentalists." Theology was frequently a subject of comment. Among other subjects discussed were, "American Genius," "Personality," "Is Mysticism an Element of Christianity?" "Pantheism," etc. Emerson was rarely absent from these meetings, and he was held in high esteem by his associates.

Even among its adherents there has been a variety of opinion as to what constituted transcendentalism. Mr. Emerson himself, in his lecture on "The Transcendentalist," delivered in 1842, represents it as follows:

> The transcendentalist adopts the whole connection of spiritual doctrine. He believes in miracle, in the perpetual openness of the human mind to new influx of light and power; he believes in inspiration and in ecstasy. He wishes that the spiritual principle should be suffered to demonstrate itself to the end, in all possible applications to the state of man, without the admission of anything unspiritual; that is, anything positive, dogmatic, personal. Thus, the spiritual measure of inspiration is the depth of the thought, and never, Who said it? And so he resists all attempts to palm other rules and measures on the spirit than its own. . . . Shall we say, then, that transcendentalism is the Saturnalia or excess of faith; the presentiment of a faith proper to man in his integrity, excessive only when his imperfect obedience hinders the satisfaction of his wish? Nature is transcendental, exists primarily, necessarily, ever works and advances, yet takes no thought for the morrow. Man owns the dignity of the life which throbs around him in chemistry, and tree, and animal, and in the involuntary functions of his own body; yet he is balked when he tries to fling himself into this enchanted circle, where all is done without degradation. Yet genius and virtue predict in man the same absence of private ends and of condescension to circumstances, united with every trait and talent of beauty and power. This way of thinking, falling on Roman times, made Stoic philosophers; falling on despotic times, made patriot Catos and Brutuses; falling on superstitious times, made prophets and apostles; on popish times, made Protestants and ascetic monks, preachers of faith against the preachers of works; on prelatical times, made Puritans and Quakers; and, falling on Unitarian and commercial times, makes the peculiar shades of idealism which we know.

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Mr. Frothingham criticises the above passage. He maintains that the movement had much more of definiteness than is here ascribed to it:

> It was something more than a reaction against Puritan orthodoxy, though in part it was that. It was in a very small degree due to the study of the ancient pantheists, of Plato and the Alexandrians, of Plutarch, Seneca, and Epictetus, though one or two of the leaders had drunk deeply from these sources. Transcendentalism was a distinct philosophical system. Practically, it was an assertion of the inalienable worth of man; theoretically, it was an assertion of the immanence of divinity in instinct, the transference of supernatural attributes to the constitution of mankind.

Writers upon New England transcendentalism have laid great stress upon its religious and practical phases, but they have not indicated with sufficient emphasis and distinctness its philosophical implications and affinities. No doubt the transcendentalists themselves showed their consistency in declining to attempt any systematic treatment of their views. Indeed, how could they attempt any such treatment of their views, in the light of the passage just quoted from Emerson? Nevertheless, it is an important fact that the philosophical principles underlying transcendentalism were the same, whether published in Germany, in England, or in America.

Transcendentalism as a distinctive system had its roots in the philosophy of Kant; it was first given complete systematic statement by Schelling, the central luminary and representative spirit of what is known as the German romantic school of philosophy; and it was transmitted to England and America through Coleridge, who, having thoroughly mastered the doctrines of Schelling, gave them attractive expression in English. It is a matter of no slight importance, in determining the philosophical setting of New England transcendentalism, to trace the connection between Schelling, the representative German transcendentalist, and Emerson, the chief exponent of this doctrine in America. While there is no indication that Emerson carefully read any of Schelling's works in the original, there is ample proof that he was familiar with the German philosopher at second hand. It was through Coleridge, Carlyle, and Wordsworth, particularly the first, that he became acquainted with Schelling's thought. In 1829 he was reading Coleridge. An interesting note, credited to Emerson, in which

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he says that he has private accounts of the lectures then being delivered by the aged Schelling at Berlin, appears in the *Dial* of 1842. He describes the personal appearance of the philosopher, and speaks of the intense interest being manifested by the throngs that attended his lectures. In the *Dial* of 1843, under the head "Literary Intelligence," appears another reference to Schelling's Berlin lectures.

Further evidence that he was influenced in no small degree by Schelling is to be deduced from the striking similarity of their doctrines. The characteristic doctrines systematically advanced and developed by Schelling at the culminating point of his philosophical activity, from 1797 to 1803, are intellectual intuition, that is, the essential and inextricable interblending of knowledge and being; the unity, the eternity, and supremacy of mind; the absolute identity of subject and object, intelligence and nature, in the Supreme Reason; the impersonal nature of the Absolute; the conception of nature as animate, though unconscious, intelligence; the doctrine that man is divine; the conception of history as the gradual unfolding of the Universal Mind in time, and of art as the joint product of the unconscious and conscious; and, last, and perhaps most significant, the teaching which he constantly advanced with remarkable freshness, vigor, and beauty, that the universe, in whatever form it may manifest itself, is a living process, active and creative, and, at the point of human intelligence, conscious of itself in creating. It is just these doctrines, as will be shown hereafter, that are most prominently advanced and most frequently alluded to in Emerson's philosophical productions. It is to be noticed, also, that the philosophical tendencies found in the works about to be analyzed constitute precisely the doctrines that characterized New England transcendentalism; and, further, that the views presented in these works are, for the most part, susceptible of consistent, if not wholly systematic, statement.

The little volume entitled *Nature* was Emerson's first effort at anything like a distinctively philosophical treatise. This book was also the first authoritative document presented by the New England transcendentalists. It is a production of astonishing beauty and power. In the Introduction the author encourages men to seek an original relation to the universe. He

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questions the outward existence of nature, maintaining that sufficient justification of nature as a whole is to be found in the fact that God would teach the human mind. Culture invariably begets a doubt of the reality of matter. The uses of nature may all be summed up in one—constantly to suggest the Absolute to man. Nature teaches the lesson of worship; it is a divine dream; it is God faintly incarnate. Nature is not cause, but effect. It cannot be violated by the human will; consequently it is a fixed point whereby we may measure our departure from God. In conclusion, the writer dwells upon the importance of trusting, to some extent, insight, surmise, and prophetic forecast. In mingled song and prophecy he suggests that spirit is primal and eternal; that the foundations of man are in spirit; that man is a fallen God; that skepticism prevails; and that man is ignorant because he will not trust to faith and instinct. Power will come only when will and intellect cooperate. Love and reason must go hand in hand.

His poem "May Day" informs us that nature is animate. She is fair and uncontaminated. She ministers to man, instructing him, cheering him, and pointing him to God and a constantly brightening future.

"Monadnoc" affirms that nature is animate, that it is rooted in mind, that it reflects the Primal Mind, and thus instructs man.

In the "Song of Nature" lurks the doctrine of evolution. Nature is animate. The world has been preparing for the advent of man; but, with all its travail, the ideal man has not yet arrived.

In the vague, mystical poem "Brahma" is discernible the doctrine of absolute identity. The One and the All are identical. Absorption of self in Brahma is the greatest blessing that can befall the finite.

"The Problem" teaches that nature and art are alike the product of a universal, superintending Mind. The same instinct that directs bird and fish and beast also actuates man as he rears monuments, carves marble, and molds thought into literature.

The poem entitled "The Sphinx" contains the following thought: Nature, animate but unconscious, broods over its own mystery. All forms of unconscious life are pure and glad; but

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man is fallen—he skulks and cowers. Pride occasioned his fall, humility restores him. A close affinity exists between man and nature. Man has guessed the secret of nature. He finds that love underlies all things. He discovers that, if he would realize himself, he must yield to a benign tendency that works at the heart of things and must not attempt to reach any given goal of rest.

"The World-Soul" conveys the doctrine that man is limited; no hard and fast solution can be given to the questions that constantly force themselves upon his notice. But there is a World-Soul presiding over both nature and man. Nature, art, and history are effects of which Mind is the cause. The World-Soul cherishes the strong, the cheerful, and the courageous, but scorns the weak and the selfish. Good is the outcome of ill. Man should be optimistic.

"Woodnotes" teaches that spirit pervades matter as a life-principle; that an occult relation exists between the soul of man and the Spirit that animates nature; that nature is plastic and assumes its varying forms at the will of primal, causing Mind; that man is fallen from his once-lofty estate, being robbed of his faith and trust, but that nature is remedial; that man can become wise only by denying his own wit and egotism and accepting the vision which union with the Primal Mind permits; that the world is the progressive realization of God's will; that all natural forms are fugitive and transient; that only mind abides; that the Absolute epitomizes itself in man as conscious law; and that God is identical with nature and with man. In this poem there seems, again, to be a clear intimation of the law of evolution.

The essay entitled "Self-Reliance" teaches that man should trust his instinct implicitly; that, if he would trust the light that comes to him, there is a universal essence above and around him that will not permit him to err in thought or act. The soul, raised over passion, beholds identity and eternal causation, perceives the self-existence of truth and right, and calms itself with knowing that all things go well. "Self-existence is the attribute of the Supreme Cause, and it constitutes the measure of good by the degree in which it enters into all lower forms."

"Compensation" sets forth the doctrine of absolute identity. Polarity—the principle of action and reaction, the same sub-

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stance appearing at opposite poles, but finding its equilibrium in a point of identity—is plainly indicated. There is but one essence, and this essence is present in every particle of nature. "The true doctrine of omnipresence is that God reappears with all his parts in every moss and cobweb. The value of the universe contrives to throw itself into every point."

The substance of the essay on "History" is as follows: Mind is primal and unitary. The individual man is an incarnation of the Absolute. Nature is plastic and is molded throughout by mind. History is therefore the record of the works of the Universal Mind. Every thought or faculty of the human soul is embodied in some fact or event. The Universal Soul overarches and incloses every finite soul, and we actually become participants in every event of history.

The essay on "Fate" sets forth the doctrine that there is such a thing as irresistible dictation—compulsory laws of the world. In some inscrutable way, however, necessity and freedom are reconcilable. Fate understands itself. Fate means limitation —limitation that in the last resolve includes both insight and freedom of the will. One thing annuls fate, namely, intellect. "So far as a man thinks he is free." Thought and the moral sentiments go far to liberate man. Fate is only a name for facts that have not yet been construed to thought, causes whose mystery is still unexplained. As man merges into the Universal Mind fate disappears. To the Absolute fate is law, law is intelligence.

The two essays on "Art" may be summarized as follows: The artist's function is to set forth the spiritual and eliminate the material. He is directed and assisted in his work by an overhanging necessity. Art has its highest value as history. The products of art mark the height to which the human soul has risen at any given period. All the productions of art are universally intelligible because they restore to us the simplest states of mind and refer us back to an original unitary Power. Art has become a makeshift. It is sordid and lame. Men seek to detach the beautiful from the useful, and thereby mar the effect. The perfection of art will come only from the perfection of life.

"The Method of Nature" is one of Emerson's most ecstatic productions. Man and God are one. Man is fallen. Nature

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is precipitated intellect. As it is pure and cannot be debauched it serves as a convenient standard by which to measure man's rise and fall. In nature there is a principle of life. There is no cause to be found in nature. Everything refers to something further back. Nature is active; tendency is everywhere, but perfection nowhere. Man is the central figure of nature. The health of a human soul is determined by the degree of its receptive power. Nature can neither be known nor published by man unless he surrender his will to the Universal Power and become a part of what he would make known. Intellect and holiness should be wedded. Man is God. "All things are known to the soul. It is not to be surprised by any communication. Nothing is greater than it."

"The Transcendentalist" advances a pure and lofty doctrine of idealism. The idealist admits the affirmation of the materialist, that there are coherent impressions of sense, and that these conduce to beauty and usefulness; but he goes further, and seeks grounds that will assure him of the interpretation of the reports made by the senses. "Every materialist will be an idealist; but an idealist can never go backward to be a materialist." All events appear as spiritual to the idealist; he does not deny any sensuous fact; but he views every object of nature as in consciousness. He views the world as an appearance, mind being the sole reality, of which men, as well as all other natures, are the better or worse reflectors. Ethics follows immediately from the conveyance of the world into consciousness. Man needs no outward gift or foreign strength; he is divine, is self-existent, has a part in the nature of Deity. He makes the world for himself—he cannot be controlled by circumstances. The transcendentalist is the extreme idealist. He accepts to the fullest extent the entire spiritual doctrine. The characteristic practical and social habits of the transcendentalist are sketched; and it is pointed out that the effort to realize the beautiful and to make it manifest in all conduct is the dearest quest and highest aspiration of the typical representative of this class of beings.

The attempt of the work entitled *The Natural History of Intellect* is to give to intellect, morals, and social life a scientific statement. Truth is the outcome of life. It cannot be found by poring over traditions. No complete system of metaphysics

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can be constructed. No good is to be derived from the cultivation of metaphysics as an isolated field of study. Mind is creator; matter is extinct mind. Human life is an extension of the Infinite Essence into the finite. The human soul is still drawing its essence from that of the Universal Mind, and hence its possibilities cannot be foretold. The laws of thought and the laws of nature are identical. The individual soul is a momentary point of arrest in the rushing current of the Universal Soul. Every man is a new force and factor in the world's history and a center of redistribution. There is a common backlying reality from which individual reality derives its essence. The human soul that is pure, unselfish, and trustful is visited always by correct impulses from the central source of being and power. If men would seek universal, rather than particular, ends they would rely wholly upon instinct and inspiration. Awareness, transition, tendency—these, rather than certainty, rest, and repose, are the attitudes of power. The human soul is constantly open to influxes from the divine, and that the channels be kept unclogged—herein is power. The First Cause is a unity, active and inspiring.

II. This peculiar philosophic web seems to have neither beginning nor end. It was woven for inspection, but not for analysis. We must, therefore, do it violence, rending it in the midst, in order that a starting point may be found from which to unravel its intricacies. It would seem best, then, as will logically appear in the further discussion of the subject, to begin with his theory of knowledge, and afterward discuss in order his ontological, cosmological, psychological, and ethical views.

For Emerson there is no question as to the possibility of perceiving reality. Indubitably the soul has access to truth. Even to question the power of the human soul to solve its problems is a betrayal of weakness and insanity. It is a sin to doubt for a moment the possibility of satisfying any curiosity that has been excited in the mind by the cosmic order about us. Knowledge is a phase of life—participation in the primal, unitary Cause. Existence and knowledge are one; the seer and the thing seen become identical. Knowledge is a condition of receptivity. Truth is native to the soul; there is absolute correspondence between the world of thought and the world of things. But knowledge comes only by sanity, probity, and virtue. He who

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would know the truth must be pure-hearted, simple-minded, and reverent. By being good he shall infallibly know the good. The deepest and truest deliverances of the finite soul are those that result from untaught sallies into the region where abides the Infinite. Spiritual insight is the most valid consciousness possessed by man.

To the philosophical student this statement of Emerson's epistemological views seems bewildering. It does not appear that Emerson troubled himself in the slightest degree either to point out or to solve the specific problems of epistemology. No doubt he recognized the significance of all these questions, and had a just conception of what ought to constitute an approved theory of knowledge. But his chief problem does not seem to have been to define reality, to analyze the content of life, or, specifically, to give greater definiteness to cognition. Upon the fundamental questions of apriorism and empiricism he simply took sides, making no attempt either to solve these problems or to deduce logical grounds for the position which he assumed. He maintained that nothing could render reality more certain than the pure vision of the soul itself. His theory of knowledge cannot be presented in the most approved philosophical terms. In respect to the process of knowing he is an out-and-out Neoplatonist. There is little difference between his ecstatic abandonment to the Universal Soul and the "union" of Plotinus. Perhaps the term "intellectual intuition" would indicate his theory of knowledge more accurately than any other in use. It is certain that he conceived of the subject and the object as absolutely one and identical in the process of knowledge.

Emerson's doctrine of reality has already been indicated; he holds that mind is absolute. It is primal and unitary, self-existent and creative. It is the abyss of pure being, from which arise all particular forms of existence; the dark, obscure, and unpicturable background of all life, all thought, and all action; the raw material from which is spun every web of reality whatsoever. Impersonal, self-balanced, and self-moved, this one supreme essence constantly acts and reacts throughout the universe.

The Absolute is the aboriginal ground of both nature and man. Each has its origin in the Primal Mind. Manifesting itself through the human soul, the Absolute is known as reason;

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breathing through unconscious nature, it is known as spirit. There is no reality apart from the Absolute. In its ceaseless, though ever perfectly balanced, activity—for movement is of its very essence—the Absolute appears now as external nature, and, again, in man, as subjective, self-conscious intelligence; but, in so far as either object or subject is finite, in so far is it mere manifestation or appearance. "Under all this running sea of circumstance, whose waters ebb and flow with perfect balance, lies the aboriginal abyss of real being. Essence, or God, is not a relation or a part, but the whole—Being in the vast affirmative, excluding negation, self-balanced, and swallowing up all relations, parts, and times within itself." "The true doctrine of omnipresence is that God reappears with all his parts in every moss and cobweb." "There is one mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same."

Was Emerson a pantheist or a theist? Early in life he himself answered this question as follows: "I am open to the name of a very poor speculator, a faint, heartless supporter of a frigid and empty theism, a man of no vigor of manner or no vigor of benevolence." That he was actually a theist, even at the time he wrote this half-hearted avowal, seems doubtful. However that may have been, there is no trace in his mature writings of other than a pantheistic conception of God. He uses the term "God" in a vague and loose manner. His God is, in no strict sense, a Being of love or providence. As nearly as can be determined from his writings, he conceives of the Absolute as unconscious, but in the process of becoming conscious; as determined, rather than free, in that it comprehends in its nature the necessity of manifesting and beholding itself as reason. Hence, it is evident, also, that Emerson thought of the original Essence as reason, rather than will. He neither proves the existence of God nor explains the sense in which the Absolute is cause of all things, but assumes that all attributes are potential in the impersonal background of Pure Being, and that all finite forms of existence arise simply in accordance with the inner nature of the Absolute.

Passing to Emerson's cosmology, we find that he regards nature as a manifestation of God in the unconscious—a remote incarnation of the Absolute. Nature is effect, not cause; phe-

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nomenal, not real; shadow, not substance. It is the raw, outer edge of spirit, the flowing robe of divinity. It is volatile and obedient to the underlying cause. It gives quick and responsive expression to every throb or movement of the spirit which underlies it and which it shadows forth. Nature is the exact correlative of spirit, and answers to it as face betrays face in a mirror. The channels, small and great, complex and intricate, through which stream the tides of nature, were traced and cut by the rushing currents of mind. Nature is one of the essential forms in which the Absolute manifests itself. It is immature, unconscious reason striving to make its way up to man, who, as conscious reason, stands as the highest goal of its endeavor. This evolution from unconscious to conscious life gives evidence of the fact that, at bottom, nature and the conscious are identical. Nature is active and unitary. It is presided over by a solitary principle, called the World-Soul, which connects all natural causes in one body and animates the whole.

Nature is pure and uncontaminated. It lies, like an infant smiling in its dreams, innocent and inviolable. Its end is moral. Its highest and most noble function is to minister to the wants and instruct the reason of man. Its influence is sanative and purifying. It constantly tells him of God, and endeavors to lead him back to the aboriginal source of power.

Emerson finds the beginnings of human existence in mind, not in matter. Man's body is external, a part of the cosmic order, but his soul has its origin in the fundamental nature of things. He is an immediate and conscious incarnation of the Absolute. Mind being one and universal, man and God are one. The individual man is a momentary point of arrest in the eddying currents of the Universal Mind, at which it arises to consciousness long enough to survey itself and nature, its double. "Man is part and particle of God."

But man is fallen; he has been drugged by sin, and its baneful effects have never left him. He is bereft of sanity, purity, and power. He recognizes the fact that some occult relation exists between himself and nature and that intimate ties of kinship bind him to God; yet he crouches and cowers before nature and is an alien from God. Once every law of nature, however secret or remote, was penetrated and understood by man; now, through selfishness and sin, his intellect has become

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darkened. It has been bereft of its insight and its power, so that man is no longer acquainted with all of nature's intricate laws. Nature has become opaque, and he catches only stray flashes of knowledge concerning its method, its order, and its significance. Nevertheless, if man be trustful and pure, if he unite holiness with intellect, he may recover every thought that lies cold and petrified in the world of matter before him, and cause it once more to burn and glow with the light of intellect. The farthest and most obscure law of nature will instantly become eloquent and transparent to the finite spirit that will fuse with the divine and claim its heritage. But man never truly comes to himself or learns the secret of the external world until he yields himself to the Absolute. To be self-conscious, to seek personal ends, is an acknowledgment of weakness and limitation.

We are here confronted by various questions which demand further explanation. What does our philosopher mean when he asserts that the world is a remote and inferior incarnation of God, and that man is an immediate incarnation of the divine? He means evidently that the Impersonal Mind makes an abortive attempt to realize itself in nature—to come to consciousness—but that in man it actually realizes its potentialities and communes with itself. Emerson would not look upon either inanimate or animate nature as a product of creation in any true sense of the word, but, rather, as the progressive liberation of the latent possibilities residing in the Infinite.

All that Emerson means by his distinction between spirit and reason is the difference between the unconscious life-principle as it resides, respectively, in nature and man. Nature is alive, but not conscious; man is both alive and conscious. Here it seems pertinent to ask what relation he conceives to exist between the human soul and the Absolute. His reply is that the human soul is the Absolute in the process of becoming conscious. It thus becomes evident that there is no self-conscious Absolute, but that the Absolute, as far as it is conscious, is only millions of "broken lights."

It may be of interest to point out more clearly what he means by man's fall and sinfulness. He does not mean by this doctrine what theologians term total depravity. Man's

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fall consists in the fact that he has become self-conscious. He sins in seeking particular, rather than universal, ends.

We now pass to a consideration of Emerson's ethical doctrines. Moral law is fundamental. It originates in the heart of the universe. It is embedded in the constitution of the Primal Mind, and is everywhere reflected in nature. Man is an epitome of the universe. Into the tiny globe of the finite is compressed a copy of the Absolute. The mind of the particular man contains the universal laws of spirit in miniature, and the farthest particles of matter enter into his essence. Virtue, therefore, is native to the human soul, and when once individual men will act in accordance with the constitution of their nature the good of each will be the good of all.

Self-realization—perfection—is the end of all endeavor. The attainment of perfection will demand thought and foresight for outward fortune and comfort, as well as the development of worth and the realization of peace within the soul. Prudence, economy, and self-restraint should be practiced with reference to the outward demands of life, in order that the soul may not suffer want nor be deprived of its culture. We should seize the present and enjoy life's fleeting pleasures as they pass. Our conduct toward our fellow-men should be based upon the universal principle of love and justice. The highest perfection of life comes from within. It is quite independent of the external and transient. It results from a consciousness of inner worth, the culture of the soul, the cherishing of lofty visions, and the effort to realize the ideals that charm the soul. Our attitude toward the world should be that of cheer, courage, and good will.

It is manifest from the presentation of his ethical views that Emerson's system, if rigidly construed, leaves no place for obligation. He cannot consistently use the term. From his standpoint there is no difference between moral law and natural law. There is also an inconsistency in saying that virtue is native to the human soul and then maintaining that man is fallen. Perhaps this could be rendered consistent if it were construed to mean that the first stages of the process of becoming self-conscious are to be considered as a fall, but that "the far-off, divine event" that is to be the outcome of it all

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will be the commingling of all the "broken light" in one supreme, conscious Being.

III. Some question naturally arises as to the propriety of applying the term "philosopher" to Emerson. It is true that, primarily, he was not a philosopher, but a poet. His soul went forth in quest of beauty, rather than truth. To be sure, when he found them he most frequently found them in each other's embrace; but he was more susceptible to beauty. Beauty fascinated and intoxicated him. He yielded to it with passionate relinquishment. "I think," says Emerson, "that philosophy is still rude and elementary. It will one day be taught by poets. The poet is in the natural attitude—he is believing; the philosopher, after some struggle, having only reasons for believing." In another place he says, "The true philosopher and the true poet are one, and a beauty which is truth, and a truth which is beauty, is the aim of both." Holmes says, "The poet in Emerson never accurately differentiated itself from the philosopher." Nevertheless, the term "philosopher" is altogether appropriate to one who grappled so independently and persistently with first principles. Emerson plucked up by the roots theories of knowledge, reality, and conduct and subjected them to the most scrutinizing gaze. Says Carlyle: "Emerson is the cleanest mind now living. I do not know his equal on earth for perception." Edwin D. Mead, in his volume on *The Philosophy of Carlyle*, makes the following similar estimate:

> Emerson's "Problem" and his essay on "Nature" do more to put the backbone into its proper place than anything else American that I think of. Emerson and Edwards are the greatest American philosophers thus far, for they bring us nearer to first principles than any others.

It is plain, from a consideration of these opinions and in view of the manifest tendencies of Emerson's mind, that his right to a place in the history of philosophy will depend upon the definition that we give to the term "philosophy." So far no strictly determined conception of philosophy has gained universal acceptance. From age to age the term has undergone many mutations. At the beginning philosophy implied mere love of wisdom, or the earnest quest for truth. "Plato reckons moral conduct as much a part of philosophy as knowledge." The Stoics applied the term to the practical conduct of life, in

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so far as conduct could be based upon scientifically determined principles. Epicurus understood by philosophy the rational pursuit of happiness. In the Middle Ages philosophy degenerated until it became the mere instrument by which theology endeavored scientifically to maintain and justify its preconceived dogmatic claims. Kant limited its sphere to the critical examination of reason itself; while later philosophers, as, for example, Schelling, discarded the attempt at method and declared art to be the true *organon* of philosophy.

For the most part, now as well as throughout the past, the disposition on the part of philosophical writers has been to include philosophy under the general term "science." And it ought to be agreed that the true task of philosophy is to explore and explain reality as a whole in accordance with the most approved methods of science, and accurately to determine the true functions and implications of knowledge. But at the same time it is of the greatest importance to remember that philosophy is a persistent tendency, rather than a completed science; that some of the deepest and most significant aspects of life have so far refused to yield to scientific analysis and statement; and that, in the final analysis, faith and volition enter into the interpretation of reality and go as far to discover the rational order of the universe as the understanding itself. There are elements that enter into life, penetrating and interpenetrating our inmost being, that elude accurate scientific treatment, yet seem to insist upon finding some outward expression, and do, in spite of difficulties, somehow publish themselves to our measurable satisfaction. Among these elements may be classed the religious, moral, and æsthetic ideals of the soul. Philosophy, then, must not be defined in such a way as to exclude any phase of life that plainly tends toward self-realization.

Emerson was not a system-maker; he was not eminent as a reasoner; he was, indeed, deficient in logical and analytical qualities of mind; but in the sense that "the whole man philosophizes" he was truly a philosopher. His imagination was of a strong, philosophic cast; his mind was peculiarly sound, wholesome, and penetrating; he was a seer; and, just because his intellect was remarkably trustful, impartial, and free from prejudice, his gaze at reality satisfied himself and also convinced

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others of its accuracy and worth. It was Emerson's effort, by purity of life and motive, to present himself as a transparent medium through which the truth might reveal itself. He gazed directly upon reality and published an exact transcript of what he saw. And it is just here that his claim to the title of philosopher must rest. His contribution to philosophy is the result of insight and faith, rather than of analysis and demonstration.

Emerson, then, must be estimated in accordance with no merely formal standards of philosophy. We should not compel him to conform to methods and canons of thought which he constantly denies and repudiates. It is not his desire to be weighed against the universe of thinkers; he must, therefore, be assigned a unique place and be estimated and criticised accordingly. He disclaims consistency; so it would be unfair to compel him to be consistent. He denies any attempt at system-making; so it would be an impertinence to crowd him into a mold and then belabor him because he did not exactly conform to it. He approaches ultimate problems from a different standpoint from that which most philosophers set forth. But, nevertheless, he does approach them, he does throw light upon them.

It may be well to estimate Emerson's thought, first, in the light of moral and intellectual inspiration; secondly, in the light of philosophical poetry; and, thirdly, from a strictly rational standpoint.

His attitude was peculiar and admirable. He was fearless and independent to the highest degree. He bowed to neither custom, tradition, nor opposition. Every avenue leading to his soul was left open and unobstructed. His view of the universe was fresh and free. As he abandoned himself to the central and absolute Force that, as he conceived, wrought in and about him, Emerson's worth and weight are exactly the worth and weight of his total manhood, which was great. His highest aspiration was to realize himself; and philosophy can produce no theory that promises greater results than the recorded activities of such lives. His unique and eloquent presentation of the supremacy of spirit, the immanence of God in nature, the immense value of man, and the ability of the finite to apprehend the Infinite did not fail, first to fascinate, and then to elevate, all who acquainted themselves with his doctrines.

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We have called Emerson poet and have spoken of his vision and his gift of penetration. May it not be well to ask what value attaches to the dream of the poet and the vision of the seer? How is philosophy furthered by poetic insight? How are truth and beauty related to each other? What is the relation of seer and reasoner? Reality, it may be answered, is one. In the last analysis, truth, beauty, and the good are one. All truth is beautiful, and all beauty is good. These are only different ways in which the Primal Essence appears to the mind of man. The poet beholds reality, and it assumes graceful form and radiant color; the philosopher beholds the same reality, and his cold gaze crystallizes it into a law, a principle, a thought; the righteous will and trustful heart meet the same reality and find it perfect will and loving heart. The reality is never thoroughly construed to the finite life until it has been clothed with beauty, perceived as law, and incorporated into righteous conduct and communion. Shall the soul, then, refuse to respond to the vision of the seer while it accepts the logic of the reasoner? Shall we cast out of philosophy the moral and æsthetic ideals just because they cannot be reduced by the intellect to rigid law? Surely the soul has no deeper need than that which urges it to posit for itself an ideally good and beautiful universe. The ineffable essence is as frequently realized through the feelings as through the intellect. In fact, after the logician has cautiously and painfully reasoned through his theories and his laws he finds himself at the same goal which the poet has reached at a bound before him. They both trust that they have arrived at the proper goal; they both feel elated and satisfied with their perception of ultimate reality. And what is, after all, the supreme test of knowledge? It is not sensation. It is not alone rational intuition or the veracity of God. It is, in fact, no externally imposed standard whatsoever. The ultimate criterion of knowledge arises from the innermost life, and from that life in its unity and completeness. It is, in short, a self-realization akin to moral or æsthetic satisfaction.

It is important that a slight critical comment be made before Emerson's thought is considered from a strictly rational standpoint. The limits of this paper forbid adequate discussion of the significance of Kant's doctrine for the development of thought since his time; but we maintain that the center of

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gravity of all metaphysical questioning should be shifted in accordance with his doctrine of the primacy of the practical reason. Life, as a whole, is the ultimate problem with which man is most interested; and whatever real explanations are reached will be reached by excursions from this standpoint, rather than by an attempt to construct the universe by pure reason. We repeat that man's deepest and most pressing problem is life, of which knowledge is only a part sought in isolation from the rest. Nothing is known that has not been lived. No cognitive function can be separated from the attendant functions of feeling and conation. Even if we could trace back the threads of life and thought to their sources, arrived there we could only bow reverently and trust. So the ultimate problem with which we have to deal is a progressive one; it is the problem of conscious becoming, and in this process knowledge is only a phase. If we busy ourselves too exclusively with this single aspect of our expanding life we lose our bearings and see all things out of focus. Life is its own interpreter; and it is quite as important, as human, and, from the standpoint of the individual, as much the discovery of the real to will, to feel, to trust, and to aspire as to know.

Emerson was among the first in America to emphasize Kant's doctrine that through the postulates of the practical reason we have access to the realms of moral freedom, immortality, and God. It is much to his credit that he bent his energies toward the practical and the positive, rather than the theoretical, aspect of the great German's doctrine. Emerson struck the first high, clear note to the prelude of the nobler philosophy that is only now beginning to pervade the lives of our best American thinkers. No one saw more clearly than he the shortcomings of philosophy as it then prevailed, the barrenness of soulless metaphysical inquiry, and the hopelessness of reaching any satisfactory results unless the traditional methods of thought were abandoned. He attempted no critical statement of his views; he entered into no polemic; yet he fearlessly departed from the beaten pathway of philosophy and shocked the reflective world into life and hope by his originality and his genius. He appealed to the lives, and not merely to the intellect, of his readers. From the depths of his own consciousness he spoke to the consciousness of others; he revealed God to them through

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reflection. To-day comparatively few will question the truth of his statements that spontaneity and fullness of life, rather than a metaphysical system or a theory of knowledge, are man's greatest needs; that digested and completed systems at once become dead and worthless; that endeavor, not rest, is the soul's richest heritage; and that awareness is a more attainable, if not more desirable, state than certainty.

Frank C. Lockwood.

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Art. III.—PAUL'S PSYCHOLOGY.

What may be the use and limitation of reason in the realm of religion is a question much in need of settlement in these days of independent thought. Paul has furnished the base lines from which a settlement may be made; but this paper proposes only to take a few field notes. Character is the basis of spiritual knowledge. The natural, animal man has no ability to understand spiritual things; they do not lie in his plane of thought; he catalogues them among the foolish things; they are not intelligible to him, because they are spiritually discerned and are to be examined by spiritual powers which the animal man does not possess.

Our age is skeptical; its very philosophy is without certitude. Religion has begun to doubt its own beliefs; there is a tendency to swing away from the old landmarks, from old beliefs and old methods of thought, and to push intellect over the old border land into the realm of doubt. Speculative thought is putting forth its greatest activity in order to clear up the field of consciousness and remove the fog line between logical inference and spiritual intuition. Popular authors, popular colleges, and some popular pulpits are attempting to fix the horizon of mind and crowd the field that lies beyond the logical powers full of the unknowable. But how can the mere logical powers know that there is an unknowable? The pride of knowledge puts out the spiritual eyes. It is the spiritual man that realizes his inability, that longs to know the spiritual things, and desires to examine them with spiritual powers; the mere animal man has no such desires. Had God committed to the natural man abilities to discover essential religious truths he could not have given to the race a revelation of himself. If the mere philosopher could ascertain spiritual truth, as Pythagoras discovered the triangle, holy men of God would not have been moved by the Holy Ghost to write the Holy Scriptures.

There are but three possible methods of obtaining truth by the natural power of the mind. These fix the limits of the natural man: 1. The empirical method, limited to the facts known through the senses by observation and experiment; the truths obtained are scientific truths. 2. The logical method,

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the mental process by which all healthy mind comes into possession of new relations of truth by inference. There are forms of inference. Induction is the inference of truths from known facts. Mind may construct new truths from known facts, as men construct houses from the raw material by putting it in new relations. Deduction is the inference of other truths from truths which are known, the process of constructing new forms of truth out of individual forms. When the truths discussed are purely abstract the field is mathematical and the new truths are all demonstrable. When the constructive form of truth is speculative we have the unfenced field of metaphysics. 3. The intuitional method, if method it may be called, when both facts and truths are known to consciousness without any known process, without experiment, induction, or deduction. Such knowledge is absolute, not a notion or a belief resting upon the conscious fact that it cannot be otherwise; but it is positive knowing, such a knowledge as excludes all doubt and admits of no augmentation, is more emphatic than demonstration, is self evident, supersensible. Through this gateway mind receives all primary or first truths—axioms of mathematics, notions of time and space, the beautiful and true in art, the ethical ideas of right and wrong, self-consciousness, personal freedom, God-consciousness, or the realization of God as a personal Being.

The primary knowledge belongs to all men, all responsible being; it is without any process; it is spontaneous insight, soul vision, apocalyptic. This seems to be God's method of revealing spiritual truth to spiritual men. If God can reveal his own personality to the natural man, then why may not the truth of the incarnation, atonement, immortality, and the resurrection of the dead be revealed to the spiritual man? Over the doorway of the Academy of Plato was written, "Let none but geometricians enter here." Over the gateway to the realm of religion let the proud philosopher, the world-wide scholar, the keen, skeptical critic read the inscription from a greater Master than Plato, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes."

I. The Limitation of Reason in Religion.—Mere reason cannot by its logical powers discover God, or apprehend him when revealed. It is not to blame, for it was not intended for

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the exploration of such a field of knowledge. The proposition of Herbert Spencer that so shocked the religious world is not only true, but demonstrably true: "Apprehensible to us there is no God." Spencer built his system of agnosticism upon the logical powers. Men of lesser brain persist in building Christianity on the same basis; so that we still have rationalists and some higher critics worshiping a conclusion of a syllogism or a solitary proposition for a personal God. The God of the Bible is not in the range of pure reason. Had man no other powers than the logical, no other method than logical inference, God would forever be unknowable, because not in the field of vision of the natural man. Any attempt to know God by inference involves the fallacy of false assumption.

The mind has no ability to infer the being of God from the facts of the natural world which lie in the realm of sense. The facts of nature may unify a truth already known, or illustrate what is revealed in some other way. The clock method and all similar methods are illustrations, not arguments. The fallacy of all such efforts may be logically exposed. Take the old saw: an Arab found the track of a camel near his tent, and hence inferred the existence of the camel; therefore, if the footprints of God do not prove the existence of God, neither do the tracks of the camel prove the existence of the camel. The conclusion being true, many minds assume the premise to be true. But how could the Arab know the track to be a camel's unless he had first known a camel? The footprints were evidence of the presence of the camel, not a discovery of the fact of its existence. The Arab had the fact to begin with and knew the camel's tracks, and hence logically inferred that the camel had been near his tent. That is the only logical value of his inference. Had he only the tracks to work on he could never have found the camel by the syllogism.

If God be only an hypothesis or a mental proposition, then he may be in the range of reason; but as a personal Being he is not in the range of our logical powers. The God that is presumed to be known by the syllogism is illogical, unsatisfactory, and unknowable, because absurd. God must be in the premise if he be found in the conclusion. But God is more than a proposition, and hence does not live in the range of the logical powers or any of the powers of the natural man.

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But does not this contradict the great prince of logicians, who seems to indorse the logical method and hold man responsible for not finding God by his footprints? "Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath showed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse." Why? Because of their logical power to infer God "from the things that are made?" No, but for another reason. God hath showed, manifested, disclosed, revealed it unto them, but not by logical inference. What are "the invisible things" that are made so luminous, so "clearly seen from the creation of the world," by which not only the philosopher and critic, but all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, are "without excuse?" Why, his "eternal power and Godhead"—*θειότης*, not *θεότης*; for all the character of God is not revealed in nature, even when nature is interpreted by himself. But they had such a knowledge as to bring all under obligation to worship. How did this knowledge come? Not by inference "from the things that are made," not through the syllogism, but by divine manifestation.

God cannot be put into scientific formula. He is more than power, more than a proposition. When the beloved disciple said "God is love" he did not attempt to put God into a proposition; his predicate was not intended to contain all the subject. God is greater than all his works; neither the book of nature nor the book of revelation is in the range of the logical faculty. "The things of the Spirit of God" must be spiritually examined by Spirit-taught men. Supernatural disclosure is absolutely essential in order to interpret the book of nature or the book of revelation. God, if known, must be spiritually discerned, known by the spiritual faculties, which are alone developed in the Spirit-taught man—by the method of intuition, quickened insight, soul vision, apocalypse. Spontaneous insight seems to have been the normal method of knowing God exercised by the primitive man. Spontaneous perception is the logic of the blessed man. Jesus said to Peter, when he first realized the true character of the Messiah, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed

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[ἀποκάλυψε] it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven [hath apocalypsed it unto thee]."

Upon this Spirit-taught man Jesus built his Church, or out of such Spirit-taught men he formed his ἐκκλήσια. "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Paul exhorts the higher critics on Mars' Hill—Aristotle and all his disciples—to cease trying to put God into the forms of art and crowding him into human syllogisms, and to feel after him [ψηλαφήσειαν] and find him, not by sense or by reason, but by soul vision. The spiritual man can feel more than he can think, realize what he cannot formulate, know what he cannot logically prove, because there is a class of truths which lies beyond the logical powers.

II. The Bible is a Revelation to the Spiritual Powers of Man.—Spiritual truth is limited to Spirit-taught men. If the animal man is convicted of sin, righteousness, and judgment it is because the Holy Spirit has done it; then it is a conviction, a spiritual impression, not a logical conclusion. Reason is limited to facts established by evidence and to self-evident truths and such truths as can be logically inferred from them.

The Bible has a literary side, of necessity. Truth is wrapped up in the forms of language, as mathematics in diagrams; but the truth does not depend upon the formula, but the formula does depend upon the truth. The critic, the scholar, the spiritually-minded can get nothing out of the forms of language but what was put in them. The logical powers are limited to history, biography, chronology, archæology, and truths of this class. And yet there is a spiritual element in these also which eludes the mere logical powers. Mind can know nothing by logical inference concerning God, the Trinity, incarnation, immortality, resurrection, and truths of this class, for they lie beyond the logical powers of the natural man and, if known, must be apocalypsed. The teachings of Jesus are not syllogistic; his truths are not inferences from facts; he never proves a proposition; his Gospel is not put together in logical forms. Hence it is absurd to suppose that the Gospel can be taken apart and examined by any logical

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process, or be interpreted by the mere critic, as other books are interpreted. The Gospel is a divine formulation of intuited and apocalyptic truths not in the range of the mere logical faculties or the powers of the natural man.

III. The Use of Reason in Revelation and Religion.—It is valuable for the exposition of error. The syllogism is invaluable for finding and exposing fallacies. This is the use Paul makes of his great logical powers. His profound arguments are pure syllogisms that will hold water. But he never tries to prove the Gospel. Paul's success in defeating errorists seems to have led the majority of preachers to adopt the syllogistic method of presenting truth in the pulpit. Jesus presents truth in soul-pictures and never attempts to prove it. Logic is essential to prevent religious enthusiasts and fanatics from perverting the Holy Scriptures. Reason is essential to the complete understanding of the word of God by all rational beings; and all interpretation that can be shown to be false or absurd must be rejected. All religious dreamers and devout seers, the visions of Porphyry, the contemplations of Plotinus, the marvelous illuminations of Swedenborg must be tested by the logical faculty. The highest and best philosophy of any age is that which gives the best solutions to the problems of the soul. Sensationalism and science, falsely so called, have attempted to drive all the angels from the world, deny the supernatural, and shut up God in the laboratory; but philosophy without religion is insufficient for the highest explorations of mind. Some of the higher critics need a kind of intellectual palingenesis, as well as "Ye must be born again."

The earnest soul is weary of the worship of definitions, hypotheses, forces, principles, and conclusions of syllogisms. The best thinkers of the age are crying, like David, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God."

W. J. Nelson.

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Art. IV.—THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF GOD.

If adaptation to human wants were chiefly considered there would be little difficulty in reaching a satisfactory conception of Deity. The Christian notion is exactly suited to the mental and moral needs of the race. Beyond dispute it comes into sympathetic contact with humanity at a larger number of points than any other. The same conclusion is arrived at if the matter is referred to pure reason for a decision. Once allow that theism affords the only proper explanation of the universe as it now exists, and the idea of the divine nature held by the Christian Church is the only thoroughly consistent one. Atheism, naturalistic evolution, pantheism, positivism, and agnosticism are involved in such hopeless difficulties as to drop wholly out of consideration. The alternative is either the God of revelation or utter skepticism.

The Holy Scriptures contain the data upon which the Christian conception is based. They furnish the only authoritative material from which to construct it. Reduced to simplest terms, the view they warrant may be stated in two propositions: I. God's absolute essence is immanent Spirit; II. His moral nature is holy love.

I. Every biblical student has noticed that God is frequently spoken of in both Testaments as a Spirit. He is said to be invisible, unsearchable, omnipresent, and omniscient. These properties are incompatible with material being. To be intelligible they must be connected with an independent, immaterial existence. Spirit thus appears as the fundamental essence in the divine nature. Deity cannot be thought of as confined to a form like a human creature. Such an idea would imply limitation. He is the Unlimited, bound by neither space nor time, and can be everywhere present at the same moment. Of course, it follows that he is unappreciable by the senses. He cannot be seen with eyes or touched with hands. Though he may be near, he must ever elude physical grasp. Job said, "Lo, he goeth by me, and I see him not." At the dedication of the temple at Jerusalem Solomon lifted up his eyes and cried, "Will God indeed dwell on the earth? behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much

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less this house that I have builded." This is an exalted view of the divine nature. The idea of Spirit as fundamental in Deity is a notion beyond the reach of unaided reason. Only revelation could present it to human thought; but, once announced, its appropriateness is immediately recognized. It satisfies completely the demands of clear thinking.

A careful examination of certain scriptural statements brings out a fact, frequently overlooked, which is of the utmost importance for a proper apprehension of the Christian doctrine. While it is distinctly affirmed that Deity is Spirit, it is not taught or implied that he is removed from constant contact with the world. It is rather declared that he is in intimate and vital connection with it. All things are represented as depending on him and upheld by him. Without his active presence there would be no material existence. He is the Quickener, who gives life to all animate creation. Job said that in his hand "is the soul of every living thing, and the breath of all mankind." Were he to withdraw from the world for never so short a time all things would perish. The psalmist wrote, "Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled: thou takest away their breath, they die, and return to their dust." Paul uttered a similar truth when he said to the Athenians on Mars' Hill that it is God who gives to all "life, and breath, and all things," and that in him men live and move and have their being. The Infinite Spirit is in perpetual activity throughout the cosmos. He has not withdrawn in calm satisfaction or helpless impotency and left the world to run on with mechanical exactness. He has not prescribed a self-limitation to his powers and shut himself away from the works of his hands. He continues in immediate contact with all created things as the necessary condition of their existence. He is their omnipresent, immanent support. That which is commonly called natural law is simply the method by which he usually accomplishes his desires.

This conception of God forestalls discussion concerning the possibility of miracles. The objection to miraculous occurrences arises from a fundamental misapprehension of the real nature of the world and the divine relation to it. If the two are thought of as distinct and separate, in the same sense that the watch and watchmaker are separate, then Deity cannot well interfere with the action of world forces without producing a

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disturbance in the established order. But the moment he is regarded as immanent Spirit, upholding and controlling all things, then natural action becomes simply the product of his will. All movements wait upon his behest. The so-called regularity of nature means simply that the usual mode of divine activity is uniform. There is no implication that the Almighty is hedged about by any unchangeable restrictions. Yet this is the harmless weapon which modern skepticism brandishes with great display and with which it proposes to destroy religion.

Not long ago a notorious champion of unbelief concluded an impassioned attack upon Christianity with the assertion, "The universe is governed by law." Apparently it seemed to the orator that the last word relating to miracles had been uttered by him and the impossibility of their occurrence settled forever. The easy confidence of such critics is very amusing; but when discussion is serious it cannot for a moment be allowed that law is an abstraction, with attributes like an individual, standing outside the universe and seizing it as a giant might seize a babe. The intelligent theist repudiates such a notion as too puerile for consideration. The fact is that law is simply the method by which a power works. Apart from the power, law has no significance. When used in relation to the world the term means the method of the divine activity. But with this understanding of the word the assumed difficulties quickly disappear. Back of the divine method is the divine will. A change in the will produces a change in the method. If He who is all in all chooses to employ for some special purpose a new method there is no clashing of forces. There is simply, for the time being, the introduction of a new law, which is the direct manifestation of the infinite will. This law remains in operation until the divine pleasure is accomplished, and then there is a return to the former method.

It may thus be said that when a miracle is wrought God simply neutralizes one law by the introduction of another. There is no violation or suspension of any law. The Christian conception of Deity, as immanent Spirit freely working throughout all creation, at once disposes of all objections against the miraculous. Whenever the divine will so determines miracles can take place without in the slightest degree disturbing the

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equipose of nature. The extraordinary in the sight of God is no more strange than the ordinary.

II. The second proposition is that God's moral nature is holy love. This fact is clearly set forth in Scripture. It appears very evident that it was intended that man should see in Deity the Holy One whose love is all-embracing. The various moral attributes of the divine nature have their foundation in the ideas of holiness and love. Justice and righteousness, as displayed in moral government, are manifestations of holiness. Out of love springs compassion, patience, and mercy. The notion of holiness is early developed in revelation, but it is accompanied by views of love. It will be found throughout the Old Testament that the two are in close association, presenting in their unity the completed conception of Deity in his relation to man.

The New Testament likewise puts emphasis upon these characteristics. "Be ye holy; for I am holy" appears in one of the epistles, and in another the words, "God is love." The latter statement is worthy of special notice. It affirms that God is not merely loving, but is love. An identity is asserted. It is not said that God is holiness, but that he is holy. There is no place in the divine nature apart from creation for an attribute which depends for its significance upon a standard of right and wrong. Holiness, as a perfection of the Infinite, obtains its meaning from the relation that Deity sustains to his creatures under a moral government. Hence the fitness of the remark "I am holy," not "I am holiness." But the statement "God is love" carries us back of all creation. Before ever the worlds were made or any creature had been formed, in his own self-sufficiency Deity was love.

Undoubtedly a philosophy of the Trinity is impossible. The idea transcends human powers of comprehension. But the assertion that "God is love" appears to throw light upon the doctrine. The language of Scripture makes it certain that there are three personal subsistencies in the unity of the divine nature. A Christian is called upon to believe in "the Father, the eternal Son of the Father, and the Holy Spirit, eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son." Here is a great mystery, which, from the conditions of the case, cannot be pictured to the imagination. This does not, however, mean that

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it is self-contradictory or unbelievable. There are many things which are reasonable and which can be believed, but which cannot be fully understood. Man may apprehend some phases of truths which he cannot entirely comprehend. Unaided reason never could have discovered the notion of the Trinity. It had to be revealed. But Scripture does not teach that there are three Gods. It distinctly asserts that there is but one God. There is a fundamental unity in the Trinity. A believer is baptized into the one name, "the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The New Testament cannot be understood except on the ground of a numerical Trinity having its basis in an organic unity.

That a plurality in unity exists, though not picturable to the mind, seems to be implied by the doctrine of God's moral nature. One cannot love without an object of affection. As love in very essence God existed from all eternity. Manifestly there must have been eternally present an object of regard. A community in the divine nature appears to be required by the very necessities of the case. "Thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world," said Jesus the Son as he addressed the Father. In the very beginning, before the worlds were made, the Son, who in the fullness of time became the incarnate Word, was with the Father. In the thought of love as identical with the moral nature of Deity there is thus discovered a suggestion of that plurality in the unity of God which revelation has unfolded in the doctrine of the Trinity.

Turning from the idea of the Infinite in his absolute self-sufficiency to that of Supreme Ruler in connection with moral government, the conception of his nature, as the sum of the two perfections holiness and love, gives a key to biblical history. From some standpoints the Scriptures are quite unintelligible. It is not a matter of surprise that critics have found a great deal of fault with them when the position from which they have been viewed is considered. Especial difficulty has been encountered in dealing with the morality of the Old Testament. An unqualified approval of it has been looked upon as a great burden. The fancied trouble, however, entirely disappears when God is thought of as holy love working through the centuries, as best he could with the material at his disposal, for the development of a great design and gradually unfolding through

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a chosen people a gracious purpose concerning the race. From this standpoint the history of Israel is a wonderful illustration of providential care and a luminous commentary on the divine solicitude for human welfare. From the choice of Abraham, through all the stages in the career of the Hebrew nation, there was a steady onward movement of forces, under the direction of an overruling Power, working steadily in the interests of human happiness. Everything was made to contribute to the intended end. If the heavy hand of displeasure was laid upon a rebellious generation it was for the good of all concerned. A vindictive spirit was nowhere manifested. Jehovah often reproved and rebuked, but always that he might ultimately bless. In sending Elijah to condemn Israel for her wickedness there was as real an evidence of love as in giving manna to the wanderers in the wilderness or staying the waters of the Jordan before the advancing host. The treatment of the Canaanites, Philistines, and Moabites was likewise dictated by a sincere concern for the welfare of man. The inheritance of these peoples was not taken from them till the cup of their iniquity was full and they had demonstrated their unfitness for the positions they occupied. Then they were removed to give place to others better qualified for working out the purposes of the Almighty. Scripture history is really the record of the unfolding of a beneficent plan conceived in the interests of humanity by a wise Creator. In the light of this fact embarrassments vanish and the Bible becomes intelligible and consistent.

Not only is there in this conception of God an explanation of Jehovah's dealings with the Hebrew people, but also the only proper account of the moral government of the world. It is not difficult to discern in the course of the years an orderly trend of moral forces. One after another nations that have outlived their usefulness have passed away. Steadily a power which makes for righteousness has wrought in human society. Out of confusion and uproar have come peace and quietness. The Christian notion of a God who is deeply interested in his creatures and constantly and mightily energizes in their behalf easily solves the problem which lies in the ethical phenomena of history.

There remains to be considered the crowning expression of holy love in the incarnation. For a time Deity was content to

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send messengers to disclose his will; but there came an hour when he made bare his own right arm for the salvation of men. In the person of Jesus Christ he entered into union with humanity. Before the eyes of wondering saints and angels the marvelous spectacle appeared of Immanuel—God with us—walking over the stony pathway of mortal existence and climbing the toilsome slope of Calvary, that by an unparalleled self-sacrifice he might redeem the race. In the cross of Christ love found its loftiest illustration. The Christian conception of God measures the sublime condescension displayed in the atonement by the distance between the glory of Jehovah's throne and the ignominy of a shameful crucifixion. No greater self-humiliation than this was possible. It challenges the wonder and admiration of heaven and earth. The amazing fact stands out in solitary grandeur, unapproached and unapproachable.

The conception of the divine nature thus outlined is worthy of Him who fills immensity with his presence. It offers a satisfactory explanation of world experience. Before it all pagan notions stand rebuked and discredited. Moral deformity has everywhere characterized the deities of heathenism. They have reflected the temper and disposition of the peoples by whom they have been worshiped. The biblical doctrine rises to an immeasurable height above all the passions and follies of men. It shows a Deity who is the Absolute and Perfect One. As immanent Spirit and holy love he meets the demands of reason and the longings of the human heart. Tested by the influence exerted on character and life, this view of God is the one that deserves to stand. The Christian believer has no cause to apologize for his faith. More and more as men grow in wisdom will they appreciate the scriptural teaching concerning the Creator and Sustainer of all things and be led to bestow on it their sincere approbation.

Willis J. Odell

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Art. V.—THE NEW MUNICIPAL MOVEMENT.

A distinct change of tone is observed in recent discussions of the city problem. The modern city has been called the "plague spot of modern times," the most serious "menace to our civilization," our "impending peril," and other names like these. Long ago Thomas Jefferson branded the city as the "ulcer of our body politic." Francis Lieber characterized the city as "the most perplexing and difficult problem of modern times." De Tocqueville said: "I look upon the size of certain American cities, and especially upon the nature of their population, as a real danger which threatens the security of the democratic republics of the new world." Mr. Bryce declares that "the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." Ex-President White, of Cornell, writes it down as his sober judgment that "without the slightest exaggeration, with very few exceptions, the city governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt."

All that is very serious, and especially serious in view of the fact that these "ulcers" and "plague spots" continue to grow and their dangers to increase. People knowing how evil and menacing these great centers are not only remain in them but move to them. The modern Sodom is Sodom, indeed, but immense hosts prefer to take their chances for themselves and their families in the modern Sodom. The great majority prefer urban to rural environment.

There are two ways of regarding the situation. Up to a recent date the evils and perils have had the emphasis. Many have considered the city a necessity, indeed, but also a necessary evil, unhappily destined to be permanent. The municipal pessimist abounds. On the other hand, it is thought by many careful students that, while the evils abound, the remedies are at hand. Many who see that the city is the inevitable order, as Dr. Albert Shaw puts it, hold also that this inevitable order furnishes the best possible condition for us and our descendants. "The present evils of city life are for the most part temporary and remediable. The conditions and circumstances of existence in the modern city can be so adjusted to the needs of the

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population as to result in the highest development of the race, physically, intellectually, and ethically." Dr. Parkhurst calls the city "the problem of the devil in a big town." But Guthrie took the optimistic view: "I bless God for cities. Cities have been as lamps of life along the pathway of humanity and religion. Within them science has given birth to her noblest discoveries. Behind their walls freedom has fought her noblest battles. Cities have been the cradles of human liberty. They have been the active centers of almost all Church and State reformation. I cannot regard them either as excrescences or tumors, nor would I destroy them. I bless God for them."

I do not propose to discuss or even to review the evangelistic movements in the cities, but rather the plans of the larger campaign. City missions, institutional churches, and all those benevolent, reformatory, and evangelistic agencies which are so fruitful of good are well understood. But there is a movement, calling itself civic, not religious, which has in it elements of great power and advantage to the efforts called religious. The new movement has several points in its program:

1. It aims to understand the city problem, and then to create a science of municipal administration. Many readers of the *Review* know that there is now a large and determined body known as the National Municipal League, and that four national conferences for good city government have now been held. Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Cleveland, and Baltimore are the cities thus far honored by this body. Mr. Bryce's indictment of our municipal administration is not at all surprising. National and State administration has been the theme for our past study. Our great text-books have been strong on federal and State lines, but silent or weak on all municipal lines. Our great statesmen have shone in federal or State administration. Our eagle is not a municipal bird. Meantime our cities have grown faster than the skill and wisdom to govern them, and they have been subordinated to State and federal interests in a most harmful and unwise way. The student of civil government during the next quarter century will not know less about the federal Constitution or the rights of States, but he will know more about the science of municipal government. Already some studies adapted for use as text-books have appeared, and in several colleges and universities provision has

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been made for instruction in this science. An abundant literature has already been created, including the reports of the conferences just mentioned, the very valuable volumes by Dr. Shaw upon *Municipal Government in Great Britain* and *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*, and many others. The campaign may be called thus far a campaign of education and study. The National Municipal League has not yet fallen into the pitfall of trying to secure an immediate reform of various cities. By comparison, by report, by discussion, by experiment it is earnestly trying to create a science of municipal government and a sentiment in its favor. It proposes, in its own language, "to multiply the numbers, harmonize the methods, and combine the forces of all who realize that it is only by united action and organization that good citizens can secure the adoption of good laws and the selection of men of trained ability and proved integrity for all municipal positions, or prevent the success of incompetent or corrupt candidates for public office; to promote the thorough investigation and discussion of the conditions and details of civic administration, and of the methods for selecting and appointing officials in American cities, and of laws and ordinances relating to such subjects; to provide for such meetings and conferences, and for the preparation and circulation of such addresses and other literature, as may seem likely to advance the cause of good city government." Many other organizations are working toward the same end.

2. The students of municipal government are pretty well agreed that "municipal government is business, not politics." "It now costs more to carry on the city of San Francisco than it does to run the rest of the State" (*Outlook*, July 11, 1896). The business interests of New York city are much larger than those of the State. Its finances are five or six times as large. *The Independent* of September 13, 1894, uses these figures concerning New York: "In 1893 the receipts of the city treasury were nearly $92,000,000, the payments almost a million larger, while those of the State for the same period were about $18,000,000." These figures tell their own story. Here is the opportunity for public plunder. Here also is the demand for the largest ability and the most conspicuous character. But up to date no American city has ever been administered as a munic-

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ipality. Its elections have taken place and its affairs conducted with reference to the State and the nation. Denver has had within the past four years at least two "city hall wars." Under each of them observers could easily distinguish live wires running to the county courthouse, the State house, the United States Senate, and even the White House. It was freely said and nowhere denied that the city's affairs, her offices, her revenues were largely administered with direct reference to a complicated scheme of State and national politics. Men were appointed firemen and others policemen because of services rendered or to be rendered to the governor, the United States senators, and other officers. Appropriations were granted or refused for purely political reasons. Under the stress of public excitement a few men were dismissed, a few officers changed, and the system left undisturbed. This is true of every considerable city in the United States. Meantime the real interests of a city center in the management of finances, the care of streets and parks, good fire and police protection, public health, public improvements, libraries, law and order, art and education, commerce and houses. And these, *per se*, have nothing to do with such interesting questions as the tariff, the Cuban question, a new navy, or even the silver question. Party lines seem to be necessary. No attack is made upon them here. It is only contended that, since municipal affairs are such purely business affairs, they should be conducted on a business basis. The national parties should, as parties, keep their hands off city affairs. In cities the lines of cleavage should be different. The expensiveness and inefficiency of city governments are largely due to the fact that the public money is appropriated and squandered for purely political purposes. The president of an excise board in a large city recently said to a friend: "I have been appointed by the governor to this office. I shall make the department the most complete political machine for the governor's benefit the city has ever seen." It is easy to see what the policy of such an officer must be. He will not be interested in economy, for the larger his funds the more agents he can employ. He will be more anxious to secure men with political efficiency than those capable of doing their real work. And the city pays the bills. The "regular ticket" will have the right of way. Says Mr. Bryce again:

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> At present the disposition to run and vote for candidates according to party is practically universal, although the duty of party loyalty is deemed less binding than in State or federal elections. . . . However, though the tenets of Republicans and Democrats have absolutely nothing to do with the conduct of city affairs, though the sole object of the election, say of a city comptroller or auditor, may be to find an honest man of good business habits, four fifths of the electors in nearly all cities give little thought to the personal qualifications of the candidates and vote the "straight-out ticket."

And heretofore about the only exception has been the spasmodic attempt to elect a nonpartisan ticket, which is usually a bipartisan "deal" by which both national parties get their hands into the city treasury. "They represent their parties first, and serve the city afterward." This complication of city with State and national politics is one of the chief obstacles in the way of reform. "It will cost us the governorship, and possibly the presidency," is the familiar cry. And good men by the thousand vote the regular ticket in the city election or indorse a wicked municipal measure because they fear for the State or national election. The cities are the center and throne of the saloon evil. "Municipal government is business, not politics." No one pretends that maintaining the saloon is good business. But because it appears to be good politics the saloon is intrenched. Every interest of the city requires that it should go, but the managers of the State and national politics declare that the saloon vote must not be alienated. And it stays. Business says it must go. Politics says it must stay. The business is municipal, the politics State and national. The municipality must be municipalized, not only in the interest of economy and efficiency, but in the interest of such reform as this. The process of changing all this so that city affairs shall be administered on this basis of business is long and difficult. But the sentiment in favor of it grows. The new movement, with its campaign of education, seeks to accomplish this change.

3. Another point in the campaign is the securing of home rule for cities. Frequent interference on the part of legislatures has not proved advantageous to the cities. American cities must have the largest opportunities for self-government. The people within the walls certainly know as well and care as much for the interests of the city as do the inhabitants of the distant parts of the State. Many legislators have never seen a large

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city. There is nearly always a jealousy or dislike of the city. The country member resents its "airs" and pretensions. He is quick to oppose whatever is proposed by the city. He has no personal interest in the city and little knowledge of its necessities. The consequence is easily seen, as it might be easily foreseen. City government is partly a failure because no American city has yet had perfect home rule. A division of power and responsibility between a mayor and governor seemed wise and necessary in view of serious abuses of power, but the cure is not satisfactory. There is, therefore, everywhere a tendency to return to the principle of home rule, the centralizing of power, with a corresponding location of responsibility. It is an anomaly in administration that one man should be mayor while a half dozen principal departments of the city government should be under the control of the governor, often a man from the country and elected by rural votes. In a large western city the entire fire, police, and public works departments are under boards appointed by the governor. The mayor of the city has no control over them. When any failure or malfeasance occurs the mayor blames the governor, the governor blames the mayor, the people are unable to decide, but they pay the bills. Somebody is removed, but the system remains. The new campaign aims at the largest degree of self-determination in local affairs.

4. Another feature of the movement is the demand for genuine civil service reform in making municipal appointments. The current demand that appointments should be made upon the ground of fitness and merit is not lacking in grotesqueness —as if any other reasons should ever exist for an appointment! Chicago has largely extended the merit system. New York has done the same. Brooklyn had for several years a most efficient civil service commission. Philadelphia, since 1885, has required a "systematic, open, and competitive examination of applicants" for department positions; but the rules made it easy to have the appearance of civil service and, at the same time, the most complete loyalty to party. The worst henchmen in the world are those who are appointed apparently for merit, but actually as a political reward. Civil service reform opens the way for men to serve the city with honor. Every extension of it has justified itself. The long argument for civil service reform—the argument enriched by the eloquence and

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devotion of George William Curtis for years—is complete. No further argument is needed. Application and action are now in order. The spoils system must be abolished. The party boss must be deprived of the power to reward his henchmen by robbing the treasury. Partisan tests are not fit tests. It has been shown in a half dozen recent investigations that policemen appointed for political services, with no firm tenure of office, have made hay while the sun was shining. They were not appointed because honest, faithful, competent, and efficient. Their terms were likely to expire with the term of the boss whom they served. Freely they have enriched themselves by accepting bribes for shielding lawbreakers and demanding hush money in abundance. Sworn to serve the city, they have served only themselves, their bosses, and, as far as possible, their parties. The spoils system must be destroyed—root and branch. The reformers are agreed upon that.

5. The students and reformers are also agreed that valuable franchises ought not to be given without some advantage returning to the city. Just the form which this should take is not clear. In some cases there is an imperative demand for municipal ownership and control of all such institutions as street railways, water works, electric and gaslight works. But the ownership and control of these institutions must be preceded by some other reforms, like the civil service reform. Cities have been notoriously reckless in giving franchises. Many have been bought outright by bribing aldermen. Abundant proofs of that can be found. The purchase price is usually reckoned as a part of the cost of a new plant. Professor Bemis states that an attorney and director for a Chicago corporation told him that his corporation had set aside $100,000 to buy the Chicago City Council during a few months. The money was not for the city treasury. The recent contract made between the city of Chicago and the promoters of what is known as the "loop extension" is a distinct recognition of the principle that public franchises should contribute to public funds. There are many difficulties surrounding this branch of municipal government, but they are not insuperable. The remedy for them does not lie in the present practice.

6. I have purposely left until the last the mention of one of the principal features of the current movement—the creation of

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a civic ideal and ambition. No one believes that even a perfect charter will secure good government. A perfect charter is only an instrument with which citizens work. Malicious or stupid men can do vast damage even under a perfect charter. The civic spirit has been lacking. "We have thought this thing over, and we find that it pays better to neglect our city affairs than to attend to them; that we can make more money in the time required for the full discharge of our political duties than the politicians can steal from us on account of our neglect." Here, after all, is the real root of the trouble. "How can you get honest people to work as hard to get honest men elected as dishonest people work to get dishonest men elected?" said a member of the Civic Federation of Chicago at a meeting of that body. "Good government, like every other good thing, comes high," was the lesson Honestus learned at the caucus. The price is now pretty well known. "The first great task of the Civic Federation is to arouse thought, discussion, intelligence, and force convictions of right and wrong in public matters home to the heart of American citizens; it must reach the masses or it will fail." The governorship of a State is an office to be coveted. The White House lies along that path. But the governorship of few States equals in importance the office of mayor in a great city. The civic ideal, the civic spirit, the civic ambition—the creation of these is part of the program of the practical dreamers giving time and study to the subject of municipal reform. The next election cuts only a small figure with them. Many a noble reform has struck on that rock. It has staked everything on a single election. Winning, it has concluded that everything was accomplished; losing, that everything was lost. Electing a ticket is a small achievement when compared with the creation of a system and a sentiment.

William J. McDowell

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Art. VI—DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI AND HIS SISTER CHRISTINA.

To one who believes that there is in a name some mysterious power influencing the destiny of a human being, the painter-poet, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, affords an example in evidence. Rossetti himself seems never to have forgotten the fact that he bore the name of Italy's greatest bard. The man upon whom devolves the burden of an illustrious name, if he be not borne down by it into listless despair, may be aroused to supreme endeavors to live up to the expectations of the friends who in addressing him involuntarily recall his glorious prototype.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti was a remarkable member of a remarkable family. Such a group of children as Dante Gabriel, William Michael, and Christina G. Rossetti are seldom found in the same household. Even the quiet, claustral spirit of the elder sister, Maria, was a shrine whence the clear-pointed flame of genius burned heavenward, though it was not for the world's curious gaze. Rossetti's father, Gabriele Rossetti, was a Neapolitan political refugee resident in London, and one of the most highly esteemed of Italy's recent patriotic poets. He was a profound and lifelong student of Dante, concerning whose works he cherished theories peculiarly his own. The mother of Dante Rossetti was of mixed English and Italian parentage, so that in the veins of the artist there was more Italian than English blood.

Gabriel Charles Dante Rossetti, known to the world as Dante Gabriel Rossetti, was born May 12, 1828, in London. He was the second of four children, Christina, his sister, being the youngest. In the characteristics which distinguished Dante Rossetti, and Christina as well, were included some of the rarest qualities of the two nationalities which in these notable lives came to their confluence. Dante and Christina were both scribblers in their childhood, writing stories and verses successively, the example being set them in their home by their tireless father, from whose pen flowed poems and other compositions innumerable. Dante's schooling was not of the broadest kind, though when he left King's College in the summer of 1842 he was reasonably well acquainted with Sallust, Ovid,

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and Vergil, knew the rudiments of Greek, and could read easily in French.

With Rossetti's peculiarities and skill in the art of painting we have little to do here, except as he illustrated the Preraphaelite theories of art by his brush as well as by his verse. Rossetti is better known as a writer than as a painter, since, throughout his entire life, he was averse to placing his canvases on public exhibition. His regular preparation for the profession of painting was of brief duration. After a period of study at Cary's drawing academy he was admitted as a student in the Antique School of the Royal Academy. He did not complete his course in this school, finding it irksome to subject himself to methods prescribed by others, and liking always to do things in his own way. As the head of the Preraphaelite Brotherhood he displayed a power and originality in his art work which compelled the attention of connoisseurs to the fact that a new intellectual force had made its advent among them. Ruskin early became one of Rossetti's patrons, so that the singular endowments of the young artist are beyond question. Notwithstanding the present tendency to belittle the so-called Preraphaelite movement—and Rossetti himself ere his death seemed to think lightly of it—the ability of such men as Rossetti, Millais, Holman Hunt, Woolner, Collinson, and Stephens exerted an influence which is felt at this very day in the world of art.

On the side of letters, also, it is no slight proof of poetic puissance to make one's voice heard and imitated amid the babel of minor singers ever challenging the public ear. Dante Rossetti early and easily rose above the mass of bardlings whose parrotlike repetitions of the master's manner might, mauger their maddening wearisomeness, be regarded as the sincerest form of flattery. When "The Blessed Damozel" appeared, written when Rossetti was in his nineteenth year, he who ran might read that a new luminary, brilliant and unique, had risen in our poetical skies. The extraordinary symbolism employed by this writer, the earthly passion projected into spiritual experiences, the human longing surviving amid celestial environments, the sensuous, almost sensual, beauty breathing through the entire poem, set its author apart as a real and distinct energy in the literature of his generation. This poem

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was avowedly written to be the counterpart of Poe's "Raven." As the latter poem depicts from the earthly viewpoint the yearnings of bereaved affection, so "The Blessed Damozel" portrays the same emotions from the celestial side. Scattered through this poem there are successive lines and stanzas as unforgetable as anything that has ever been written:

The blessed damozel leaned out
From the gold bar of heaven;
Her eyes were deeper than the depth
Of waters stilled at even;
She had three lilies in her hand,
And the stars in her hair were seven.

. . . . . .

Her hair that lay along her back
Was yellow like ripe corn.

. . . . . .

Beneath, the tides of day and night
With flame and darkness ridge
The void, as low as where this earth
Spins like a fretful midge.

. . . . . .

And the souls mounting up to God
Went by her like thin flames.

. . . . . .

And still she bowed herself and stooped
Out of the circling charm;
Until her bosom must have made
The bar she leaned on warm,
And the lilies lay as if asleep
Along her bended arm.

. . . . . .

The sun was gone now; the curled moon
Was like a little feather
Fluttering far down the gulf.

. . . . . .

I'll take his hand and go with him
To the deep wells of light;
As unto a stream we will step down,
And bathe there in God's sight.

. . . . . .

We two will stand beside that shrine,
Occult, withheld, untrod,
Whose lamps are stirred continually
With prayer sent up to God;
And see our old prayers, granted, melt
Each like a little cloud.

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Given a compound of Poe and Shelley and Keats and Baudelaire and Vaughan, with an added element of a completely novel personality interfused through the whole, and you have a Dante Gabriel Rossetti. In his employment of parentheses and refrains Rossetti, like William Morris, sometimes irritates his readers by what seem to be mere affectations and mannerisms. To not a few, also, Rossetti's mysticism is far from pleasant, though this, be it said, is the weird moonlight flower whose roots struck into those shadowy deeps where lay united, not to be dissevered, the genius and the life of the man. Rossetti, with his mysticism eliminated, would have been another and, to one reader at least, a less pleasing Rossetti than the poet whom we know and have learned to love.

Let it not for a moment be supposed that Rossetti's mystical tendencies froze within his bosom the kindly stream of human interest and fellowship. His heart ever beat in tune with the pulsations that stirred the common heart of the world. He was an admirer and defender of Robert Browning while as yet that great poet was generally unknown or was mentioned only in terms of ridicule and jest. He was characterized by a quick and generous appreciation of ability in others, and always stood ready in every possible manner to encourage struggling talent. Philip Bourke Marston, the blind poet, Oliver Madox Brown, our own Walt Whitman, and others shared the helpful interest which he manifested in his fellows of the pen and the palette. Rossetti preserved not a little of his boyish relish for fun nearly to the close of his life. In 1874 he writes to his brother William: "At present I am going about with a black patch over my nose. Last night Jenny *fille* and I agreed to shriek at the same moment, one 'Crupy' and the other 'Crawly,' in Dizzy's [the dog's] two ears, while May beat a tattoo on the top of his head. The instant result was that he turned round howling and bit me—fortunately not Jenny—across the nose, at which I am not surprised." A warm, full-blooded, abundant humanitarianism flows through many of Rossetti's lines, notably the poem entitled "Jenny," written before the poet had attained his majority, than which no more simple, natural, broadly philosophic production in verse, and none more fully embodying the spirit of the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, has been published within the present

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century. This poem enters into the discussion of a subject which few writers of prose or poetry would dare or care to undertake, namely, a courtesan who receives the visit of a man by night and who falls asleep upon his knee, thus arousing within him through "dead, unhappy hours" of watching reflections painful and pitiful to the last degree. The delicacy, the strength, the certainty of touch, the exquisite loveliness of this poem are beyond praise. Here, too, are memorable couplets, the grace, perfume, and unexpectedness of which are like early violets in the young grass:

> Poor handful of bright spring water
> Flung in the whirlpool's shrieking face.
> . . . . . .
> But must your roses die, and those
> Their purpled buds that should unclose?
> Even so; the leaves are curled apart,
> Still red as from the broken heart,
> And here's the naked stem of thorns.
> . . . . . .
> The cold lamps at the pavement's edge
> Wind on together and apart,
> A fiery serpent for your heart.
> . . . . . .
> Like a toad within a stone
> Seated while time crumbles on;
> Which sits there since the earth was cursed
> For man's transgression at the first;
> Which, living through all centuries,
> Not once has seen the sun arise;
> Whose life, to its cold circle charmed,
> The earth's whole summers have not warmed;
> Which always—whitherso the stone
> Be flung—sits there, deaf, blind, alone;—
> Aye, and shall not be driven out
> Till that which shuts him round about
> Break at the very Master's stroke,
> And the dust thereof vanish as smoke,
> And the seed of man vanish as dust—
> Even so within the world is lust.

As a writer of sonnets Dante Rossetti is well-nigh unequaled. Some of his sonnets written for pictures are nearly unapproachable in excellence, while the sonnet-sequence entitled "The House of Life" surpasses in richness, variety, and abounding vitality any other sonnet-sequence whatsoever, not excepting the "Sonnets from the Portuguese." Like a cleft

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pomegranate, this red-vined fruit of a fertile life, opened anywhere, shows the crimson heart within as the heart of a man. What treasures were buried from mortal delight in the poems interred in the same grave with the poet's dead wife, and afterward exhumed, these sonnets of "The House of Life" may reveal. Here is one, under the caption "Broken Music:"

> The mother will not turn, who thinks she hears
> Her nursling's speech first grow articulate;
> But breathless, with averted eyes elate,
> She sits, with open lips and open ears,
> That it may call her twice. 'Mid doubts and fears
> Thus oft my soul has hearkened; till the song,
> A central moan for days, at length found tongue,
> And the sweet music welled and the sweet tears.
> But now, whatever while the soul is fain
> To list that wonted murmur, as it were
> The speech-bound seashell's low, importunate strains—
> No breath of song, thy voice alone is there,
> O bitterly beloved! and all her gain
> Is but the pang of unpermitted prayer.

The manner in which Dante Rossetti formed the acquaintance of Miss Elizabeth Eleanor Siddal, the lady who afterward became his wife, is sufficiently romantic. Walter Howell Deverell, a young painter much liked, though not a member of the Preraphaelite Brotherhood, one day accompanied his mother to a bonnet shop in Cranborne Alley, and among the shop assistants saw a young woman handing down a bandbox. She was very beautiful, tall, finely molded, with a lofty neck and a wealth of coppery, golden hair. Deverell obtained the privilege of sittings from this lovely model, whom Rossetti soon after saw, admired, loved, and to whom he became engaged to be married. Miss Siddal herself developed artistic talents of no mean order. Of her Rossetti said: "Her fecundity of invention and facility are quite wonderful—much greater than mine." The single published specimen of her verses is very far from discreditable to her skill in this direction. "Guggum," "Guggums," and "Gug" seem to have been the whimsical, and not very euphonious, pet names which Rossetti applied to his fair one. Miss Siddal's health was extremely delicate, and she died of an overdose of laudanum in less than two years after her marriage with Rossetti in 1860.

It appears to be a well-established fact that from the year

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1872 until the close of his life, in 1882, Rossetti was mentally unbalanced. The excessive use of chloral and whisky was probably contributory to, if it did not produce, this deplorable result. In the *Contemporary Review* for October, 1871, an article was published under the caption "The Fleshly School of Poetry—Mr. D. G. Rossetti." The article was signed by one Thomas Maitland. Not long thereafter it came to the knowledge of Rossetti that Thomas Maitland was none other than Mr. Robert Buchanan, the English poet, novelist, and essayist. The critique was unduly severe, and to Rossetti probably unjust. Mr. Buchanan has since retracted the strictures contained in the article, and in a manly way has expressed his high appreciation of Rossetti's work. But such was the mental and physical distemper of the unhappy artist that, upon the publication of Mr. Buchanan's criticism, his mental equilibrium was upset, and it was never again wholly restored. For years he was subject to delusions of the most painful character. Old friends were regarded as united in a conspiracy against him, and even strangers were accused of intentionally insulting him. When Mr. Browning's "Fifine at the Fair" was published Rossetti at once seized upon certain lines toward the close of the poem as containing a covert, but spiteful, attack upon himself. Mr. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) wrote a nonsensical poem entitled "The Hunting of the Snark." This Rossetti also declared to be a pasquinade directed against his fair fame. Again, while at Broadlands, a friend's seat in Hampshire, Rossetti one day became greatly excited at a thrush singing in a neighboring garden, fancying that the bird had been trained by the enemies of his peace to "ejaculate something insulting to him." On still another occasion he suddenly left Kelmscott, where he had been sojourning for a season, having plunged into a quarrel with some anglers by the river, conceiving them to have uttered something derogatory to him. Yet through all this dark period he continued to paint and write with even more than his former skill and industry.

Rossetti's home for many years was at Tudor House, Chelsea. Here dwelt with him at one time Swinburne and George Meredith, and at a later date Hall Caine. Here, also, Rossetti gathered about him much old furniture and crockery, inaugurating the fashion of collecting bric-a-brac which so generally

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prevailed a few years ago. One charming trait of Rossetti's character appears in the tender and thoughtful affection which he ever cherished toward his mother. In his beautifully filial letters to her he again and again addresses her as "My Dearest Mother," and sometimes by the absurdly affectionate titles of "Teaksicunculum" and "Darling Teaksicum." He closes one epistle to his mother thus: "Take care of your dear, funny old self, and believe me your most loving son."

Rossetti's grave is at Birchington-on-Sea, where he closed his eyes on this world April 9, 1882. The tombstone, which is an Irish cross, was designed by Madox Brown. The inscription, written by William Michael Rossetti, is as follows:

Here sleeps Gabriel Charles Dante Rossetti, honored, under the name of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, among painters as a painter, and among poets as a poet. Born in London, of parentage mainly Italian, 12 May, 1828. Died at Birchington, 9 April, 1882. This cruciform monument, bespoken by Dante Rossetti's mother, was designed by his lifelong friend Ford Madox Brown, executed by J. and H. Patteson, and erected by his brother William and sister Christina.

The world, so tardy to recognize, so slow to remember, its flame-winged ministers of song, will not consent to forget Dante Gabriel Rossetti. His clayey form has melted from human sight like a mist-born vision of the morning, but the breath of his genius still lingers to awaken music in rare and sensitive souls, as the wind murmurs through an Æolian harp. His memory shall not be as his own dissolving image, of which he sang in "Love's Nocturn:"

Like a vapor wan and mute,
  Like a flame, so let it pass;
One low sigh across her lute,
  One dull breath against her glass;
  And to my sad soul, alas!
    One salute
  Cold as when death's foot shall pass.

In the poetry of Christina G. Rossetti may be clearly traced the austere beauty of a chaste and nun-like spirit. The poems of the brother and of the sister have very little in common except an underlying seriousness of purpose and an almost fastidious sense of melody. Christina's verse may be said to uniformly express the conflicts, the longings, and the aspirations

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of a deeply religious mind. Her treatment of pietistic themes is all her own, and it is astonishing what a varied music she is able to produce upon a single string. It cannot be doubted that, upon the whole, the sister's outlook upon life was saner than that of the brother, whose latter years were so sadly clouded by mental infirmity.

When, not long ago, the voice of Christina Rossetti sank into the hush of death, England lost her sweetest songstress since Mrs. Browning sent up her swan-notes beneath Italian skies. Undoubtedly the contact into which Christina was brought with the clever young men who were the associates of her brothers, as recorded in the two recent volumes containing the memoir and family letters of Dante Rossetti, aided her not a little in the development of her intellectual life. She seemed easily to command all the melodious resources of which our language is capable. "Goblin Market" is a bizarre fantasy wrought out with utmost adroitness, the lesson of which seems to be contained in the closing lines:

> For there is no friend like a sister,
> In calm or stormy weather,
> To cheer one on the tedious way,
> To fetch one if one goes astray,
> To lift one if one totters down,
> To strengthen whilst one stands.

But it is in her lyrics that she is preeminent. The dewy freshness and simplicity of such a song as that beginning,

> My heart is like a singing bird
> Whose nest is in a watered shoot,

well illustrate the lark-like quality of Miss Rossetti's notes. "Another Spring," and the song "When I Am Dead, My Dearest," are all but flawless in their way. How sweet and graceful are her strains the last mentioned lyric well attests:

> When I am dead, my dearest,
> Sing no sad songs for me;
> Plant thou no roses at my head,
> Nor shady cypress tree:
> Be the green grass above me
> With showers and dewdrops wet;
> And if thou wilt, remember,
> And if thou wilt, forget.

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I shall not see the shadows,
  I shall not feel the rain;
I shall not hear the nightingale
  Sing on, as if in pain:
And, dreaming through the twilight
  That doth not rise nor set,
Haply I may remember,
  And haply may forget.

Miss Rossetti's devotional pieces are shot through and through with the lovely fancies and exalted symbolisms of the genuine poet. Unlike most religious verse, hers is lifted far above the dreariness and commonplaces of mediocrity. Her own intense individuality informs every stanza, almost every line. Here is a brief poem entitled "Weary in Well-doing:"

I would have gone; God bade me stay:
  I would have worked; God bade me rest.
He broke my will from day to day,
  He read my yearnings unexpressed,
    And said them nay.

Now I would stay; God bids me go:
  Now I would rest; God bids me work.
He breaks my heart tossed to and fro,
  My soul is wrung with doubts that lurk
    And vex it so.

I go, Lord, where thou sendest me;
  Day after day I plod and moil:
But, Christ my God, when will it be
  That I may let alone my toil,
    And rest with thee?

In the Preface to the recent volume, *New Poems by Christina Rossetti*, her brother, William Michael Rossetti, has recorded the curious fact that, notwithstanding the intimacy of their home life and the large amount of verse which Christina has left to the world, he never saw his sister in the act of composition.

This article concerning this songful twain may not be further prolonged. They lived and sang through their allotted years, and their songs are yet with us. Let us be grateful for them. Now that the singers are beyond the reach of human blame or blessing, hands are not lacking to weave chaplets of praise wherewith to adorn their tombs. Slow, too slow, is this old

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world to learn the oft-repeated lesson that the words of panegyric uttered above unconscious dust are as idle and ineffectual as the wind that bears them away. If the dead could be reached by the joys or sorrows of the living, many a heart misjudged and broken, which, despairing, has ceased to beat, would, amid its solemn shadows, be filled with gladness and perpetual peace. Let us hope that the following sonnet, one of Miss Rossetti's best, may not be altogether wide of a precious possibility:

The curtains were half drawn, the floor was swept
And strewn with rushes, rosemary and may
Lay thick upon the bed on which I lay,
Where through the lattice ivy-shadows crept.
He leaned above me, thinking that I slept
And could not hear him; but I heard him say,
"Poor child, poor child!" and as he turned away
Came a deep silence, and I knew he wept.
He did not touch the shroud, or raise the fold
That hid my face, or take my hand in his,
Or ruffle the smooth pillows for my head:
He did not love me living; but once dead
He pitied me; and very sweet it is
To know he still is warm, though I am cold.

James B. Kenyon.

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ART. VII.—THE MORMON PROBLEM IN THE WEST.

MORMONISM is one of the religious problems which have occupied the thoughts of the evangelical Churches of the United States for the past forty years. That the problem is not generally understood is apparent to those best acquainted with it. We do not here discuss its origin and history, but simply speak of it as it now appears. Mormonism is the dominant religious, social, mercantile, and political force in Utah, which has lately become one of the States of the Union. Beyond this, it is getting large control among the people of three other States, Nevada, Idaho, and Wyoming, and is extending into Arizona and New Mexico.

It is in the West to stay. Its people are settled in a permanent abode. In the beginning they braved the dangers of a long and perilous journey across a trackless desert occupied by Indians hostile to the settlement of the country by the whites, and at a time when few dreamed of railroads and telegraphs. Many of their women walked and pushed handcarts all the way from Omaha to Salt Lake. On the journey they buried some of their children far from human habitation, where the coyotes and wolves often feasted on their remains, the people themselves sometimes eating roots and herbs to keep from starving. In the space of forty years they have turned a wild and dreary desert into smiling fields, meadows, and orchards, so that the Scriptures are literally fulfilled, "The desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose." Every traveler through the valleys of Utah must admit the industry and frugality of the people. Their perseverance in reclaiming a vast desolate region, the home of wild beasts, and in making it a land of plenty has but few parallels in history. They have built one large city, Salt Lake, and hundreds of smaller towns and villages. Salt Lake, with its magnificent temple, tabernacle, and assembly house, is one of the wonders of this age. With its broad, shady avenues, gardens full of flowers and shrubbery, and beautiful lawns, it delights every beholder. It is to the Mormon people what Jerusalem and Mecca have been for ages to Jews and Mohammedans. Nothing short of an earthquake or some more terrible visitation of Providence, utterly blotting them

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out, will ever remove these people from their chosen place of abode.

The Mormons are increasing. Many people in the East think that Mormonism is waning. This is a mistake. These people are multiplying rapidly. Every year large accessions are made to their numbers by the labors of missionaries sent to the Southern States and to several countries of Europe. They have churches and schools in large numbers. In hundreds of villages in all this West their meeting houses are the only ones to be seen and their bishops and preachers are the only ones the people hear. In a summer "outing" the writer passed through five villages in which are no religious services except the Mormon. In this county—Uinta, Wyoming, sixty miles wide and three hundred long, and having a population of over eight thousand—not a church of any sort except Mormon can be found outside of Evanston, the county seat. This is also true of many of the counties in Utah. Mormon votes elect the officers in all departments of the State government, and the Mormon Church controls the State university. Should a Gentile be elected to office he will do as those already in office do—court the dominant power for bread and butter. An illustration of this is found in the case of a prosecuting attorney of Uinta County, Wyoming. While not himself a Mormon, he has winked at polygamy, although knowing right well the men who have plural wives. As far as enforcing the law against polygamy is concerned, he might as well be an official in the Mormon Church. But some one will ask why the Christian people and business men who are not Mormons do not see that the officers do their duty. The fact is that most business men, whether Christian or not, do not care how many wives a man has if they can secure his trade; and those who do care are powerless.

The Churches are not reaching the Mormons. During the last twenty-five years over two millions of dollars have been put into Utah by the Christian Churches of the East for the purpose of converting the Mormons. While the Churches have been giving their money liberally to build up the Christian faith in all this West, more has been spent in Utah than in any other Western State or Territory. But, so far as converting the Mormons is concerned, this has been largely wasted.

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If two hundred real Mormons have been changed and made into earnest evangelical Christians during that time we have not been able to discover them. A Presbyterian pastor who has labored for the past five years in Utah is of opinion that not one hundred Mormons have been converted into actual Christians. For this there are doubtless several distinct reasons:

1. The Mormons are largely a rural people. They occupy all the agricultural valleys and fruit-growing regions in Utah. The work of the evangelical Churches is chiefly given to the cities and railroad towns. There is an aversion on the part of most of the present-day preachers to the old-fashioned Methodist circuits. Hence little is done in the country, and the many thousands of people residing there, especially the young, never hear religious teaching from any other than Mormon tongues.

2. There is little intercourse outside of business between the Mormons and Gentiles. The former are a distinct people, keeping to themselves. There is scarcely more intercourse between the two classes than between whites and negroes in the South.

3. The Mormons resent and resist any effort made to change their religious faith, claiming, as they do, that they are the people of God. For this they present some plausible grounds. They are more evangelical than the Unitarians and Universalists of New England. They believe in the New Testament Scriptures, the divinity of Jesus Christ, and the atonement for sin secured by his death. Their ritual consecrating the bread and water for the sacrament shows this, as do also the sermons of their preachers. Unitarians would be indignant at any evangelical Church sending missionaries among them to convert them to the Christian faith, as if they were heathen. The Mormons have more authority from the Bible for their faith and practice, polygamy included, than have the Unitarians for theirs. When the commissioner from India in a recent Presbyterian General Assembly pleaded that the members of his Church in that country who have plural wives should not be expelled, but educated out of their polygamy, he quoted Bible examples for his plea. The argument against polygamy, like that against slavery, rests chiefly on other grounds than explicit biblical prohibition. Why waste time, money, and labor in carrying on what many regard as a religious crusade against a

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quiet, sober, religious, and industrious people? Let the laity and clergy of the other Churches show by superior living and acting that they have a more spiritual religion, and in time the Mormon Church will discard many of her vagaries and learn a better way.

The time has come for the authorities of all evangelical Churches to change their plans of missionary operation in Utah. Mormonism cannot be overcome by the methods now in use, and the missionary money now wasted there ought to be applied to more fruitful fields. If the evangelical Churches will turn their attention more to the higher education of the young men and women they will in time accomplish more satisfactory results. One great mistake made by the Churches in the past has been in failing to provide opportunities for higher education. The Congregationalists are now recognizing this, and have founded the Salt Lake College, which in the not distant future will give them a commanding position. Had the missionary money spent during the past twenty-five years in supporting missionaries in uncongenial, unfruitful, and barren fields, where very few Gentiles live, been put by the Methodist Episcopal Church into a commanding college much greater results would now appear.

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Art. VIII.—WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

An eminent architect has described Westminster Abbey as "the most lovely and lovable thing in Christendom." Its architectural beauties have recently been more clearly revealed by the demolition of two rows of houses on the south side of the Poets' Corner. No more valuable street improvement has been effected in Westminster during the last fifty years. An uninterrupted view is now obtained of the south side of the Abbey, of the "incomparable chapter house," and of Henry VII's exquisite Gothic chapel. But it is not merely its architectural beauty that has gained for Westminster Abbey an abiding place in the affections of the Anglo-Saxon race. It is the "head, crown, and diadem of the kingdom," where for centuries the kings and queens of England have been crowned, and then, a little later, laid to rest after their day of power and greatness. Edmund Waller, whose mother was sister to the famous John Hampden, thus speaks of its long line of coronations and funerals:

> That antique pile behold,
> Where royal heads receive the sacred gold;
> It gives them crowns, and does their ashes keep;
> There, made like gods, like mortals there they sleep;
> Making the circle of their reign complete,
> Those suns of empire, where they rise they set.

Westminster Abbey has another and a stronger claim on the affections of our race. It is not merely a royal sanctuary and mausoleum. It has become a temple of fame, where the noblest of England's sons, her courtiers and statesmen, her soldiers and sailors, her poets and musicians, her literary men, her discoverers, her scientists, and her great leaders in religion and philanthropy still live in the heart and memory of their country. A writer in the days of the Commonwealth says that the Abbey "hath always been held the greatest sanctuary and rendezvous of devotion of the whole island, whereunto the situation of the very place seems to contribute much and to strike a holy kind of reverence and sweetness of melting piety in the hearts of the beholders." If Howell were with us to-day he would enlarge his saying. Westminster is now, not merely the temple

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of an island, but of a race; for, wherever the Anglo-Saxon has found a home on both sides of the Atlantic and in all corners of the world, this is for him the most sacred and the dearest spot of the mother country.

It is generally held that the first monastery was built on Thorney, in order that its inmates might enjoy the solitude of the Thames marshes. But Mr. Walter Besant, in his recent book on Westminster, maintains that the Isle of Thorns was close to the great highway which led from the north to the Continent. The Saxon Watling Street ended abruptly where Buckingham Palace now stands. From that point to the spot where the Dover Road began, on the southern bank of the Thames, the merchants and wayfarers of the day had to wade across the marshes guided by stakes. They rested a while on Thorney, then pushed across to the Dover Road. The stream of travelers scarcely ceased the whole year round. Merchants with pack horses, strings of slaves for the Continental market, jugglers and minstrels followed each other in quick succession.

The beginnings of the foundation are wrapped in mystery. The eastern cathedral of St. Paul's was reputed to stand where there had once been a temple of Diana; the Western Minister, if we may believe the traditions handed down by the monks, was the successor of a temple to Apollo shaken down by an earthquake in A. D. 154. Lucius, the first British king, was its builder. Sebert, the Anglo-Saxon prince, restored this ruined church in 616. It was to be consecrated by the Bishop of London on the morrow, when the noted "miracle of the hallowing" anticipated the episcopal function. At midnight a venerable stranger roused Edric the fisherman and was by him ferried across the river to Thorney. As he entered Sebert's church a thousand wax tapers shone out and sweet voices chanted music such as mortal ears had never heard before. At last the lights died away and the stranger reappeared. "Know, O Edric," he said, "that I am Peter." He instructed this ferryman to meet the bishop next morning at the door of the church and tell him that the building had already been consecrated by the prince of the apostles. His reward was a miraculous draught of fishes. When daylight came he made his way with a lordly salmon to the church. His tale was heard with amazement, but the drippings of heavenly tapers on the high altars and the

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smell of fragrant incense sufficiently attested the story! A great thanksgiving service was held, then priests and monks returned to London for a stately banquet at which Edric's fish held the place of honor.

This myth must be read in the light of the long struggle which the abbots of Westminster waged against the jurisdiction of the bishops of London. In a credulous age such a tale was worth a thousand arguments. But if these stories served their purpose they have effectually disguised the real facts as to the foundation of the Abbey. Mr. Besant thinks that there was a rude wooden church on Thorney which was restored early in the seventh century. When Edward the Confessor built his new church a venerable set of relics was transferred to it, which shows that the foundation had already gained some celebrity.

The Confessor, however, is the first historic figure of Westminster Abbey. He forms a notable frontispiece for our record. His full, flushed, rose-red cheeks contrasted strangely with the milky whiteness of his waving hair and beard. His eyes were always fixed on the ground. His manners were a singular mixture of gravity and of bursts of laughter. He was as a rule gentle and affable, but at times had bursts of Berserker rage. He would spend hours in the church absorbed in devotion, and would then rush to the woods hawking and cheering on his hounds. When he was hiding from the Danes in Normandy Edward had vowed that if he were restored to England he would make a pilgrimage to Rome. His people, however, would not hear of such a journey. The pope, therefore, absolved him from his vow on condition that he should build or restore some religious house dedicated to St. Peter.

It is said that he became greatly attached to the old Abbey at Westminster because a crippled Irishman, who had made six pilgrimages to Rome, was there restored to strength. He told the royal chamberlain that St. Peter had promised to cure him if the king would carry him on his back to the church. Edward, amid the scoffs of his court, bore the beggar on his shoulders to the high altar, where he was immediately cured. So ran the legend. The old Abbey was in some sense an appanage to the Palace of Westminster, so that the king must have felt a personal responsibility for its proper maintenance. The new Abbey absorbed one tenth of the property of his kingdom and

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occupied fifteen years in building. It was in the Norman style, resting on great arches, with a stone vault and very narrow windows. It was the first cruciform church in the country. The Confessor attended the Christmas services of 1065, wearing his crown and royal robes; but three days later, when the feast of consecration was kept, he was unable to leave his bed. His queen represented him, and returned from the service to nurse him. He died on January 5, 1066. The monkish legends report many warnings which Edward had received of his approaching end. The child Christ appeared to him as he knelt before the high altar and bade him make ready for his last journey. One day when the Abbot of Westminster was with him in the palace he was startled by the king's bursting into laughter. Edward had seen the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus turn over on their side, a sure portent of coming sorrow! Yet another sign was vouchsafed. A beggar asked for alms. The king had no money, but he plucked from his finger a precious ring, which he gave to the suppliant. Some time afterward two pilgrims brought back this ring from Palestine. A venerable man, surrounded by a bright light, had appeared to them and told them that he was St. John. They were to take back the ring and tell the king that before six months were passed he would welcome him to Paradise.

After Edward's death the ring of St. John was put on his finger and a crucifix of gold hung around his neck. Then six of his liegemen bore him on their shoulders from the palace to the Abbey, where his loving people thronged the dark Norman choir, thinking bitterly of the evil times in store. Funeral masses were sung for three hundred days, and the poor flocked to the grave to receive the alms which Edward had left for his needy subjects.

The funeral dirges were scarcely over before William the Conqueror, fresh from his victory at Hastings, came here to be crowned. That Christmas Day in 1066 witnessed a tumultuous scene. When the people in the Abbey shouted "Yea, yea," in response to the question whether they would accept William as their king, the guards outside, fearing for their master's safety, flung lighted torches on the thatched dwellings that nestled around the Abbey. Then they began to plunder. The congregation rushed out, leaving William defenseless and

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unarmed. The coronation service was hastily finished without the sacrament, William trembling all the while with fear and excitement.

Such a service was no pleasant introduction to the Abbey; but the Conqueror proved himself a stanch friend to the foundation. Here his son Henry was on the same day both crowned and married to the English princess Matilda. She had been compelled in those stormy times to take refuge after the death of her father in a convent, of which her aunt was abbess. There she consented, under strong compulsion, to take the veil. A synod of ecclesiastics now absolved her from her vow. Archbishop Anselm ascended the pulpit at Westminster to announce this decision and to ask the consent of the people to the marriage. Maud's blushes surpassed her crimson robe in color. The queen soon won the hearts of all her husband's subjects. She secured the repeal of the odious curfew bell, built many bridges and roads, and every day in Lent walked barefoot and clothed in sackcloth from the palace, to wash and kiss the feet of beggars in the Abbey.

It was in the reign of her grandson, Henry II, that Westminster gained the great object of its ambition. The Abbey had suffered much during the nineteen years that Gervaise de Blois had been at its head. He had squandered its resources on his vices, so that the coffers were now empty. Abbot Lawrence, who was elected in 1163, saw that there was no way to restore prosperity save to secure the canonization of the Confessor. He preached a sermon before the king and court, dwelling on his virtues. With one voice Henry and his nobles besought the abbot no longer to hide "so glorious a light from the world." On October 13, 1163, a bull of canonization was secured. A Norman-French life of the Confessor is preserved at Cambridge, with an illumination representing two ecclesiastics placing the body of Edward in its new shrine. The king and Archbishop Becket are helping the monks. Lawrence drew off St. John's ring from the saint's finger and placed it among the relics. Another illumination shows the shrine completed. Pilgrims are creeping into a niche beneath it to be healed by contact with the coffin. A monk stands at the side reading the king's biography. Becket gave one of the statues of ivory and gold that stands on the shrine. Did he dream, we

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wonder, of his own death and consecration ten years later, or of the countless train of Canterbury pilgrims that should hasten to his shrine?

A hundred years later Henry III became the second founder of Westminster. Gothic architecture had now completely eclipsed the heavy Norman style. The king wished to have a nobler building as his national cathedral, and resolved to honor God and the two saints, St. Peter and St. Edward, by erecting it without delay. The workmen found it no easy task to pull down the Confessor's massive arches. They began their task in 1245. The country had grown richer, but the erection of the Abbey taxed its resources heavily. Indulgences were granted to those who would give money. The widow of an Oxford Jew was compelled to find £2,591. A fifteen days' fair was held. The fairs at Ely and other places had to be given up in its favor, and while it lasted no shops or booths could be opened in London. People were thus brought to Westminster who would naturally visit the shrine and swell the revenues. By 1260 the expenses of the building had reached £29,345, a sum equal to £200,000 in the present day. Nine years later the Confessor's body was placed in its final resting place. A mound of earth brought from Palestine was placed behind the high altar. On this stood the shrine, "high on a candlestick to enlighten the church." It was constructed by Italian workmen, and was made of Purbeck marble, porphyry, and glass mosaic, decked with pure gold and jewels. Henry III gave an ensign of red samite, embroidered with gold. It represented a dragon with its tongue continually moving. Its eyes were of sapphires. Successive princes added to the treasures of the shrine. There was a golden statue of St. Peter, adorned with precious stones. In one hand the apostle held a church, in the other he had the keys. Nero lay beneath his feet. Henry's queen gave a silver image of the Virgin and Child, set with rubies, emeralds, and garnets. A special monk was appointed guardian of the shrine, and in times of national crisis the king was able to pawn the treasures in order to raise money for his wars. Edward II gave two new figures of pure gold at his coronation.

A tender human touch is given to the history by the death of Henry III's five-year-old daughter Catherine. She was

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the first royal person buried in the new Abbey. The child was "dumb and fit for nothing, but possessing great beauty." A costly tomb of marble and rich glass mosaic, elaborately colored and gilt, was erected for her in the south ambulatory, just within the gates. Her death caused much heartache in the palace. The tomb is still standing, but its colors are faded, and the two images that stood on it have long since disappeared. William of Gloucester received seventy marks for making one image of silver. Simon of Wells set it in its place on the tomb.

Three years after the Confessor's shrine had been consecrated the king was laid to rest in his new minster. His son Edward I may almost be called the child of the Abbey, for he was the first of our English princes named after the Confessor. At his coronation five hundred horses, on which the nobles rode to the service, were let loose for the crowd to catch. The queen consort, one of the great royal ladies of England, was buried here in 1290. Charing Cross, where the funeral procession made its last halt, still enshrines the memory of *la chère reine*. A hundred wax tapers were set on her tomb. When any royal visitor came thirty of these were lighted, while on the anniversaries of her death all blazed out in memory of Eleanor of Castile. Edward gave the Abbey an abiding memorial of his favor when, in 1297, he offered at the shrine the crown and scepter of the Scottish kings and the famous coronation stone from Scone, which already had a history of four hundred and fifty years. By his own orders a coronation chair was made, with two leopards carved at the sides. This was finished in 1301. It is now merely the wreck of its former self, but it is covered with rich cloths on coronation days to hide the ravages of time. Just before Edward set out on his last expedition to Scotland he held a great feast in the Abbey, when the first Prince of Wales, Edward II, knighted three hundred youths of noble family. They received purple cloth, silk, fine linen, and tunics wrought with gold from the royal stores. Then they kept vigil in the Temple Church, which was surrounded with tents where they robed for the ceremony. The prince, with his father and his companions of highest rank, kept their vigil in the Abbey. The noise made by trumpets, fifes, and voices completely drowned the singing of the monks, which

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could not be heard from one side of the choir to the other. Edward knighted his son in the palace, then the prince knighted his friends in the Abbey. The pressure before the high altar was so great that two of the knights were stifled and several others fainted, even though each candidate had three supporters to protect him. Such was the crowd that the prince actually belted them on the high altar. Two swans, gorgeously caparisoned and with gilt beaks, were brought before the king, on which he swore to punish the perjury of the Scots. Not long afterward Edward set out on his expedition, and died at Burgh-on-the-Sands.

Again we pass over the larger part of a century to the days of Richard II. He owed much of his popularity to the fact that he was the son of England's darling, the Black Prince. Life in his Palace of Westminster was marked by all the profuse magnificence of the days of chivalry. There were twenty thousand retainers, each of whom had bouche of court, that is, rations, pay, arms, and lodging at the king's expense. The palace, which approached within twenty feet of where Henry VII's Chapel now stands, was a crowded city, gay with pageants and tournaments, full of intrigue and revelry. On the day before his coronation the young king rode from the Tower, with his Knights of the Bath, now first created, to attend him. No knight in all the company could rival Richard in grace of person or manners. He had a long face, with large eyes and flowing light brown hair. He loved rich attire, and generally wore a green doublet or jerkin embroidered with flowers, crowns, and his own initials. He revived the old custom of appearing in state at the Confessor's feast, swore his most solemn oaths at his shrine, and before riding out to quell Wat Tyler's insurrection at Smithfield heard mass in the Abbey and consulted its hermit. When his consort, Anne of Bohemia, died of the plague at Shene in 1394 he cursed that palace and, it is said, ordered it to be razed to the ground. Hundreds of wax tapers brought from Flanders were burnt at her grave in Westminster. Froissart says the illumination was "so great that nothing like to it was ever before seen." Richard quenched the luster of his reign by his own mad favoritism and came to a bitter and untimely end. He lies at Langley, far away from the Abbey he loved.

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Henry IV only held the throne which he had usurped for about twelve years. He came up to London in 1412 to prepare for the last Crusade, but was seized with a fit as he knelt before the Confessor's shrine. He expected, according to an old prophecy, to die in Jerusalem; but it was in the Jerusalem Chamber that he breathed his last. Shakespeare makes him say:

> But bear me to that chamber; there I'll lie;
> In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.

This chamber was the scene of that memorable "conversion" which, according to our great dramatist, changed the wild young prince into a noble man:

> The breath no sooner left his father's body,
> But that his wildness, mortified in him,
> Seemed to die too; yea, at that very moment,
> Consideration, like an angel, came,
> And whipped the offending Adam out of him,
> Leaving his body as a paradise,
> To envelop and contain celestial spirits.

Henry V was crowned in a snowstorm. His people rejoiced in his personal graces of mind and body, and went mad with exultation over his memorable victory at Agincourt. Then came the coronation of his French queen, Catharine. Two years later Henry died at Vincennes. His funeral car journeyed through France to the burial place of our kings. An effigy made of boiled leather lay face upward on the coffin. It was painted to resemble the king, and was clothed in the royal robes, bearing the crown, scepter, and ball of gold adorned with precious stones. It rested on a coverlet of vermilion silk. A crowd of men in white marched round the funeral car, carrying nearly a thousand torches. When the procession, with its gorgeous banners and the royal coat of arms, passed up the nave at Westminster Henry's three chargers, laded with his arms and accouterments, followed their master to his last resting place. He was laid in his own chapel, to the east of the Confessor's shrine, which stands behind the present altar screen. A nation's hopes seemed buried with him. The steps that lead to the chapel are still worn and hollowed by the knees of his loving subjects who came to hear masses sung for Henry's soul. On either side of the altar are the old cupboards, with their

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curious bolts, in which the relics were kept. Henry V was a devoted son of Westminster and a deadly enemy of all heretics. The wild oaths of his youth were replaced by two expressions, "It must be done," and "Impossible." He had set his heart on destroying all the vines in France in order to root out drunkenness.

Before we close the mediæval history of the Abbey let us visit the monastery. Its mitered abbot ranked next in dignity to his brother of St. Albans. On his election he always dropped his surname and added his birthplace to his Christian name. As he passed through the cloisters the monks rose to their feet as a mark of honor. He was entirely free from episcopal jurisdiction. Abbot Crokesley, who gained this much-coveted exemption, died in 1258. His successors had, therefore, to journey to Rome to secure the pope's approval of their election. But Peter of Lewisham was too fat to move, and before the problem could be solved he died. The abbots of Westminster do not play any conspicuous part in history, though some of them were munificent builders and able administrators. The vast estates of the monastery, not only in Westminster, but scattered through ninety-seven towns and villages, seventeen hamlets, and two hundred and sixteen manors, evidently absorbed too much of the abbot's time and care to leave him free to carve his path to fame. One of his chief duties was to prepare the kings and queens for their coronation. He visited the palace two days before this event to warn the prince to cleanse his conscience before the anointing oil was poured upon him. The Dean of Westminster still keeps the *Liber Regalis*, or Coronation Service Book, which dates from the reign of Richard II.

The monks are more obscure than the abbots. Some gained great skill as painters. John of Canterbury, who flourished in the days of Richard II, has gained a place in the annals of his house by those calves and thighs of his which were the wonder of all England. When the country was threatened by a French invasion John was provided with a suit of armor to go to the coast as Abbot Littlington's bodyguard. After peace had returned the armor was offered for sale in London, but no one could be found big enough to fit it. The younger brethren shaved in the cloister, where soap and hot water were always at

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hand. If any monk could not shave himself he was advised to resolve in his mind that saying of the philosopher, "For learning what is needful no age seems to me too late." The monks shaved once a fortnight in summer, and every three weeks in winter. In their great refectory many a distinguished guest was welcomed. The brethren met at least once a week to confess in the incomparable chapter house. Offenders were whipped at the central pillar. The chapter house became the cradle of Parliament. Six years after it was built, in 1256, the great council of the nation met here to grant a subsidy. In the time of Edward III it was lent for the meeting of Parliament. The modern windows are a memorial to Dean Stanley. A curious corner of the monastery was the infirmary, where lived the monks who had reached the age of fifty and were exempt from the ordinary regulations of the house. They were never told anything unpleasant, and enjoyed full liberty to censure and examine everybody in the establishment.

The building of the Abbey church proved a long and heavy task. Henry III left the Norman nave standing and joined his own choir to it. About the middle of the fourteenth century the monks resolved to rebuild it. Henry V helped them nobly, but it was not till the days of Henry VII that the west window was set up and the junction made with the choir. Henry VII has left his mark on the Abbey in that Gothic chapel which Leland called "*orbis miraculum.*" When he died at Richmond in 1509 it was only completed as far as the vaulting. Nine days before he died he gave the abbot £5,000 to finish the chapel. Before time and the Puritans laid their hands upon it it was one of the sights of England. The upper windows were filled with painted glass, which has now nearly all vanished. The exterior was restored by Gayfere at the beginning of this century. No inch of the original surface work survives, but the mason was so devoted to Gothic architecture that he restored the place to something like its old beauty. Henry is buried in his chapel in a wonderful tomb. His son dissolved the monastery, whose revenues were equivalent to £70,000 a year of our money. The altar cloths, copes, and illuminated missals were carried off or destroyed, and the plate and furniture vanished.

Queen Mary held here a service of reconciliation between Rome and England, at which Philip of Spain was present.

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Thank God that page in our history was soon turned. Her heart, on which she said the word "Calais" would be found written, lies in her vault, wrapped in red sarcenet and in a box covered with crimson silk and black velvet, garnished with gold lace. This case cost twenty-five shillings and ninepence, as the chamberlain's books still show. Queen Elizabeth was a great lover of the Abbey. It was said that Dean Goodman, who was her personal friend, could get whatever he liked for Westminster. Her tomb here was erected under James I at a cost of £965. Long afterward Fuller speaks of "the lively draught of it, pictured in every London and in most country churches, every parish being proud of the shade of her tomb; and no wonder, where each loyal subject created a mournful monument for her in his own heart." A copy of this "draught" is still preserved at St. Saviour's, Southwark, with the lines underneath:

St. Peter's Church at Westminster
Her sacred body doth inter;
Her glorious soul with angels sings,
Her deeds hath patterns been for kings,
Her love in every heart hath room;
This only shadows forth her tomb.

One page of Westminster history must not be overlooked. The Abbey enjoyed rights of sanctuary which had been defined and regulated by Edward the Confessor. These covered not only the church, but extended to its gardens, cloisters, and all its precincts. On the northwest corner, near to the spot where the Westminster Guildhall is now built, stood a ponderous square keep seventy-five feet long and sixty feet high. Its heavy oaken door, covered with sheets of iron, gave access to a gloomy chapel, above which was another chapel where the refugees of highest rank might find greater security. Other suppliants formed a kind of settlement around this sanctuary. Elizabeth Woodville, the queen of Edward IV, twice sought shelter here. In 1378 the constable of the Tower pursued two fugitives into the Abbey with a band of armed men, and three persons were killed in the fray. The church was closed for four months, and the chief culprits had to pay a heavy fine. But, though the right of sanctuary was a boon to the Middle Ages, it gradually became a curse to the nation. Traitors, thieves, and murderers harbored here till the precincts of the

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Abbey became a nest for criminals of the basest sort. The rights were, therefore, taken away in the days of James I, and in 1750 the venerable St. Peter's sanctuary itself disappeared.

Let us step behind the choir into its north aisle. This is the "Musicians' Aisle." One tablet arrests attention. "Here lies Henry Purcell, who left this life and is gone to that blessed place where only his harmony can be exceeded." Purcell's father and uncle were musicians of the Chapel Royal, and as a lad he became a chorister there. Dr. Blow, the organist of the Abbey, resigned his post in favor of his gifted pupil, who became organist in 1679 at the age of twenty-one. Purcell holds rank as one of the greatest English composers. After his appointment to Westminster he wrote anthems and sacred music for the Abbey services and for State funerals. He died at the age of thirty-eight, when his old master resumed his post as organist.

Westminster Abbey has many claims on remembrance, but none are so tender as those drawn from the fact that it is "the resting place of famous Englishmen from every rank and creed and every form of mind and genius." It is interesting to trace the steps by which it became a national temple of fame. The cloisters contained the little monastic cemetery. A huge slab in the south cloister, called "Gervase" or "Long Meg," is the footprint left there by the black death of 1348, the most deadly plague that ever visited Europe. The abbot and twenty-six monks are said to be buried here. The immediate retainers of the court and their families naturally found their way to the same resting place. Hugolin, the chamberlain of the Confessor, was buried near the treasury which he had guarded so well. It was under Richard II that the first impulse was given to the burial of famous subjects in the Abbey, not, however, without protest. When John of Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, treasurer, keeper of the privy seal, master of the rolls, was buried in the Confessor's chapel there was a general murmur. Another prelate, Richard Courtney, of Norwich, whom Henry V nursed during his illness at Harfleur, was laid to rest here just before the battle of Agincourt. In the reign of Elizabeth the Abbey was first distinctly recognized as a temple of fame. We naturally turn to the chronicles of Judah, where we read of Jehoiada that "they buried him in the city of David among

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the kings, because he had done good in Israel, both toward God, and toward his house." "It has been the peculiar privilege of the kings of England that neither in life nor in death have they been parted from their people." Such a fellowship of princes and subjects adds unspeakably to the interest of the Abbey as an epitome of England. When Nelson had taken the Spanish *San Nicholas* at St. Vincent, in 1797, another three-decker, the *San Josef*, attacked him. This compelled him either to quit his prize or engage his new assailant. He attacked at once, crying, "Westminster Abbey or glorious victory!"

One page in the history of the Abbey must not be overlooked. In the Middle Ages, when the rival monasteries vied with each other as to which should attract the greatest crowd of devotees by its relics, Westminster was able to boast some rare treasures. The Knights Templars sent Henry III a vial of blood which, according to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and other dignitaries, had been taken from the wounds of our Lord upon the cross. The king himself bore it aloft from St. Paul's to the Abbey on the Confessor's feast. Two years later he added a marble stone said to bear the print of the Saviour's foot. In more modern times the custodians of the Abbey reaped their harvest from the wax effigies which were on view. The hearse, or platform decorated with black hangings, usually remained for a month beside the grave, or in the case of a sovereign for a much longer time. Till Henry VIII's day the body itself was laid on this hearse. Afterward a wax figure of the deceased took its place. Laudatory verses were pasted or pinned to it, such as Ben Jonson's epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke:

> Underneath this sable herse
> Lies the subject of all verse,
> Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother.
> Death, ere thou hast slain another
> Learned, and fair, and good as she,
> Time shall throw a dart at thee.

After the rush of visitors had ceased the wax figures were generally removed into wainscot presses above the Islip Chapel. Between the sermon and evening prayers the vergers showed these tombs and effigies for a fee of two pence. A Devonshire clown called it "the play of the dead folk." In his *Citizen of*

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the World, Goldsmith gives an amusing description of a visit to these wonders:

> Our conductor led us through several dark walks and winding ways, uttering lies, talking to himself, and flourishing a wand which he held in his hand. He reminded me of the black magicians of Kobi. After we had been almost fatigued with a variety of objects he at last desired me to consider attentively a certain suit of armor, which seemed to show nothing remarkable. "This armor," said he, "belonged to General Monk." "Very surprising that a general should wear armor!" "And pray," added he, "observe this cap; this is General Monk's cap." "Very strange, indeed, very strange, that a general should have a cap also! Pray, friend, what might this cap have cost originally?" "That, sir," said he, "I don't know; but this cap is all the wages I have for my trouble."

The "Ingoldsby Legends" touch the same topic in these lines:

> I thought on Naseby, Marston Moor, and Worcester's crowning fight,
> When on my ear a sound there fell, it filled me with affright;
> As thus, in low, unearthly tones, I heard a voice begin,
> "This here's the cap of General Monk! Sir, please put summut in."

After Nelson's burial in St. Paul's the crowd of sightseers deserted the Abbey to gaze on his funeral car. The officials at Westminster were, however, equal to the emergency. They procured a wax figure of the naval hero, dressed it in some of the clothes he had actually worn, and were rewarded for their enterprise by the return of the sightseers. This wax effigy of Nelson is one of the eleven figures which still survive. Queen Bess, Charles II and the Duke of Buckingham, Queen Anne and her little son, William and Mary set together in a glass case, and the Earl of Chatham—these are the chief remnants of the famous waxwork show at Westminster.

In the north transept rest the statesmen. As we stand there we realize what Macaulay meant when he spoke of that "temple of silence and reconciliation where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried." Chatham is there, and the sumptuous national monument bears witness to his country's sense of his greatness. His brilliant son, William Pitt, sleeps in the same vault, while close by rests his great rival, Fox. Sir Robert Peel, Palmerston, Beaconsfield, and a band of England's noblest and greatest sons are here.

One spot in the Abbey is dearer than all others to our race. It is that Poets' Corner in the south transept where the sweet-

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est singing birds of England are held in abiding honor. Chaucer, who died in 1400, probably owed his place, not to the fact that he was a "well of English undefiled," but sometime clerk of the royal works in the palaces at Westminster and Windsor. No memorial save a leaden plate hanging to a pillar marked his grave till 1555, when Nicholas Brigham, himself a poet, erected the present tomb. Edmund Spenser was laid near Chaucer, and Cowley rests beside the poet whose "Faerie Queene," before he was twelve years old, "filled his head with such chime of verses as never since left ringing there." Glorious John Dryden is here; and, though Shakespeare rests at Stratford, his monument, erected by public subscription in 1740, sets the great master in his royal seat among his brother poets. Ben Jonson was buried upright in what would have been a nameless grave had not Jack Young, who passed by at the moment, given eighteen pence for the inscription, "O rare Ben Jonson." Dr. Johnson tells us how he once stood with Goldsmith in the Poets' Corner. He burst out with the saying, "*Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebitur istis.*" As they returned by Temple Bar Goldsmith pointed slyly to the heads of the Jacobites: "*Forsitan et vestrum nomen miscebitur istis.*" One April night in 1759 Handel was buried here at eight o'clock. A vast concourse of people of all ranks, numbering not fewer than three thousand, met to honor the great master of harmony. Three years later Roubiliac's statue, taken from a cast after death, was unveiled. Handel left £600 for this monument, and the portrait is said to be the best of him in existence. The centenary of Handel's birth was kept in the Abbey in May, 1774; more than ten thousand persons were present during the four days' festival. The doors were besieged from early dawn till ten o'clock. Disheveled hair and torn garments bore witness to the eagerness of the crowd. The orchestra and choir numbered six hundred voices. Thrones were placed for the king and queen before the choir screen. When the "Hallelujah Chorus" burst forth George III rose to his feet with tears streaming down his face. The audience followed his example, and that custom has obtained ever since that first Handel festival. When the composer wrote the chorus he said, "I thought I did see all heaven opened and the great God himself."

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During the last quarter of a century the Abbey has gained an ever-deepening hold on the affection of the English-speaking world. Charles Dickens was laid here in 1870. The creations of his genius seem to start up around us as we stand by the master's grave. David Livingstone's slab in the nave will never cease to attract the lover of heroic living. A Christlike spirit still speaks to us in those memorable words on the slab in the nave of the minster: "All I can add in my loneliness is, May heaven's rich blessing come down on every one, American, Englishman, or Turk, who will help to heal the open sore of the world!" What Methodist heart does not thrill as it approaches the tablet to John and Charles Wesley, erected in 1876? Have any men in this great national house of fame laid the world under such a debt as those Epworth brothers? Dean Stanley and Lady Augusta rest in Henry VII's Chapel. In all the bright succession of custodians of this temple of fame, including Lancelot Andrewes, the casuist, scholar, and saintly man of James I's court, and Francis Atterbury, the exiled Jacobite, there is no name more beloved than that of the catholic-hearted Stanley. He was laid to sleep in the Abbey in 1881. A few years later our two great princes of song, Robert Browning and Alfred Tennyson, were gathered to this illustrious fellowship. Browning is the poet-thinker and the master of lyric poetry, whose short poems are as wonderful in beauty, charm, variety, and vigor as they are in number. Tennyson was the restorer of Arthur's court, who opened a new wonderland to our generation and taught the loveliness of purity and unselfishness. His funeral in the Abbey was a national demonstration. Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, Dr. Jowett, Mr. Lecky, and the presidents of the Royal Academy and Royal Society were among the pall-bearers. The Abbey was packed from end to end by the multitude that had come to pay their last tribute to the laureate, and for several days there was a never-ceasing stream of visitors to his grave.

Westminster Abbey belongs to the whole Anglo-Saxon race; but America has her special share in this temple of fame. George Peabody's body lay in the nave for a few months before it was carried across the Atlantic to Salem. Longfellow seems almost as much our own in England as Tennyson him-

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self, and his bust holds its place of honor in the Poets' Corner. A small window in the vestibule of the chapter house has been filled with glass in memory of J. R. Lowell. Lowell himself was one of the original promoters of the Dean Stanley memorial, which took the form of stained glass windows for the chapter house. One of these windows was presented by the queen, another by friends in America. The Abbey has thus knit more closely the bonds of brotherhood between the two great English-speaking peoples on either side of the Atlantic. As Dean Stanley said, "It is the peculiar home of the entire Anglo-Saxon race, on the other side of the Atlantic no less than on this." Stanley's book still holds its place as the most fascinating history of the Abbey; but Mrs. Murray Smith, the daughter of the present dean, has just written a volume which the Messrs. Cassell have brought out in a sumptuous edition, and Mr. Walter Besant has given us a monograph on *Westminster* which is quite as picturesque as his novels.

The history of the mother country for eight hundred years unfolds before us as we stand in Westminster Abbey. All the currents of English life have left their mark here. The moralist and the student of character will always discover fresh themes here. But the chief lesson that we learn is the old lesson of mortality. Brilliant pageants succeed each other in rapid succession, but they are interspersed with solemn funerals; for, as Jeremy Taylor said in his sermon on death, "Where our kings are crowned their ancestors lie interred, and they must walk over their grandsire's head to take his crown." St. Peter's words are never more significant than when we stand here in the presence of death's victories over the great and honored, over princes, courtiers, statesmen, men of genius: "For all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away: but the word of the Lord endureth forever. And this is the word which by the gospel is preached unto you."

John Telford

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EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

THE ethical culturists would do well to meditate upon the following sentence from a book which some have attributed to Herbert Spencer: "We should not cry out for new ethical standards, for new and impossible moral authorities, while we ruthlessly destroy a standard and an authority—religion—the practical usefulness of which could not be replaced for centuries by any new standard or authority, even if invented now."

THE progress of civil service reform in the national government has been slower than its enthusiastic advocates could have wished; but its gradualness has tended to make that progress secure. Step by step it has gone on through nearly twenty years, various groups of clerks in the civil service passing successively under the rule of entrance by examinations and tenure during fitness, until the number of appointive officers dependent on presidential elections is only a fraction of the whole, or will be so when the present presidential term closes. The progressive system of change has disarmed hostility, and each new advance has had the support of success in previous advance. Spoilsmen have discovered that the reform is practicably completed, and that rewards for political service must hereafter be sought in such satisfaction as the triumph of principles or patriotic pride may afford. The matter proves once more that the American people have a sound heart and a clear purpose toward their public service; and it proves also that discretion is as useful as courage in sound reform movements. If we had waited until the civil service could be reformed at a stroke we should still be waiting. Discreet men found means to advance by stages, and they are now entitled to general applause.

There are few more cheerful chapters in our political history than those which record the story of the gradual passing of the spoils of office. Those bright chapters may well make us hopeful in our struggle to reform the government of cities. Difficult,

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stupendous, hopeless as this enterprise looks to be in these first years of the conflict, it does not wear so hopeless an aspect as did civil service reform at Washington in its early years. It is possible, too, that the method of the civil service reformers may teach lessons to the champions of municipal reform. It is often good generalship to conquer an enemy in detail rather than to fight him in mass. Each one of a hundred skirmishes may be lost without losing the campaign, while one pitched battle may imperil by defeat not only a campaign but a whole war. Is it wicked to suggest that possibly we are making more progress than some think by the skirmish lines and the step-by-step advance of temperance reform? This at least is certain, that we are not called upon to despair of any good cause when such an example as civil service reform shines upon our path to better things.

LETTER AND SPIRIT.

Is Christianity a system of great principles adapted to grown men, or is it a collection of petty precepts prescribed for children? If one were to judge from the way it has generally been regarded and administered he would have to conclude that the latter is the correct view. Only a small minority seem as yet to have apprehended the fact that it is our privilege to serve God, not in the bondage of the old letter, but in the freedom of the new spirit. Most people, even in these closing years of the nineteenth century since the birth at Bethlehem, take their religion very much in the Jewish fashion, and totally misconceive the purpose of the Bible.

One reason for this worship of the letter is no doubt found in the fact that it is easier and simpler, and so makes its appeal to the natural laziness of humanity. People like to be spared the trouble of thinking, like to be relieved of the burden of responsibility, like to be told just what they should do. To have explicit directions set down in black and white falls in much better with their mental inertia or intellectual incapacity than to have to work out independent solutions to the complicated problems of life. It is also true that in this way greater honor seems to be paid to the Bible; and with vast multitudes this thought is decisive. They have unbounded reverence for the sacred book, the book of wonderful achievements, of universal adaptations, of unvarying victory in multitudinous conflicts, the supreme source of truth, instructor of the erring, comforter of the sorrowing, joy

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of the virtuous, abhorrence of the vicious, guide of youth, and hope of the world. For such a volume what homage can be too great? And that theory which leads to its being more frequently consulted as of binding authority has for the great body of Christian people a most weighty presumption in its favor. Having some influence to make the same view popular with the mass of mankind is the perception that the masses are thus put on a level with the classes. Priests and prophets are no more needed. Wise men and learned men lose their advantage. Brains count for little, experience for less. If all are reduced to the grade of children, whose only task is to take a plainly written direction just as it stands and follow it, without variation, then no one can assume any superiority or set up to be a teacher.

For these various reasons, and doubtless for more, it is very difficult indeed to detach any large number of people from the deeply inwrought conclusion that we have in the Holy Scriptures a sort of code so miraculously framed by infinite wisdom that it furnishes a conclusive answer to all questions of duty, and provides distinct directions for all perplexities that may arise in all ages and lands. So they regard the most literal reading of the volume as always the best, religiously refuse to exercise their reason, and shrink back with something like horror from the suggestion that the Bible requires not merely translation from a foreign tongue, but manifold other adjustments and interpretations, to bring it into completest touch with our practical needs to-day.

Nevertheless, though the truth be distasteful it is better to face it. And certainly both Jesus and Paul took great pains to set the matter right. There were many in Christ's day who were stumbled by his speeches because they took them more literally than he expected or wished. To such on one occasion he said, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and are life." That is to say, do not be so dull; you are about to leave me, alienated, offended, disgusted, because I have said something about drinking my blood and eating my body. I did not intend this to be taken in a carnal, fleshly way. I did not intend you to become cannibals; I supposed you would see this; I speak of spiritual things under physical images; my words are not dead things capable of only one interpretation, they are living seeds of truth; if you give them a chance they will germinate, they will fructify till a great harvest of blessing has resulted. And thus it has verily been.

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Had people laid hold of the fact that Christ's words were alive they would not have treated them in such a wooden way. Dead matter has only one form; it cannot change. Life takes on all sorts of forms; there is in it a power of growth, amplification, modification. Life has in it the promise and potency of a thousand things. It means largeness, freedom, adaptation, progressiveness. And this is what true Christianity, built as it is upon Christ's words, must ever be, large, free, and progressive, not stereotyped or stagnant and anchored, not cribbed, cabined, and confined, but broad, bright, breezy, all-enfolding, world-embracing, time-enduring, age-defying.

St. Paul was especially the apostle of the spirit even against the letter, standing for liberty from the minute ceremonialism and hard bondage of the Mosaic law. He clearly apprehended the era of emancipation which his Master had come to set up, the deliverance from tutors and governors, the transition from childhood to manhood. Paul was divinely called and constituted to be the champion of that great idea, and he fulfilled his office well. He saw that Christianity was to become a world-wide affair, to go into all countries as well as all centuries, and on that account must be stripped of everything having a merely temporary or local nature, everything suited only to one set of circumstances, one kind of folks. Adherence to the letter of the law would have killed all progress, would have put the new movement into bands so tight that it could not move, would have kept it within the narrowest of circles. So the great apostle exceedingly rejoiced to be able to say, "God made us ministers of a new covenant; not of the letter but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life;" "the same in newness of the spirit, and not in oldness of the letter."

Not the precepts, then, but the principles of Holy Writ are the things that chiefly and immediately concern us; not the transitory but the permanent, not the incidental but the essential, not the outward form but the inward substance. When we read the Sermon on the Mount and find therein a multitude of particular precepts for the exact regulation of life—resist not evil, give to him that asketh, lay not up treasures upon earth, swear not at all, judge not—we need not throw to the winds the dictates of common sense in our efforts to slavishly carry out these precise directions. It seems sufficiently clear that even at the time they were spoken they were not intended to be taken with absolute literalness; still less are they thus binding now. Most valuable principles are

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to be found there, but not universally applicable rules. A revengeful, quarrelsome spirit, quick to render blow for blow, and hold a grudge; a niggardly, covetous spirit, turning a deaf ear to every cry of want, hardening the heart to all appeals for pity that it may have more to hoard up or spend upon its pleasures; a spirit of levity and frivolity that weighs not its words but flings out promises or threatenings, blessings or cursings, as the mood may be, with no gravity or seriousness of mind; an anxious spirit, distrustful of God, worrying itself for no good; a censorious spirit, eager to find fault, forming conclusions rashly and harshly, to the injury of the reputation of a neighbor; a licentious spirit, full of animalism and lubricity, making everything bend to its own base, beastly passions; a boastful, ostentatious spirit, more mindful of doing what will be praised than of doing what is right—these are the things that Jesus strikes at in the sermon, and the things that every religious teacher must strike at. For they are things that are wrong in every age, for every person, totally, unmistakably wrong, to be condemned always and everywhere without restriction or qualification. But when one comes to draw up the special regulations that bring these general principles into close connection with one's everyday life, there is, of course, much room for diversity of opinion and variety of practice in different ages, countries, and personal conditions. And since Christianity is a religion for the whole world, and for all time, it is very clear that it cannot deal much with precepts, but must confine itself to principles.

If this had been borne in mind the mistake would not have been made of supposing that the community of goods practiced among the early Christians was an example to us, forbidding private property. Nor would the epistles of Paul have been so mischievously misunderstood at many points. The abolitionists of a past generation would not have felt obliged to throw over the Bible under the impression that its sanction of slavery in the first century meant its sanction for the nineteenth. The opponents of wine-drinking would not be stumbled by the miracle at Cana and the other scriptural indications that the matter was looked at differently by good people of that day in Palestine from what it is now in America, nor would wine-drinkers imagine that they could make an impregnable defense for themselves by a reference to Cana of Galilee. The advocates of the largest possible extension of woman's sphere would not have had so much difficulty in convincing their opponents that the customs of Corinth, nineteen

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centuries ago, had very little to do with settling what was best in America in 1896.

There have been few reforms of modern times, few advance movements, however beneficial, which have not had to fight against the opposition of some who, in all sincerity of soul, considered that they were contending for the very foundations of Christianity and the essential truths of the Gospel, whereas it was simply the worn-out letter which they had set up to worship in place of the imperishable spirit. Many a branch of physical science has had texts of Scripture flung at it to impede its way, and ecclesiastical opprobrium heaped upon its promoters, till they were almost forced to be infidels in spite of themselves, because they would not surrender to a mistaken exegesis what they knew to be the facts disclosed to them in their investigation of the works of God. Nothing of this could have happened had it been kept in mind that there are both transitory and permanent elements in this marvelous divine-human book, statements which of necessity took their color from the period when they were written, as well as statements which are for all ages alike.

The principles taught by Christ and his apostles—to be gathered not from isolated texts or catchwords, but from the general trend of the teachings and the prevailing spirit shown—are of immortal worth. They have destroyed slavery in all Christian lands, though it was not deemed wise to directly antagonize it in that early day. They have also destroyed polygamy, have nearly annihilated dueling, and are in a fair way to make war impossible. The fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the golden rule, the supremacy of love, the divine beauty of self-sacrifice, the heavenly quality of mercy—things like these, enforced by the life and death of Jesus, are transforming the earth and turning its wildernesses into fruitful fields. And it is by things like these we are to govern our lives, not looking in the Bible for explicit minute directions which are not there, and which in the very nature of the case cannot be there. Jesus says, Be humble, be just, be spiritually minded, regard the rights of others, care for the weak, be filled with love; then he leaves us to work out for ourselves, by the use of our own intelligence, specific rules for home life, business life, social life, political life, ecclesiastical life.

The one thing of primary and supreme importance is that we have the spirit of Jesus. Nearly all difficulties speedily resolve themselves when we take the right attitude, when we cherish the right desire. To one who surveys the things of time and sense

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from the position of utter loyalty to Christ, right decisions are easy. For him few rules will be required. He will be a rule unto himself. He who loves can do as he pleases, for he will please to glorify God and bless his fellow-men. He will serve, not in the oldness of the letter or the bondage of the law, but in the newness of the spirit and the freedom of the Gospel.

Here we cannot help remembering a massive and masterly sermon by one of our living bishops, packed with the wisest religious statesmanship upon this subject. Well were it if its Christlike wisdom might permeate the Church.

THE PUBLIC DUTIES OF THE TRAINED INTELLECT.

THE socialistic spirit of the time is, to a certain extent, wholesome. A vast increase of wealth through a more perfect dominion over natural forces has greatly increased our physical comforts, and it has awakened the philanthropic interest of the good in the welfare of the less fortunate members of the human family. It is easy to assume that the less fortunate are *very* unfortunate, and that the more fortunate have caused the failures of their weaker brethren, and the most popular reformers are those who make this easy assumption. No argument is required to prove that the social conditions which permit spoliation of the weak by the strong need radical treatment. The force of nearly every radical scheme lies in the assumption that the successful are to blame for the condition of the unsuccessful. Conservatives vainly point out that the less fortunate have contributed to their own failures. It is not a pleasant suggestion, because the majority think themselves unfortunate, and there is a current belief in a major premise which declares that the majority must be right in its thinking. Thoughtful persons will agree that the rich and the poor have both contributed in their different ways to the misfortunes of the less fortunate. The socialistic spirit will probably succeed in reducing the contribution of the rich to the evils, real and imagined, of the majority. When that has been done, perhaps the moral and religious spirit may effect reforms in the habits and characters of the less fortunate. If socialism begins at the wrong end—as some of us think—it cannot always keep the other end out of sight. The gin shop alone, to mention no other factor of poverty, is a very large and unceasingly active cause of the economic failure of the unfortunate. But it is distinctly unpopular—and more unpopular

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every year—to mention the drink bill of the poor in connection with poverty.

Leaving all such disputation to others, we take up here some large elements of socialistic problems. A first one is the competency of a democracy to judge wisely of any socialistic reform. Human history affords us no examples fitting our modern case. The Roman plebs and the Parisian mobs never dreamed of such reforms as single tax and government ownership of capital (and, of course, of labor) and fiat money. These three are typical, different as they are, of the problems set for solution by popular elections. To a student with whatever ripeness of years these questions seem difficult. They cannot be disposed of by theorems; they involve large groups of facts and practical tendencies, and no human life is long enough to hunt out all these facts and marshal them, and only a generation of experience could determine their tendencies. And yet there seems to be a demand that we shall believe in the competency of the crude majority to pronounce judgment and to precipitate revolutionary changes without any adequate experience and without much intelligence.

The matter is made more perplexing by the peculiar conditions of public discussion. There is an apparent decadence of leadership; or rather, with all proper respect for the actual leaders, the wise and the expert are not often found in the front of the popular columns. The scholar and the scientist are at home in English politics; they have not been, as a rule, in American politics. We are assured that it is the fault of the men of letters and science among us—they neglect their political duties. There is some truth in the charge, but there is more truth in the assertion that the socialistic tendency is not favored by science and letters. At all events, new departures of vast importance are advocated and pressed upon the attention of the people, and with rare exceptions these departures are condemned by the best-trained intellects of the nation. It is a strange situation. The gravity of the questions and the vehemence of the clamor produce in many thoughtful minds an apprehension that we are approaching a great catastrophe—first, a socialistic order doomed to disaster; then, a dictatorship. We are to pass, according to some sinister prophecies, from a democratic order administered by the wisest citizens, through a socialistic order administered by ignorance, back to mediæval despotism—back at least to the seventeenth century. It is to be demonstrated, say the seers, that popular government is a delusion.

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It is impossible to believe these prophets of catastrophe. But we reject their visions only because we trust the popular conservatism to resist the popular radicalism, and trust the trained philanthropists to find safer solutions of our problems than the untrained philanthropists are likely to propose at each step of our march through this period of *sturm und dreng*, of socialistic clamor for reform. The American people have seldom acted with sudden rashness. Grave questions have been long pondered and safely answered by appropriate legislation. Every new question will have to pass through the common mind associated with the judgments pronounced upon it by the best minds. Authority in matters of such gravity being indispensable, there is no good reason to doubt that the best authority—that of the trained thinker, the studious and experienced expert in the particular matters involved—will be preferred and followed in the long result. Temporary and local ascendency of demagogues and socialists must be endured with fortitude, but not with patience, the weight of such affliction deepening our resolve to spare no pains to bring it to pass that the people shall soberly choose the way of safety. This is the declaration of intelligent patriotism in presence of the prophets of disaster.

This serene confidence is maintained in the face of some untoward conditions of public thought. The newspaper silenced the political teacher a generation back. Now, for some time, the newspaper has abandoned the function of political instruction for the most part, and glories in recording the news. There is no steady downpour of political light from legislative debates. The ward politician and the local leader fashion the issues for the people and instruct venerable statesmen in their duties as lawmakers. It is difficult to designate the central forces of political action or to show where the streams of tendency in public thought take their rise. If the intelligence of the nation is shaping our course the helmsman is out of sight, and the course seems to be often changed for insufficient reasons. It would appear from recent elections that thousands of men have changed their minds in a year, not about complex social problems, but about questions as old as the republic and as familiar to real statesmen as the alphabet. Right in one year or wrong in another—that is not the point. It is rather the doubtful competency of the changeful electorate. Which party is right at any given moment is a small concernment beside this distrust of competency raised by the changefulness and apparent capriciousness of majorities. What hope is there

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that far graver questions will be decided by the discretion of wise leaders and the patriotism of their followers?

Knowing that every attempt to move toward a socialistic order will require to be guarded by both wisdom and patriotism, there is every reason for summoning the trained thinker to take up the burden of his neglected public duties. This duty is not simply voting or holding office; it is hard thinking on public questions and plain speaking about them after he has thought his way through them. He may think he can find a safe path to a desirable socialistic order; if he discovers such a millennial path he will render the people a great service; or he may find that the socialism now so voluble and violent is a current sweeping to the cataract. But, whatever conclusion he reaches, he is in duty bound to put all his brains and conscience to the business of investigation and decision. It will be a miserable business to fall into a worse ditch than the French Commune merely because the thoughtful have disdained the task of political reflection and the duties of influential citizenship. We want the scholar in politics, not simply as a factor in ward meetings and primaries, but especially and influentially as a patriotic thinker and leader of thought. There is no denying that he has been guiltily absent from the front, where he belongs. There are conspicuous exceptions to all large rules; and in this case a few leading minds are easily found disinterestedly devoting themselves to public thought. The few are unequal to the mighty task imposed upon the brain powers of the nation by radical and deep-reaching proposals and demands for change in our theories and methods of administering government by the people. If the catastrophe comes the responsibility will rest upon the men qualified by gifts and training to guide the American people.

The inanities of some forms of demagogism would be harmless if trained intelligence were doing its whole duty. Not long ago the entire nation had to listen to a "leader" gravely declaring that (government) bonds and slavery were synonymous terms. Such inanities stand insufficiently answered or not answered in the proper place because so many of the intellectually competent refuse or neglect the task. But the thinker must know that he is not *ex officio* a public leader. Grave questions require special studies of the theories and of the facts involved in them. Theoretical wisdom is comparatively easy for the scholar and the scientist. The facts are a far more difficult matter. It has happened that the thinker entering public life has thought his repertory of theory

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adequate to greater occasions demanding practical wisdom. Theories are apt to make men obnoxious to public feeling, especially when the questions at issue cut deep into daily wants and practical undertakings. The most striking thing in many socialistic schemes is the unwillingness of their advocates to pass on to the practical working of their reforms, and to weight their judgment with the masses of facts to be grasped and administered under their new methods.

The tendency of almost all scholarship in our day, happily for us, is practical. The trained thinker has no call to a new kind of work when he takes up the duties of patriotism. His education has qualified him, as it did not qualify men a century ago, to grapple with the practical elements of public policy; and the nation is rich beyond all precedent in this kind of intellectual competency. It cannot be possible that this trained American brain will count for nothing in the political conflicts of the immediate future. The very fact that novel ideas and startling changes are demanded and pressed upon public attention will summon the best intellects to the fight. They may be expected to obey the call of the republic; and there cannot be a catastrophe under such leadership. What is good in the socialistic movement will be guided to safe issue; what is not will pass away like a summer cloud, or be rejected by the American people after a hot conflict.

The moral demand in such a time as the present is even more emphatic than the intellectual. We shall lose rather than gain if the thinker in politics is in politics for gain. We are moving through a region of appalling danger to pure public life. The vastness of the public resources tempts trained men even more than their fellows, because they are better able to exploit the confidence of the people. There is no national greatness without personal disinterestedness. A wealthy people has more need of purity in public men than a poor nation can possibly have. The most painful spectacle of these years is that of great organizations of iniquity served by trained intellect. To refer to no doubtful case, the Louisiana Lottery could not have trifled so long with the moral welfare of the people had it not been buttressed by men of intellect and high reputation. It is said of a great corporation whose methods are subjected to severe censure that its servants are, nearly all of them, of a very high average of ability and character. If ability is to be for sale to good bidders the unrighteousness of such service will eat like a canker. The voice

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of a bribed thinker must be odious. Any truth he may speak is soiled by his lips.

One of the demagogue's methods for stirring up discontent is to tell the people, night and day, year in and year out, that the thinkers are bribed to oppose reform. In such a situation the thinkers need to stand unimpeached and unimpeachable. They cannot escape calumny; they can keep clear of corruption. A real philanthropy is not content with good advice. The philanthropist must give himself. In great emergencies peoples are saved by men who bleed for the people, who are willing to pay dear and deep for their devotion to righteousness. The hour seems near when public danger will call for self-sacrifice, as well as for purity; when it will not be enough to show clean hands, but be needful to show the print of the nails in hands wounded in the service of the people. This essential element of devotion, suffering for a cause, is apt to drop out of sight in great and wealthy nations. Among us the political atmosphere has lost the gracious odor of personal immolation; and the more part will smile at the bare suggestion that public services should be gratuitously rendered. And yet we have not reached the infamy of paying for the highest service of a citizen—the casting of a ballot into the electoral urn.

Is it possible that a large part of our difficulty is just here, in the self-seeking of the trained thinker? The popular mind is full of distrust; this distrust is profound; and the gains of ability are held to be as odious as those of corporations. Much of this distrust is outrageously unjust; some of it is measurably merited. Can the pure devotion of the trained man be made clear to the complaining masses? Will they ever listen to another as they listened to Abraham Lincoln? Is the Lincoln type of thinkers and leaders too high for our times? It is certain that in a social storm the plain and sane, as well as thoughtful, people will listen reverently to such as he and turn away from the opposite type of character.

Given, then, a socialistic agitation approaching an acute stage, of which the wise have forewarned us and which is now manifest to all, the vast and involved problems set for public debate and electoral action in the near future will call for a particularly arduous service by men intellectually trained and morally characteredWe shall need an army of such men, as we needed the soldiers of the Revolution and of the civil war; and their service must be disinterested and self-sacrificing. These also must bleed for the people.

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THE ARENA.

ENTIRE SANCTIFICATION.

If two distinctions are held clearly in mind much of the confusion respecting the doctrine of entire sanctification will be avoided: first, a discrimination between what is removed from the inner nature and the power bestowed in entire sanctification; and, second, a consideration of the difference between purity and perfection.

In conversion all sin that carries with it guilt is removed, and the sinner becomes a saint. But there remains in most cases a sinward tendency or bias to evil, inherited from Adam and other ancestors according to the laws of heredity. For this the converted man is not responsible. It is not sin in him for which he is blameworthy, but the effect of sin in another. The regenerating and sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit renews his nature and sweeps away to a greater or less extent the inherited depravity. This initial sanctification may in rare cases be complete, but usually it is not. It seems reasonable that as the saved man endeavors to serve the Lord, and forms habits of godliness which become more and more fixed as he is more fully and continuously dominated by the power of the Spirit, the inherited depravity for which he is not responsible will gradually decrease in its power. Whether he will ever reach a point in this life when this depravity will entirely disappear without his definitely seeking its removal is a question on which there will be great difference of opinion. I am disposed to think that such freedom from depravity is possible. When the Christian thus reaches gradually a state of entire sanctification he may not be aware of the time when this work of grace was completed; and he may not, indeed, profess to have gained this complete purity. Bishop Janes held that there were many in the Church who had really experienced the elimination of this tendency to evil, yet had never professed entire sanctification. Now, if the saved man lives a fully justified life continuously—which is possible—he is in a state of grace very little, if any, below that of entire sanctification.

But it is his privilege through definite prayer and faith to be delivered instantaneously from this depravity. Such deliverance constitutes entire sanctification, or purity, and marks an epoch in his spiritual life. At such a time he receives, in addition to the removal of the depravity, a power which, if retained through watchfulness and prayer, will hold him —to use the language of Dr. Whedon—"in that same perfect fullness of divine approbation as rested upon him when justification first pronounced him through Christ perfectly innocent of sin." If he has been living continuously, or almost so, in the light of a justified life prior to this experience the change may not be very apparent to others; but the internal warfare will be less severe, and God's restraining grace will not be required in such large measure, since the tendency to evil has been removed.

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Nevertheless, there will yet be susceptibility to temptation and the possibility of sin, so that God's help will be needed every moment.

This is complete purity, but not perfection. Perfection includes purity, but purity does not include perfection. There will be for the purified nature a growth in knowledge, wisdom, and power as all the faculties of the soul develop toward that symmetry and ripeness of character which deserves the name of perfection. And the scars of sin will ever be upon us in this life, so that there is a perfection which can only be gained when "this mortal shall have put on immortality."

Danville, Ill. G. E. SCRIMGER.

POSTHUMOUS HUMANITY OF CHRIST.

THE child Jesus had a human nature, inherited from Mary and David and Abraham. If immortality be inherent in all humanity, then this human nature of Jesus must have been immortal; and so the Son, as a distinct Person, must live in glory in his humanity. But while the Son lived on earth we believe he possessed a divine nature which was curbed and limited in the exercise of its powers by his human nature. Does this human nature still cling to him in the heavenly state, restraining and confining the divine nature which we consider inseparable from his very being? Or did he cast off his entire humanity, with all its sweet memories of Galilee and its sad associations with human sorrow? In that case his human nature was not immortal. Possibly it was so overshadowed by divinity that it could not put forth full moral volition, and so could not claim immortality. Possibly, again, it was so assimilated to the divine nature and so sublimated thereby that, after the ascension, it ceased to exist as human. For, after all, we must remember man was made in the image of God, and a being who was "God-man" on earth might be wholly and solely God in heaven, yet eternally possessing attributes corresponding to all that is noble and godlike in man.

The difficulty and mystery of human immortality in connection with the Sonship are enhanced by their application to other worlds than ours. Why should we not weigh probabilities and possibilities when we cannot possess certainties? While there are many millions of inchoate and undeveloped worlds, it is altogether probable that at least one in a million is inhabited by intelligent and responsible beings like ourselves; and it is entirely probable that these beings in many worlds have sinned. It is natural and easy for free-acting beings to do wrong. It is doubtful if ever any order of beings was created without the liability to sin. If, then, all orders of beings, in the play and freedom of their capacities and susceptibilities, actually sinned, is it not reasonable to believe that a Saviour was sent to each and all, as well as to the human race? Why should our case be anomalous? *Ab uno disce omnia.*

Now, if the Son descended to other worlds and assumed the nature of their inhabitants in order to redeem them, and afterward ascended with their nature into the heavens, how many natures must, on that supposition, be associated with the one Christ? Moreover, are these supposed

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incarnations confined to the past, or do they pertain to the future also? Had the Son already become incarnate many times and in many worlds when he appeared as the Child of the manger? Will he repeat the deed of condescension and love in multitudinous incarnations through ages of ages? Who dare say that all this is either impossible or unworthy of almighty Love? Indeed, may it not be what we might expect of a love that is not only free and full, but self-sacrificing? For aught we know, suffering, when beneficent and redemptive, may be as natural to the Deity as is enjoyment.

On the theory of more worlds than one, and possibly more redemptions than one, the doctrine of posthumous humanity becomes loaded down with complexity, if not contradiction; but the doctrine of posthumous and eternal divinity remains conceivable and reasonable.

Thurlow, Pa. T. M. GRIFFITH.

FOREKNOWLEDGE AND CONTINGENCY.

A WRITER in the "Arena" of a former number of the *Review*, referring to a previous contribution concerning "Foreknowledge and Contingency," animadverts at some length on the position taken by the contributor. He writes apparently to maintain the proposition that God's foreknowledge is so limited that he cannot know the future issues of man's free will; or, as has been said by some one, "God cannot foreknow the unforeknowable." In short, the assertion seems to be that what man cannot foreknow of the issues of human free will God cannot.

This is certainly a temerarious assertion, and ought not to be made unless it is backed by sound logic. The latter, however, seems to be totally wanting in the communication now under review. To say that "God cannot foreknow an event, as such, which has not come to pass and which is, therefore, not an event," is a mere platitude, as much as to say God cannot foreknow an event until it has come to pass. Pray, how can he *fore*know it then? This is a simple denial of the foreknowledge of God. The remainder of the paragraph just quoted is simply a reiteration in varied form of the proposition that a contingency to the human mind must be also of necessity a contingency to the divine mind. This is a direct contradiction of the position of the writer's opponent, who is quoted as saying in his former article: "What is contingent to the human mind is not necessarily contingent to the divine mind;" but to successfully rebut this position requires something more than mere assertion. Having made the subject a matter of controversy, the burden of proof rests on the recent contributor to the "Arena." Had he simply called in question the position of his opponent the burden of proof might have been thrown upon the latter.

The concluding paragraph of the recent communication seems to be concerned with determining what is the nature of God's foreknowledge of the issues of man's free will, or rather, perhaps, what is its extent. The argument is that, if a "man of boundless wealth" can confidently undertake the execution of some great human enterprise with an assur-

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ance of successfully overcoming all contingencies and opposition of human wills and bringing his undertaking to full completion, much more God, "through his infinitely productive will and the limitless resources of his character and the universe, can accomplish great things in the race." The only way to reduce this to logic is by what mathematicians have called the theory of limits. Otherwise the argument has no force without limiting the freedom of the human will. Practically applied, this theory, as revolved in the Infinite Mind, would proceed thus: "If one free human will refuses to fulfill my divine will another may not; and if that one refuses a third may not; and so on *ad infinitum*, or to the end of the human race; at all events, sometime and by some one my will will doubtless be fulfilled." How belittling is this to the infinite attributes of God!

The recent writer says of his opponent's statements, "There is a slip in such logic." I will not venture to make such an assertion of his own statements, lest I be not able to point it out, to say nothing of correcting it. Let us look again: "What is contingent to the human mind is not necessarily contingent to the divine mind. Contingency is not an attribute of future events, but of our finite qualities." I see no logical fallacy. Moreover, the statement seems to agree with the Scripture (Isa. xlvi, 9, 10, and xlii, 9): "I am God, and there is none like me, declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done;" "Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare: before they spring forth I tell you of them." With the psalmist I exclaim, "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain unto it" (Psalm cxxxix, 6). As Dr. Miner Raymond is wont to say, we cannot deny or doubt God's foreknowledge; but we must ever wonder how in the world God knows so much!

Lynden, Wash. F. H. CHAMBERLIN.

AN EXCEPTION TAKEN.

IN the *Review* for March–April, 1895, the article by Dr. Carroll on "Our Attitude toward Roman Catholics" was calculated to challenge wide attention. Concerning this article I desire to note a single exception. It does not require a protest as a whole. The general position taken by Dr. Carroll must receive the approbation of the careful observers of the trend of events as between Romanism and Protestantism for the past quarter of a century. In the *Quarterly Review* for 1868 were two articles on Romanism by Dr. Hiram Mattison, than whom none was more competent at that time to speak on this subject, and whose concluding sentence was, "Resistance now or a religious war within twenty years is the alternative before us." The twenty years and more are passed, and the tendency has been away from, rather than toward, a religious war. Now there are two wings, perhaps two factions, within the Roman Catholic Church in America, which are separated from each other, how widely perhaps none outside the charmed circle of the hierarchy may know. Besides, individual opinion on the part of the laity contrary to the expressed will of

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the clergy is coming to be manifested with increased frequency. This might be illustrated by numerous facts coming under my personal observation, and because my attention was directed to this subject by Dr. Mattison's articles a quarter of a century ago. Now, these are but two indices of the trend of events—and more might be given—which confirm one in a position in harmony with that taken by Dr. Carroll. So, on the whole, one must commend the article in question. That the hierarchy would incite a religious war upon Protestantism in America may be just as true to-day as at any period in the past, and in this, as in any other, country. But it is a fact that they cannot command the laity sufficiently to warrant them in such a declaration of war; and, by the by, this "cannot" is confirmatory of the position of Dr. Carroll.

Now, the exception to be noted is the use, which occurs frequently in the article, of the word "Catholic" as applying to the Roman Catholic Church. Perhaps this may be a matter of small moment. Perhaps it may be of the nature of logomachy. However, to my thought, it is not a correct use of words, nor is it fair to concede to any denomination the exclusive use of a term of such significance as "Catholic." The order of thought in our religious experience should be (1) a Christian; (2) a catholic Christian; and (3) a Methodist catholic Christian. Perhaps nowhere else is "catholic" a misnomer more truly than as applied to the Roman Catholic Church; and yet a broad catholicity would concede its use, in connection always with "Roman," in order, perhaps, not to break the continuity of terms in Church history. I am a Methodist catholic Christian, and I humbly protest against the appropriation of the term "catholic" by, or even its concession to, any single denomination of religion.

Wayland, N. Y. W. O. Peet.

"ANOTHEN"—A WORD STUDY.

This word appears in the original of the New Testament thirteen times, and is rendered three times by the Authorized Version "again," namely, in John iii, 3; iii, 7; and in Gal. iv, 9. The Revised Version renders it in the first two instances by "anew;" and in each of these the marginal reading is "from above." In the first two instances it is used by Jesus in his interview with Nicodemus, and in a purely spiritual sense. I can see no gain in translating *ἄνωθεν* by "anew," as the Revised Version does. This distinguished visitor of Jesus would not, I apprehend, get any clearer idea of Jesus's meaning, were he living to-day, from the use of "anew," instead of "again." It was a great fact that Jesus desired to get clearly before the mind of Nicodemus, and not the mere process of that fact. Jesus evaded the *modus operandi*, and did not so much as attempt to illustrate it till this nocturnal questioner inquired, "How can these things be?"

Ἄνωθεν is rendered "from above" by both the Authorized and Revised Versions in the following references: John iii, 31; xix, 11; James i, 17; iii, 15; and iii, 17. In two of the last three instances it indicates the

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source of the wisdom spoken of, that is, heaven; and not only the source, but the quality, is implied. It is a "good gift," a "perfect gift," and it comes ἄνωθεν, that is, "from above." Mere worldly wisdom is "earthly, sensual, devilish;" but this wisdom of God is "from above," and is "first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without variance, without hypocrisy."

Three times ἄνωθεν is rendered by "the top," by both the Authorized and Revised Versions, namely, in Matt. xxvii, 51; Mark xv, 38; and John xix, 23. The last is in reference to the seamless coat of Jesus. When the soldiers had crucified him they took his outer garments and cut them in four pieces, each of the four soldiers taking one as a perquisite for his service, which was in accordance with Roman law. But when they came to the tunic, or under garment, which was "without seam, woven from the top [ἄνωθεν] throughout," they cast "lots" for it, thereby unwittingly fulfilling Psalm xxii, 18: "They part my garments among them, and upon my vesture do they cast lots." The two former instances are references to the miraculous rending of the veil of the temple from the top [ἄνωθεν] to the bottom, so that, whereas it had been one whole piece, it was now two. This rending was to remain, for all time, a symbol of that perfect and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world by Christ Jesus.

In Luke's preface to his gospel we have the word rendered by "from the very first" in the Authorized, and "from the first" in the Revised Version. The task Luke sets for himself is to go back to the first (ἄνωθεν), and, from the facts gathered, to inform the "most excellent Theophilus" of all "those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, . . . that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed."

Another, and the last, instance is in Acts xxvi, 5. Ἄνωθεν, in this instance, is rendered "from the beginning" by the Authorized, and "from the first" by the Revised Version. In his great apology before Agrippa Paul challenges the Jews who had instigated his arrest and trial, telling the king that he, Paul, is well, if not favorably, known among the very men who are so eagerly awaiting his sentence. He says, "My manner of life then, from my youth up, which was from the beginning among mine own nation, and at Jerusalem, know all the Jews; having knowledge of me from the first, if they be willing to testify, how that after the straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee."

Summing up this little study of this word, we see that it is rendered by six different expressions in the Authorized and Revised Versions, namely, "again," "anew," "from above," "the top," "from the beginning," and "from the first." We may group the result under two heads: when an adverb of place it means "from above," "from on high," and hence "from heaven;" when an adverb of time it means "from the beginning," "from the first."

S. R. Reno.

Ludlow, Mo.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

NEW MEASURES AND NEW OPINIONS.

THE age in which we live is one of intense agitation. Nothing seems to be settled as to what men ought to believe and how they ought to act. The doctrinal and ethical systems of the world are undergoing revision. There seems to be an assumption that the past has been a period of ignorance and failure, and that the future is without hope unless the present generation shall show it the truth and discover new methods of influencing humanity. These fluctuations affect the Church most decidedly. The doctrinal upheavals are so great that many Christians scarcely know what to believe, and seriously inquire how they shall escape from the labyrinth of uncertainty which environs them; in other words, they ask whether the past is to be entirely discarded and an entirely new order of things is to take its place.

In order to decide this question we must study the teachings of history, and ascertain whether the success of the Church has ever been attained by new views and new methods, or whether her greatest triumphs have been found in the return to the old. We may recur for illustration to the period of the Reformation under Martin Luther. There had been a constant growth of new views and opinions in the early Church. Ritual and laws had greatly changed. Morals had deteriorated. The Church had become a mere secular power. Even the highest dignitaries did not pretend to be religious, much less Christian. Worldliness was the motto of the Church, and the Church had practically become the State. Luther's Reformation was a bugle blast calling a return to the past. He studied the Epistle to the Galatians, and out of that epistle the Reformation was born. He attempted to find out what the apostle thought, and received in their fullness the teachings of Christ; and thus, by returning to the old doctrines and old methods of the apostles and prophets, he gave a new impetus to the Church and laid the foundation of a new civilization.

Historians now concede that the revival under John Wesley was a reformation and has largely affected for good the whole English-speaking world. The England of to-day is a different England from what it would have been had not John Wesley and his brother Charles and the Holy Club restored a new order of things, and that by a return to the past. John Wesley did not propose a new theology, he only desired to restore the old theology and make it a force in the hearts and lives of the people. Religion had become divorced from morals, and priests and people alike were neglectful of religion. The Wesleyan reformation was a restoration of the past. It, too, was born in the Epistle to the Galatians, for it was while reading the introduction to that epistle that John Wesley's heart was "strangely warmed." It was the revival of Pauline teaching and of Pauline ethics which constituted the Wesleyan revival. Again

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we find a reformation to take place, not by new methods and new measures and opinions, but by the restoration of that which had been discarded and long forgotten.

The age in which we live is regarded as the most advanced in the history of civilization. We boast of our science, our literature, and our art; and yet never was an age so busy in attempting to show what men ought to think and what they ought to do, and never was there more of a failure in doing what the most advanced thinkers say ought to be done. The methods of business, the personal ambitions, the desire for power are very influential in this scientific and artistic age. Wealth was never more potent, and poverty never so discounted. In the midst of our luxury we look supinely at the deterioration of humanity. The Church has often adopted worldly methods and has too largely accepted worldly aims. The advancement of the Church has become our watchword, rather than the advancement of humanity. The world is honeycombed with organizations, each claiming to be a panacea for the ills under which we labor.

What shall be the remedy? Our modern thinkers tell us new measures, new opinions. On the other hand, we think the true remedy is in the old measures, the old opinions. We must do over again what has been done in every crisis in the history of the Church. We must restore the past. Christ must be the model of living. The Scriptures must be the basis of opinions and the ethics of the New Testament must be the ethics of the daily life of the people. The present must yield to the past; and only in this way shall the new era of humanity come. The minister of to-day will do well to examine by what means the advancement of every period has ever been achieved, and to utilize them in his own ministry. This is not a proposal to reject progress, but to ascertain and exercise the fundamental laws of all progress.

THE LOSS OF AIM IN THE MINISTRY.

An article in the last "Itinerants' Club" on ministerial ideals may fitly introduce the present subject. No life can be at its best without a supreme purpose. If one investigates the history of the men and women who have made profound impressions upon their times, either in commercial, professional, or political life, he will find that their success has been the result of a steadfast adherence to some dominating purpose. They have subordinated their methods to their aims. In no sphere or profession is this principle more important than in the Christian ministry. The loss of aim involves failure. Each minister will recall the early days of his consecration, the time when he first became impressed that it was his duty to preach the Gospel. How lofty and sublime the purpose of those years when he was preparing himself for his great work! He saw in vision the world which Christ came to redeem "dead in trespasses and sins," with no hope save in the new life imparted by the Holy Spirit through faith in Christ Jesus. The motive which controlled him was the salvation of souls. For this he was willing to make great sacrifices in securing an education.

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He cheerfully gave years of time to get ready to tell the story of the cross. In his view no place was too small, no congregation too ignorant, for the best talents and the choicest culture he could bring to the sacred office. After a few years in the ministry there has sometimes come to such a one, almost unconsciously, a less definite aim. He has become more professional. He has begun to think of the relative position which he occupies with others of the same profession. Another minister, perhaps his college friend, whom he knows to have less scholarship and no greater ability than himself, is preferred in the assignment of work. He finds himself the pastor of a small church instead of a large one, and has apparently little prospect of advancement to the chief places in the Conference. This is disheartening and will destroy his usefulness if he does not keep distinctly in view his sublime purpose. If in the midst of his discouragements he does not lower his aim he will conquer success, if not position. He must never forget that worldly position and ministerial success are not convertible terms.

The loss of aim is also a danger to those who occupy places of responsibility in the Church. The preachers who are the most successful in a worldly sense will do well occasionally to enter upon a course of introspection. An investigation into their motives will recall the fact that they are no longer interested in the direct work of the Christian ministry, but busy with its accessories. They are thinking, perhaps, how they may enlarge their congregations, how they may build up in material things the particular interests committed to them, or how they may contribute to the endargement and power of their own denomination. They have, perhaps, become devoted to Church externals, rather than to the development of the individual Christian life of their people. We will grant that it is well to devote oneself to one's particular Church and to think of the success of one's own denomination; but if these are the chief aims which dominate him he will not even be able to build up his Church in its highest and truest sense. He will accomplish the most for all true causes when he comes back to the original purpose for which he entered the ministry, namely, the conversion of sinners and edification of believers.

This loss of purpose on the part of the ministry is readily perceived by the congregation. It does not take the people long to understand the controlling motives of the man who is placed over them as their religious teacher and guide. The success which attends the efforts of evangelistic laborers attests the same thing. When these persons come to the help of the pastor the church seems to take new life. It subordinates everything to the supreme purpose, and in this way the church is quickened and souls are rescued. It is a sad thing when the ministry so loses its aim that it must be recalled to it by outside workers.

One who studies the condition of religious thought at the present time must be impressed with the discussions which are taking place—discussions as to the authority of the Scriptures, as to the date of the several books, as to the best critical processes, and as to the literary character of the Scripture records. These are important; but when they become the purpose

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of study, rather than the means of reaching an end, they constitute a menace to the progress of God's kingdom. The minister, therefore, should not lose his aim, his supreme purpose being the rescue of men and the upbuilding of humanity. Happy is he who, in a small or large church, engaged in literary or critical studies or in the everyday duties of his office, does not lose the high aim with which he started upon his mission, the abandonment of which will make his ministry a failure, however successful it may appear to human observation.

EXEGETICAL—ROM. V, 1.

THE Revised text of this passage, "Being therefore justified by faith, let us have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ," is a remarkable change, from the indicative form, "we have peace," of the Authorized, to the subjunctive form, "let us have peace." The manuscript authority is decidedly in favor of the subjunctive; while, at the same time, subjective considerations growing out of the context lead some eminent critical scholars to retain the indicative mood, as in the King James Version. With regard to the textual authority for the passage the reader may consult the *Methodist Quarterly Review* for September, 1881, pages 722, 723. It is there shown that eminent expositors have regarded this as a passage where contextual and logical considerations must overbalance even the strongest external testimony. It must be conceded that, while there are instances like this where such a method of criticism may be accepted without danger, it is so precarious that it would be an unsafe rule in determining the text either of the Old or New Testament. The evidence of the codices must stand as our authority for the precise form of the text which we are to expound. The present case is a peculiarly interesting example, and the reader may be referred also to the valuable discussion by Meyer in his commentary on this verse as an excellent specimen of the character of the discussion and of the interests involved.

The changes in the reading growing out of the results of modern textual criticism involve changes in interpretation corresponding thereto. It is one of the peculiarities of biblical interpretation that when we are puzzled as to the exact form of the text we may yet find rich instruction in any of the renderings we may adopt. Even if the changes have been due to personal bias they have been such as satisfied the mind of the writer and are instructive for us. The ordinary text in the passage under consideration gives a clear and satisfactory meaning. It is a positive statement that because we have been justified by faith we have peace with God. This meaning seems to fit the course of the apostle's argument so exactly that many have insisted on retaining it even against preponderating manuscript authority. We must consider, however, that the fact that the interpretation of a new reading is difficult is no valid reason for setting it aside. It is a hasty assumption to say, with Shedd, of this passage, "The subjunctive mode, in the hortatory signification certainly, is entirely out of place here." We must note, not only the mood, but the tense both of

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the participle and the verb. Beet says, "The participle implies only that the act of justification precedes the state of peace with God," and regards justification as "the means by which we must have peace with God." His rendering is, "Let us then, justified by faith, have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." The passage, in this view, does not regard justification as having necessarily taken place already, but rather gives the connection between it and the peace which is the privilege of the believer. Beet says further that "in this verse Paul passes from abstract and general doctrine to actual and individual spiritual life. He marks the transition by urging his readers to join him in claiming the blessing whose glorious results he is about to unfold." Sanday lays stress on the meaning of ἐχωμεν, and says that it does not signify to "make" peace, "get" or "obtain" peace, which would require σχῶμεν, but rather to "keep" or "enjoy" peace. "The declaration 'not guilty,' which the sinner comes under by a heartfelt embracing of Christianity, at once does away with the state of hostility in which he had stood to God, and substitutes for it a state of peace which he has only to realize." Sanday regards the participle as marking "the initial moment of the state," and he paraphrases as follows: "The state which thus lies before the Christian should have consequences both near and remote. The nearer consequences are peace with God and hope which gives courage under persecution."

Dr. Shedd, as already stated, rejects the hortatory signification, but remarks that "the concessive signification of the subjunctive might be defended here by one who should insist upon taking the reading which has such strong diplomatic support—'Being justified, we may have peace.'" He regards the subjunctive here as approximating to the future, and quotes the Peshito's rendering in its support: "Because we are justified by faith, we shall have peace." We incline to the explanation which emphasizes the tense of the verb and urges to "keep" or "enjoy" peace. We are thus led to preserve that peace into which we have entered by our justification through faith in Jesus Christ. This exposition harmonizes with the succeeding, rather than the preceding, context, and it is this aspect of the passage which helps us to the conclusion that notwithstanding the great force of the logical argument from the former chapter for the retention of the indicative, the context which follows would equally favor the text which is adopted by the late revision. There are so many things to be taken in consideration before we decide against the conclusions of well-established external testimony that we may well hesitate before we reject them. A text which at first view seems entirely out of harmony with the context sometimes, after fuller consideration and more careful study, becomes necessary to the course of the argument.

The textual changes which have been the results of modern text criticism open a field of exegesis as yet untrodden. These modifications have been discussed in the treatment of the Greek text, but are only now beginning to be employed in their practical application. On careful study it will be found that these well-established changes yield a meaning full of instruction and of comfort.

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ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

CYLINDERS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THERE is probably no place on earth where those interested in Babylonian and Assyrian antiquities can carry on their investigations to better advantage than in the spacious rooms and galleries of the British Museum. Here are found, in the palatial Assyrian, Nineveh, and Nimroud galleries, as well as in the Assyrian central saloon, to say nothing of the transept and the Babylonian and Assyrian room on the upper floor, innumerable treasures which the pick and spade of an army of excavators, under the direction of Layard, Rawlinson, Smith, Loftus, and others equally worthy of mention, have brought to light during the past fifty years. As one walks through these vast galleries, arranged often in the same order as in their original places, and studies the delicate work on the bas-reliefs, executed with such artistic skill and which unroll to him the records of past glory and greatness, he is filled with amazement at the advanced stage of the plastic arts in the remote ages, and also with gratitude to those who have rendered such excellent service in restoring these monuments.

As might be expected, these discoveries have revolutionized the science of Old Testament criticism. No one who has examined the seals, cylinders, tablets, and other articles in the Babylonian and Assyrian room will ask whether the art of writing was known to the Semitic people at the time of the Exodus. How exceedingly shallow the following words of Ewald, the great Göttingen Hebraist, seem to us in the light of recent discoveries! And yet this great biblical scholar some fifty years ago wrote as follows in his *History of Israel:* "Was there a system of writing already current in the time of Joseph, or Abraham, or at least in the days of Moses? The narratives of the patriarchal ages bear no trace of a certain tradition of the use of writing in that ancient period. It cannot be proved that any written documents came down from the patriarchal times to later ages." Though there are earlier specimens of cuneiform writings than those found upon the cylinders and seals, yet the study of these will be of the greatest interest and profit.

Lest there may be some reader who has not a clear idea of what cylinders are it may be stated that there are of these at least three distinct kinds. The first may be called cylinder-seals. These, as the name indicates, are cylindrical seals, which were much used by the Babylonians, and later by the Assyrians, Phœnicians, Egyptians, and others, not only as amulets, charms, and ornaments, but also to ratify contracts both private and public. They were impressed upon tablets while the clay was still soft. The brick document was then hardened, either in the sun or by means of artificial heat. This practice corresponds to our impressing official documents on leather or paper with seals upon wax. These cylinders, made of amethyst, chalcedony, emerald, jasper, onyx,

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and various other precious stones, vary in size from about one half an inch long to two inches or more; in diameter from one quarter of an inch to five times that dimension. The amount of carving upon them depends upon the size and purpose of the seal; some contain only the name of the owner and that of the god or gods he worshiped, while others have in addition some legendary passage from a sacred book, as that of Asrinilu, from the great Chaldæan epic entitled "Gilgames." These cylinder-seals were perforated lengthwise through the middle, a string, by means of which they were suspended from the neck, being passed through this hole. The oldest seal yet discovered is that in the De Clercq collection at Paris. It bears the name of Sargani or Sargon the First, King of Agade, who lived about 3800 B. C. The work on this is very exquisite. Babelon in speaking of this seal says, "I do not know which should astonish us the more—the degree of perfection to which the Chaldæans had carried the plastic arts, or the prodigiously distant epoch to which such monuments transport us." It is almost impossible to conceive how, in the gray dawn of antiquity, such delicate engraving could be made upon such hard materials—objects so difficult, even now, to cut or engrave.

Mr. Pinches, an eminent Assyriologist, wrote in 1885 in substance as follows: The earliest example of engraving on stone preserved in the British Museum is a pink-veined marble egg-shaped object about two and a half inches long, drilled from end to end, probably the head of a mace or staff of office. It is inscribed thus: "I, Sargon, the messenger, King of Agade, have dedicated [this] to Samas in Sippara." There is now, however, one specimen in the same case, a gate-socket of Entenna, King of Babylonia, 4200 B. C., the upper rim of which is covered with inscriptions. Just across, in case A, is a fragment of a granite bowl of Eannadu, the first king of Babylonia, or at least the first mentioned in the inscriptions. Though the engraving on this dates back to 4500 B. C., yet it is clear and distinct and quite modern-looking.

Let us return to our cylinders. Without going into details, it might be stated that "specimens of cylinder-seals have been found which apparently belong to a period about B. C. 4000; and it is known from the examples preserved in London and Paris that the art of engraving was carried on without a break from that period down to the time of the Persian conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, about B. C. 539" (Budge).

Besides these smaller cylinders used as seals and prophylactic amulets, there are also exhibited in the Museum a large collection of what may be termed historical ones. There are two prevailing types, the barrel-shaped and the polygonal. While the former belonged to the Babylonian empire and the latter to the Assyrian, it would not be safe, as has been done, to assert that the shape determined the character or nationality, for we have in one case five barrel-shaped cylinders giving a summary of the wars in the early part of Sennacherib's reign (B. C. 705–681), as well as an hexagonal one of the same king which, among other things, has an account of his war against Hezekiah and the capture of Jerusalem. Alongside of this is another hexagonal cylinder; it is that of Esar-haddon (B. C. 681–668).

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What makes this of special interest is the fact that it gives in detail an account of the defeat and surrender of Manasseh. That portion of this official account which describes Sennacherib's campaign in Palestine and the defeat of Hezekiah is of such interest to every biblical student as to justify an insertion of it here. It has been thus translated: "Six and forty of the strong cities, and the strongholds and the hamlets round about them, belonging to Hezekiah the Jew, who had not submitted to my rule, . . . I besieged and captured. Two hundred thousand and one hundred and fifty souls, young and old, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep without number, did I make to be brought forth therefrom, and I counted them as spoil. Hezekiah himself, like unto a bird in a cage, did I shut up within his house in Jerusalem. I cast up mounds against the city, and I turned back every man who came forth. His towns which I had captured from him I took away from his kingdom and gave them to Mitinti, King of Ashdod, to Padi, King of Ekron, and to Silbel [?], King of Gaza; and I reduced his land. I increased the sum of the tribute which he paid yearly unto my majesty. The fear of the glory of my majesty overpowered Hezekiah; and his captains and his mighty men of valor whom he had brought into Jerusalem to defend it laid down their arms. Thirty talents of gold, eight hundred talents of silver, precious stones, ivory, treasures, his daughters, the women of his palace, etc., . . . he sent unto my palace at Nineveh."

This long extract is only a portion of what is contained on this hexagonal monument. Extensive, however, as this State document is, there are at least three in the British Museum which are much larger and, as might be expected, contain much more matter inscribed upon them. Perhaps the largest of these three measures twenty-one inches in height, has ten sides, each about two and a half inches. It would take a sheet of paper twenty-one by twenty-five inches to hold as much matter as we find upon this cylinder, which records the glories of Assur-bani-pal. In a neighboring case are exhibited three fine cylinders dug out from the ruins of a temple at Kalah Sherghat, the so-called city of Assur. They are all inscribed with the great deeds and glories of Tiglath-pileser I, who lived about 1100 B. C. The largest of these octagonal baked-clay cylinders is fully twenty-one inches high, and has upon it a lengthy account of the campaigns and building projects of the great monarch just mentioned.

There is a very large number of these cylinders, generally of small size and always barrel-shaped, which record the operations of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus. Two are of special interest; for, besides recording the restoration of the temple of Ebarra at Larsa, which had been destroyed during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, it also describes the discovery of the monuments of Burna-Buryash, B. C. 1425, and of Khammurabi (the Amraphel of Genesis), B. C. 2200, and again that he discovered in the foundations of the temple of Eulbar inscriptions of Sargon I, B. C. 3800, though other kings in different reigns had vainly sought to find them. We shall only mention four more, which were found by

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Taylor imbedded in the four corners of the temple of the moon-god at Mugheir, or the biblical Ur of the Chaldees. These are not large, but very perfect, and simply record the restoration of this temple by Nabonidus.

From what has been said the reader will have surmised that these cylinders were commemorative as well as talismanic in their character. This is made the more probable from a discovery of M. Place at Khorsabad, where he disinterred a stone box from the foundations in which was inscribed on gold, silver, antimony, copper, and lead the following inscription, translated thus by Oppert: "May the great lord Assur destroy from the face of this country the name and race of him who shall injure the works of my hand or who shall carry off my treasure." Compare also what Professor Hilprecht calls "one of the oldest monuments of Semitic speech," which was found deep among the ruins of Nipur and reads: "Whosoever removes this inscribed stone, his foundation may Bel and Samas and Ninna tear up, and exterminate his seed."

It would be easy to multiply examples; but the above will give the reader some idea of cylinders, their antiquity and use. In conclusion, it may be stated that those interested in the study of the articles above described will find some rare specimens in the museums of New York and Philadelphia, and that the University of Chicago is soon to have elegant casts of some of the finest specimens in the British Museum.

REPORT OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

THE Quarterly Statement of this organization, July, 1896, has been recently issued, and contains much interesting and suggestive matter. Dr. F. J. Bliss makes his ninth report concerning the progress of his excavations within the present city limits of Jerusalem. He has for some months past been tracing the course of an old wall, several feet below the surface, probably not dating much, if any, further back than the time of the Crusaders. His report possesses a real value as showing the vast amount of patient preliminary labor, often of an experimental and tentative character, that has preceded all important archæological discoveries, whether in classical, oriental, or other fields, or that has followed them before their value has been fully established. Of the various papers appended to the statement the best are those on "The Date of the Exodus," by Captain A. E. Haynes and Colonel C. R. Conder. Out of such discussion, as inconclusive and unsatisfactory as it may now appear, will eventually come—supplemented, as it will be in the order of Providence, from time to time by such fresh and pertinent discoveries as our increasing knowledge is able properly to assimilate—a clear light and, we believe, a sure confirmation of our Scripture records. Captain Haynes, who seems sufficiently under the influence of higher critical tendencies, nevertheless in a footnote says: "The record of a seven years' famine in Egypt during the seventeenth dynasty has been found in the tomb of a certain Raba in Upper Egypt, and has been used to support the suitability of the time of the Hyksos for the immigration of Israel to Egypt."

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MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY AS A MISSIONARY AGENCY.

ONE of the foremost missionary agencies of this country is the American Bible Society, and it is with great pleasure that we note its steady and rapid growth in the confidence and support of the people. In eighty years it has issued 61,705,841 volumes in nearly one hundred languages and dialects. In the first quarter of a century of its existence it issued a little less than three million copies; in the next quarter of a century it swelled its publications to nearly nineteen millions; and in the third quarter of a century, as it had the pleasure of announcing at its diamond anniversary, its issues reached about thirty-two and a half millions. In the five years since then it has sent forth seven and a half million copies.

Whither have gone the volumes distributed within the last year? The answer is at hand. They have helped to evangelize and elevate the thirty thousand people engaged in mining and other branches of the iron industry in Jefferson County, Ala., two thirds of whom are negroes; the saw mill towns of the southern part of the State; and the small farmers of the northern portion. In California, they have gone among the Japanese and Chinese, Chinese copies having been obtained from the Rev. Mr. Hykes, a Methodist in charge of the Shanghai agency. Over twenty-eight thousand copies have been circulated, in thirty languages, in Chicago and other parts of Cook County, Ill. In the Indian Territory, the last vestige of the national domain held in fee simple from the United States government by the red man, the Scriptures have been circulated in thirteen Indian languages. They have gone into Louisiana, whole parishes of which State are without any evangelical church. Even New Hampshire has become so polyglot that the word has been scattered there in thirteen languages. Large numbers of copies have gone to the Spanish-speaking population of New Mexico. The agents of the society have met two hundred and forty-two thousand immigrants at New York, the eastern gate of the nation, and placed over fifty-six thousand volumes in their hands, in English, Welsh, French, Danish, Swedish, Finnish, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch, Russian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Bohemian, Polish, Slavic, Arabic, Greek, Armenian, Hebrew, and Portuguese. In Pennsylvania the copies distributed have been in thirty-five languages, including such unusual ones as Icelandic, Lithuanian, Tamil, Hawaiian, Turkish, and Slovak.

Abroad, the story of the circulation of the Scriptures is abundantly interesting. In Mexico one old woman, on receiving a Bible, said, "I am eighty-seven years old, but I have never heard before such words as you read from your Bible." "Have you not heard the Gospel during a life of eighty-seven years?" was asked. "I do not know what the Gospel may be, but I like what you read," was her reply; "continue." Priestly

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antagonism is constant, and many a colporteur has been stoned for circulating the Scriptures. Mr. Penzotti, a Methodist, who was imprisoned for many months in a vile dungeon in Peru for evangelical teaching, has extended his influence within the year more or less over the five republics of Central America. In Guatemala the people are but partially clad and are morally degraded, but they welcome the colporteur. In Quezaltenango, with its population of thirty thousand, two thirds of whom are Indians, the supply was generous, though the priests got hold of many of the copies and destroyed them. Even the Caribs, speaking a mixed dialect of Spanish, French, English, and African, and almost without any religion at all, have received the Scriptures. Honduras, now poverty-stricken and almost without religion, was the first of the Central American republics to declare for the separation of Church and State; and its half million of people have been tendered the only literature which can start them on a higher plane. Far up the valley of the Orinoco, though welcomed with showers of stones, have penetrated the sturdy-hearted distributers of the word. In Argentina, the greatest republic south of the United States, the colporteur has long worked; but now women have taken up the work and are carrying the Scriptures into the *conventillas*, or large tenement houses. In Chile Bible distribution is carried on among the nitrate workers at Tarapaca. In Peru Roman Catholic women have organized to oppose the circulation of the Scriptures, but the good work goes on. Fifty-seven per cent of the population speak Quichua, a language without a literature, in use by three million domesticated Indians scattered through four separate South American republics; and the Quichua is being used to spread the truth. In Brazil within the year the agents of the society have spoken personally to one hundred and fifty thousand people about the teachings of the Bible.

We regret that our space precludes the continuance of this rapid sketch of the work of this noble society through foreign parts. The publication of the Bible in the sacred and literary language (Krapar) of the poor, distracted, and well-nigh destroyed Armenians, following the text used from the beginning of their Christian history, "comes at a momentous epoch in Armenian history." The publication of the Bulgarian pocket reference Bible and of the Koordish translation of Mark for the wildest, most desperate, and barbarous people of western Asia, who have probably murdered the three men who made the translation, shows the wide-reaching force of this great missionary agency.

THE DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA.

Bishop Hartzell comes to the work in Africa at an interesting juncture in the development of that continent. Thirty years ago the map of Africa was scarcely changed for the better from that of the Jesuits of several centuries ago; and even the map of thirty years ago was not recognized as authoritative for the remoter parts of the country. The whole continent has within that period been practically remapped. This is said

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without reference to the political invasion of Europe, the most marked manifestation of earth-hunger, perhaps, in the annals of human history. Within the past ten years, and mainly within the first four years of the decade, ten millions out of the nearly twelve millions of square miles embraced in the continent have been partitioned, on paper, among the several nations of Europe. Within the last forty years even southern Africa was scarcely held to be worth claiming by any power in Europe. It was left to the travels of David Livingstone, seeking for the freer operations of his missionary work, to show to the civilized world what were the possibilities of this great region, and the influence of those travels is not yet within range of practical measurement. A competent authority, alluding to one result of the partition of Africa among European nations, has significantly said, "No such stupendous partition of the earth's surface by such means and in so short time has ever taken place before." The opposition to the vast slave traffic followed, as a necessary concomitant, the advances of Great Britain from the south along the great missionary's lines of exploration. Thirty-five years ago one might wait for months for a vessel to go east from Cape Colony to any point on the south tip of the continent, where now four lines of steamers ply constantly, unless the Portuguese has been borne down by competition with British and German vessels. Within that same period travel up the Shiré by canoe has been followed by travel on the fifteen steamers plying on that river and the lake system with which it is related. Tangled wilderness paths have given way to good roads lined with coffee plantations and telegraph poles as far into the interior as Blantyre.

Missionary work has been correspondingly developed. In Central Africa the broad continent, from ocean to ocean, was a region of undisturbed heathendom. In this same territory the Livingstonia mission and the Universities' mission have grown within twenty years to well-developed and stable Christian establishments; the London Missionary Society is as firmly fixed about Lake Tanganyika, and the Church of England mission as thoroughly rooted further north. On the west coast, in the region of the Kongo, are the English Baptist, the American Baptist, the American Presbyterian, and the Methodist Episcopal missions.

While it is true that the Kongo region attracted the attention of some of the most statesmanlike minds of the Methodist Episcopal Church at a time when the Kongo River was not explored more than a hundred miles or so from the seaboard, at the time when Stanley was supposed to be lost in the wilds of the interior, and when Bishop Janes asked Bishop Haven, in his visit to Africa, to make inquiry as to the feasibility of the extension of our missions to that region, it is equally true that it was the movements of Bishop Taylor that ultimately precipitated the Methodist Church into this territory. It cannot now withdraw from the picket line he has established. This does not imply that it shall limit its operations to any methods initiated by Bishop Taylor, but it does imply that the Church shall face the whole question of its responsibility to other portions of Africa than Liberia.

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OUR METHODIST WORK IN INDIA AS SEEN BY A "CHURCHMAN."

It is a little strange to still meet with Methodists who take with grains of salt the accounts of the great work which, in the order of God's providence, the Methodist Episcopal Church has been enabled to do in India, and of the far greater work which lies within our reach if the same peculiar providence which has thus far guided us shall continue to guide us in the future. The further prosecution of the work seems just now to depend chiefly upon whether the necessary financial support shall be forthcoming.

Our first duty is to seek to dispel the ignorance of those not informed of the situation and of the thoroughness and realty of the work already accomplished. To aid in the task we quote the following from the *Indian Christian Messenger*, a periodical of the Church of England published at Allahabad, India: "The stupendous results achieved by the Methodist mission are staggering to the skeptic. The mission claims twenty per cent of all Protestant Indian Christians in India, and five per cent of all Christians in the country. . . . Confining our attention to North India, we find that there were last year over eight thousand baptisms of adults, excluding those of over six thousand children. There are some minds that do not find themselves prepared to comprehend these performances; but an unprejudiced investigator cannot come to a conclusion other than creditable to these earnest workers full of go and faith. . . . The whole of Rohilkund has been dotted over with Christians and Christian associations—churches, parsonages, red-ribbon brigades, leagues, schools, and colleges. The fact is clear that the Methodist workers are not given to dreaming. They fully believe that there is no difference in the value of the soul of a tanner and of the soul of one whose feet are ensconced in morocco slippers. The Methodist missionaries don't talk grandiloquently and declare, 'We do not care to manufacture Christians.' They open Goucher schools in villages and collect the waifs and strays as well for the boarding schools. The fragrant stench of the slums of the refuse of the towns and villages does not deter them from pursuing the lost sheep of the Lord in the humble ranks of humanity. And it will be madness to deny them their meed of praise for the glorious results of their exertions. . . . But we do not mean to imply that the Methodist mission is devoid of the so-called high-caste converts. They have a fair proportion of these, and their mission alone in North India can point to a live rajah among their own converts. The fruits of their labors have passed university and theological examinations and nowadays figure in courts, telegraph offices, and in educational institutions. . . . In North India at this moment, out of sixteen presiding elders, five are Indians invested with full financial and administrative powers. . . . The number of Indians, Conference members, is almost three times that of the Americans. These Indians have the same voice in managing the mission, and even in annually passing on the character of all agents, American or Indian. The result is that the cause of the Lord is furthered by the prevalent feeling of fellowship."

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FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Otto Ritschl. Since the death of Albrecht Ritschl his son Otto has been his truest representative in the domain of theology. True, the son does not accept without question all his father's theological opinions, but he comes nearer to maintaining the elder Ritschl's beliefs unchanged than any other representative of the Ritschl school. In a recently published work entitled *Ueber Werthurtheile*, an expression almost impossible of translation into English, he defines and defends his father's position with reference to one of the peculiar features of the Ritschlian theology. *Werthurtheile*, literally, "worth judgments," are judgments (in the logical sense) which are formed, not as the result of the use of the judgment, but by listening to the emotions. They express our interests, not our opinions. Since we have so many interests which lie outside the realm of scientific verification, it is necessary to have *Werthurtheile* by which to express our faith in reference to matters which cannot be reached by *theoretische Urtheile* ("theoretical judgments") or scientific thought. Among these is the whole realm of the religious. When we affirm the existence of God we do not depend upon our judgment so much as upon our sense of interest. We cannot know there is a God, but we can believe it. The belief in the existence of God is not the product of a train of reasoning, but springs from a necessity of the human soul. Because it is not the result of a ratiocinative process it can never be overthrown by science or philosophy. Because it so perfectly satisfies our hearts the reality of God is more certainly attested than any fact of external nature. It will be seen that the idea of *Werthurtheile*—including all religious truth—is well adapted to the needs of the apologist, who, in adopting it, snaps his fingers at the scientist and says, "I have a method of knowing which is unknown to you. By it I attain a greater certainty in a given sphere than you can attain in the sphere of science. These two methods of knowing which you and I represent do not lie in the same plane, nor do their planes bisect each other. Therefore there can be no clash between them. All the conflict between science and faith hitherto has arisen from an attempt to bring both to the test of the former. We give up the scientific certainty of our faith and place it upon a surer foundation. Henceforth there must be no conflict between the man of faith and the man of science."

Joseph Hollweck. There are few Roman Catholics who doubt or ever have doubted that the Roman see is the divinely appointed seat of the vicar of Christ on earth, the pope, and that if the papal seat were transferred to another city it would cease to be the papal seat. Hollweck is not of the small number who have doubted these things; on the other hand, he has recently attempted (*Der apostolische Stuhl und Rom*, Mainz,

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Kirchheim) to set the question forever at rest so far as argument can accomplish the task. In doing so he cannot appeal to an utterance of the Church on the subject, for officially the doctrine of the inseparableness of the papacy from the Roman see has been rather assumed than asserted. The bulls *Unam Sanctam* and the *Vaticanum* of 1870, as well as the councils of Lyons and Florence, establish the fact of the succession of the Roman pontiff in the primacy, but do not assert the necessity. Believing that in order to establish the necessary connection of the two for all time either an express utterance of our Lord beforehand or an express sanction after the connection had been formed is demanded, he confesses that he has searched in vain for either in a direct form. Nevertheless he finds the sanction after the fact (*voluntate consequente*) abundantly attested for all purposes of faith. His investigations lead him to the conclusion that the fathers looked upon the union as inseparable; the popes have shared this opinion; the councils have so expressed themselves as to leave the impression that they assumed it so fully that its assertion was deemed unnecessary; with almost perfect unanimity the schools have taught the same; while the faithful have no doubt on the matter. Those who have questioned it have been men whose attitude toward the papacy was not without suspicion. The author closes with a few very remarkable sentences. He says: "Christ not only wills the freedom of the Church and its head in general, but its full freedom, limited by no obstacle. But this freedom in the fullest sense includes the temporal sovereignty of the pope as a necessary condition. Hence the divine providence ordered that in the course of time this sovereignty was bestowed on the pope. Since then he has been *jure divino* king of Rome." The meaning of such language is not difficult to discern.

Paul Grünberg. Not so much as a leader of thought as in the capacity of a master in the art of theological-biographical writing should he be mentioned. To few men, relatively, has it been given to accomplish as much as Spener. If he was not exactly original he was at least a leader of those like-minded with himself. The significance of the man is seen in this, as also in the opposition he excited and in the permanent results which followed his labors. In one sense of the word Grünberg's *Phillipp Jakob Spener* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1893) is rather a philosophical-historical study of a great theological and religious leader than a biography. This may be seen in the arrangement of the material, which is as follows: "The Times of Spener," "The Life of Spener," "The Theology of Spener," "Spener as a Church Reformer." Not only is this arrangement thoroughly logical, it is executed in its details with a master hand. None other could have put himself so completely in possession of the vast material for the study. Note the variety of phases considered in the first chapter: the Church constitution, the clergy, schools and universities, church doctrine, public worship and church life, the religious and ethical life, relation of the Lutheran Church to other confessions. A second chapter takes up the reaction against the prevailing tendencies of

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the time under four phases—a mystical, a practical, a theological, and that of a living, as contradistinguished from a dead, orthodoxy. Under the first phase alone he treats of thirty-three different personages, giving their views and estimating their influence. With similar particularity does he treat every portion of his subject. And yet each detail is brought into such vital relations to the entire theme that nowhere is the treatment dreary or unduly prolonged. Not only has Grünberg preserved the impression of a forward movement throughout, he has been able to maintain toward Spener himself, as toward all his predecessors and contemporaries, a judicial, yet sympathetic, attitude. The faults of the Church of Spener's time are pointed out, but not too bitterly condemned. Spener himself was so great as to tempt one to unstinted eulogy. But Grünberg has both a heart for his merits and an eye for the limitations and defects both of the personality and the theologian. The work should be immediately translated into English or its English counterpart produced.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Zur Characteristik des religiösen Standpunkt des Erasmus" (Characterization of the Religious Standpoint of Erasmus). By Friedrich Lezius. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1895. Our author points out the fact that, while some have found Erasmus to be a man of weak character and somewhat lax morals, others regard him as strong and constant and of higher morality than Luther and Zwingli. Nor does he think this remarkable, since the life of Erasmus was so full of contradictions. "He prepared the way of the Reformation only to oppose it later. He broke with Luther and rejoiced in Zwingli's tragic death, and nevertheless died in Basel without the final offices of the Roman Catholic Church and was buried by Protestants in a Protestant church." But, passing all these by, he takes up the side of Erasmus's life mentioned in the title of his little work. On the whole it is not a flattering conclusion he draws. Our chief interest in the entire question is that that which was true of Erasmus was true, on the whole, of all the humanists. In studying the religious side of Erasmus's nature we study the religious side of humanism generally. Lezius regards as the key to the religious life of Erasmus the fact that he was at the same time a moralist and a biblicist. Through the former he was made the enemy of the externality and superstition of the papal religion; through the latter he was rendered capable of independence of the decrees of popes, the doctrine of the Church, and the teachings of scholasticism. But being a moralist and a biblicist only gave outward form to his faith. This only sufficed to produce the negative features of his religion. He lacked the earnestness necessary to become a Protestant. In this respect Lezius compares him most unfavorably with Zwingli, who, whatever his faults, had the earnestness to strive for what he believed to be true, while Erasmus was so opposed to everything which might engender tumult or strife that he would sacrifice truth and right themselves for quiet. It is evident that the beliefs of such a man are not worthy to

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be dignified by the name of convictions, but must be regarded as opinions merely. And this same love of ease it was which caused him to enter into strife with Luther, since he preferred a break with him rather than a break with Rome. This in turn proves that all the while his sympathies remained Roman Catholic, whatever his judgment might say.

"**Dogmatique chrétienne**" (Christian Dogmatics). By Jules Bovon. Lausanne, Georges Bridel et Cie., 1895. We cannot pretend to more than a brief mention of some of the principal points in this work. The first pertains to his method. Instead of treating the doctrine of the Trinity as a phase of the general doctrine of the Deity, as is usual, thereby detaching it from Christology and soteriology, he maintains that the knowledge of the triune God can be gained and that knowledge formulated only on the basis of the saving work of Christ and the influence of the Holy Spirit. Hence he would place the discussion of the Trinity at the close of the system. As to the Christian doctrine of God, he claims that it is only to be developed in accordance with the knowledge of God which we gain through Christ; in other words, the Christian doctrine of God is the doctrine of the God of revealed salvation. Had he limited himself to this principle he would have been more consistent. But in fact he appears not to be thoroughly permeated with his own ideas, but to hold theoretically to one opinion, while in practice he acts, at least in part, according to another. He is aware that the certainty of faith arises from the experience of one who subjects himself to the practical requirements of the Gospel; yet he makes so much use of the so-called natural religion as to leave the impression that the religion of the Christian revelation is not sufficient for him. He rejects every proof of the existence of God which is founded in nature, and yet he speaks of God's holiness and God's love in such a manner as wholly to disconnect these attributes from the facts of sin and redemption. His treatment of the important doctrine of divine providence is extremely brief, comprising but a page, compared with other less important doctrines. Although he quotes a number of Scripture passages in proof of the doctrine, it appeals to him rather as a postulate of natural, than of Christian, theology. Valuable and interesting is his treatment of the doctrine of sin. He discusses various theories, but establishes the fact from psychology and religion. With reference to the miracles of the New Testament he takes practically the position held by the German mediating school, which admits the possibility of the miracles, but reserves the right to determine by criticism which shall be held as historically verifiable or probable.

"**Der Exorcismus im Herzogtum Braunschweig seit den Tagen der Reformation**" (The Practice of Exorcism in the Duchy of Brunswick since the Days of the Reformation). By Friedrich Koldewey. Wolfenbüttel, Zwissler, 1893. The work would be both more interesting and more valuable did it extend beyond the narrow boundaries of a duchy. But as the book is small it is excusable to treat a limited theme; and as a matter of fact the

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history of exorcism in Brunswick is essentially what it was in other German Lutheran territories. It may surprise many to learn that Luther retained the formula by which the priest exorcised the candidate for baptism in the Roman Catholic Church. Put into English, the directions which Luther, following the Roman ritual, gave the Protestant clergy were as follows: After an address to the persons responsible for the child's training, the minister said, "Depart, thou unclean spirit, and make room for the Holy Spirit." He then made the sign of the cross on the forehead and breast of the candidate, and said, "Receive the sign of the cross on both forehead and breast." After a couple of prayers the minister said, "I adjure thee, thou unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou depart and leave this servant of Jesus Christ. Amen." Then followed, among other things, the substance of our baptismal covenant, which in the case of the child must be taken for him by his elders, who renounced for him the devil and all his works. In the adjuration the minister was to make the sign of the cross after the name of each of the persons of the Trinity. The renunciation of the devil implied that the person about to be baptized was the property of the devil, whose ownership was now renounced. The language addressed to the unclean spirit reminds one forcibly of that employed by our Lord in the expulsion of the spirits from the possessed. An excellent illustration is thus afforded of the marked change which has come over the thought of the Christian world, robbing it of that vivid realization of the nearness and influence of the powers of darkness which our fathers experienced. The Calvinists opposed this practice of exorcism as a gross superstition, and the intensity of the struggle between the Calvinistic and Lutheran systems caused the adherents of the latter to reject any attempts looking toward a removal of the rite of exorcism from the baptismal ceremony. Luther translated the baptismal ceremony into German in 1523, and the rite of exorcism maintained itself therein in Brunswick in spite of much opposition until 1709, nearly two hundred years.

"Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten" (History of the Early Christian Literature in the First Three Centuries). By Gustav Krüger. Freiburg (Baden), and Leipzig, J. C. B. Mohr, 1895. The work must be carefully distinguished from ordinary works on patristics, which give much valuable information relative to authors and their works, but which do not attempt a literary history. Krüger has followed the principles laid down by Nitzsch and Overbeck to the effect that under patrology we must understand, not only the works of the early Church fathers, but any work of an early Christian author; and furthermore, that the handling of these works must be in accordance with the laws of historical writing, and not merely a concatenation of chronological and biographical notices. He does not pretend to any great amount of originality; but, as a matter of fact, he gives us the first complete, though brief, treatise of the kind, modestly referring

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his readers to the expected great work of Professor Harnack in the same line. His standpoint may be seen in what he says concerning the Pauline documents of the New Testament: "In the New Testament fourteen documents supposed to have been written by Paul have found a place. They do not all have the same claim to recognition as genuine products of his pen. True, a criticism which finds its pleasure in the destruction of the little light which is vouchsafed to us in the investigation of the problems of primitive Christianity can reject all, or nearly all, these letters as forgeries, and thereby banish from history the personality of the great apostle, which is incomprehensible to little minds. But against the genuineness of 1 Thessalonians (composed 54, 55), Galatians (55–57), the two letters to the Corinthians (56–58 and 58–60), Romans (59, 60), Philippians (62–64), and Philemon (written about the same time as Philippians) no sufficient arguments have been produced. The doubts against Colossians can be overcome. The spuriousness of 2 Thessalonians and of Ephesians may be asserted with good reason, but not strictly demonstrated. Hebrews is the work of a Paulinizing Christian of Alexandrian training. The pastoral letters were unknown to Marcion, and the situation they portray cannot be explained in accord with what we know of the life of Paul, while the language and the thought were impossible to him. Their relation to Gnosticism appears to forbid their composition during the first century; though it is possible that their author possessed fragments of actual letters addressed to Timothy and Titus."

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Biblical Criticism and the Task of the Preacher. From a consideration of this difficult problem arises much of the objection felt by those in the practical work of the Church to the so-called higher criticism. When books which were once attributed to Moses come to be attributed to an unknown author the preacher is placed in an awkward dilemma with reference to choosing texts therefrom. He hesitates to speak of these texts as the words of the great lawgiver when he is convinced they are not; and yet he feels that to explain his views on this subject to his auditors would distract attention from the religious message he has to bring them. Just so, when portions of the Bible which were once regarded as historically trustworthy come to be looked upon as untrustworthy, they seem to the preacher to lose their value for homiletical purposes. Those who have fallen into this difficulty employ two methods of escape. The first is to ignore texts of the kind described. This is based on the idea that the Bible contains so much well-authenticated material not touched by criticism that he can well do without the doubtful portions. He thereby attests his faith in certain other portions of the Bible, thereby severing it in twain. Such a course is not contemplated with favor by the better class of higher critics. They do not believe in this mutilation of the book, all of which to them is the word of God; for

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to the critic historical trustworthiness is not the test by which he determines the validity of revelation. A myth or an historical error may as truly convey a revelation as the record of real fact. He looks deeper than the outward form. He cares not for the historical or scientific, but for the religious and moral, teachings. This furnishes the clew to his method of treating texts in the pulpit which he handles very differently as a critic. He does not neglect them if they fall in his way, and the average listener would never detect from his use of them that he denied their historical value. From a work entitled *Kritisch angefochtene Predigttexte und ihre homiletische Behandlung* (Sermonic Texts Assaulted by Criticism and How to Treat Them Homiletically), by R. Eibach (Berlin, Reuther & Reichard, 1895), we take a number of examples: Luke i, 26-38—the birth and infancy of Jesus. The first thing for the preacher to remember is that the angel Gabriel and the converse which he held with the mother of our Lord are not the principal thing. It is rather the simplicity and purity of the virgin heart which the conversation lays bare. Again, the preacher must remember that it is not important to demonstrate the dogma of the virgin birth. In the stories of Jupiter human lust is attributed to the deity. In this, on the contrary, divine purity is attributed to a human being. Thus looked at, the text gives us a view of the invisible world and of the possibilities of human nature. The story, Eibach thinks, is so glorious and so opens the eyes to a new world of purity that, did we not have it in the Bible, it must have been sooner or later invented, and the homilete has no occasion for avoiding it. Again, in Luke ii, 1-14. There is no text more central, and yet more vigorously assailed, than this. Everything it contains is doubtful except the fact that Jesus first saw the light of this world under Cæsar Augustus. The history of his birth, and even Bethlehem as his birthplace, are veiled in darkness so far as history is concerned; and yet there is no text that the preacher so much needs at Christmas as this. For if the preacher really believes that Jesus is the Christ this text offers him better opportunities than any other for the Christmas festival. Here, above all things, is history, not in the small sense of the questions of human science, but in this sense—that He from whom all salvation springs really did see the light of this world; and in this—that his appearance is too great to be made dependent upon the year or the accidental place of his birth. The evidence for him is not a chronicle of time, but his work, which is present with us; his Spirit, which lives among us; himself, who is present with us. Faith in him has better supports than can be afforded by human science. And this faith lives in the text. Even the plans of the secular rulers, so differently intended, are compelled to serve him. The city and house of David remind us of the fulfillment of the desire of all nations. It is the "yea" and "amen" of the Old Testament and, what is more significant for us, the deepest longing of the human heart. . . . The poverty of the manger is exactly that which corresponds to Golgotha—it shows the way of redemption through lowliness. The Gospel which the angels first preached to the poor—the shepherds—has ever since then been preached first to the

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poor. But all these are small matters. The important thing is the message, which no man can give to another, but which God alone can give: "Unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." There terror before God must cease; peace comes into the heart, and great joy for all people begins. And this message is accompanied by a blessed assurance, for this Gospel has for us to-day better and clearer tokens than the manger and swaddling clothes. And with the birth of Christ begins at last a new world, into which we are invited to enter and in which we find forgiveness, life, and salvation. A few words with reference to the sermonic use of miracles may be valuable. The critic, as a rule, no longer denies, but asserts, the reality of the miracles of Jesus. But he holds that these miracles are recorded to show not only the power of our Lord and the condition of the souls of those upon whom he wrought his miracles, but rather to portray Christ before human eyes that men may be drawn to him. Looked at from this standpoint, the individual miracle stories may, or may not, be strictly correct historically. Whether they are so or not, the preacher's business is to recommend Christ to human hearts and human needs; and in this task the miracles give him extremely important aid. The resurrection and ascension of Jesus are not to be demonstrated by the literal utterance of the gospels, but by the experience of those who commune with him. Thus, alongside of the fact of science that soul and body die together is placed the fact that the soul and body of Jesus live together. He who came from heaven must of necessity return to heaven. He who brought the kingdom of God belongs at the right hand of God. It will be seen that, though there is little emphasis upon external phases of the record, the kernel is maintained. Whether the method appeals to our readers is not with us the question. Our business is to record the facts.

The Christian Socialist Party of Germany. The Christian socialists of Germany recently met at Frankfurt-am-Main, being represented by about two hundred delegates from all parts of the Fatherland, under the presidency of Dr. Stöcker. The following declaration of principles was adopted: "We justify the separation of Dr. Stöcker from the conservative party, which under the circumstances was unavoidable. By ourselves we form a party of Christian socialists. We shall continue to oppose every conservative tendency which makes concessions to the policy of the middle party or represents purely material interests. We desire to secure a greater equality between rich and poor for the future, and legal assistance to the efforts of the weak to obtain a livelihood; but we repudiate all radical doctrines which teach the unconditional equality of all. In the same manner we are opposed to growth of power on the part of the extremely wealthy, so far as this endangers the freedom of the State or the welfare of the people. We regard the combatants under the banner of true, living Christianity as those alone who can gain the victory over the powers of destruction, against which we shall wage a warfare with all our powers."

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SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

"THE Early Ages of the Human Race" is the opening article in the *London Quarterly Review* for July. It gives a summary of our present knowledge of prehistoric man. Speaking of a clay image found in a gravel bed of the pliocene or pleistocene age in Idaho, and which "shows the high intellectual character of primitive man," it says: "Like the Calaveras skull, it throws a heavy weight into the scale against the idea that the earliest members of the human race were sunk in the lowest depths of mental and moral degradation." In reference to a quotation from Mr. John Fiske's *Man's Destiny* it makes this comment: "This is pure romance. In man's earliest days there was no need whatever for this endless fighting, simply because the causes for hostility did not exist. Food was everywhere abundant. Game of all kinds existed in such vast numbers as to be easily captured, and all the rivers swarmed with fish. Men were few, and immense uninhabited tracts separated the earliest human wanderers. If collisions did occur—which must have been rare—the beaten party simply moved off to distant regions where man had not yet penetrated and where their safety was complete. Instead of the earliest ages of man's existence being days of incessant warfare, they must have been times of profound peace." The second article, "Profit Sharing and Gain Sharing," contrasts these methods of solving the labor problem with those advocated by the trades unions. In the third article, "Clive and Hastings," occurs this sentence, which is one of many indications that in these days there is none so poor as to do Macaulay reverence: "Macaulay's portraits of Clive and Warren Hastings, and, in association with the latter, of the much-aspersed Sir Elijah Impey, are caricatures indeed; but the glowing color and the magical chiaroscuro of the great word-painter so disguise the wild incorrectness of his drawing that the magnificent caricatures have been accepted as living, faithful resemblances; and two heroes of English history have been wronged of the fair renown to which lives of unswerving, patriot devotion had justly entitled them." The fourth article is "Ritschl's Theology;" the fifth, "Keats's Letters;" the sixth, "The Bible as Literature;" the seventh and eighth, "Recent Researches among the Annelids" and "A Naturalist in Mid-Africa."

PROFESSOR MOSES COIT TYLER, the author of those two exasperating volumes of a *History of American Literature*—exasperating because, published eighteen years ago and dealing only with early colonial literature, they have not since been followed by other volumes treating of our later and really important literary development—contributes "The Declaration of Independence in the Light of Modern Criticism" to the July number of the *North American Review*. Russia, that overgrown and naughty child

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of modern Europe which will come to manhood by and by and exert a potent influence upon human history, is, of course, the subject of Karl Blind's "After the Coronation at Moscow." The prospect grows "less and less hopeful," he says, "as to the new ruler having any really liberal measures in view." "Father" Clark, of the Christian Endeavor movement, writes pleasantly on "Some International Delusions." "The chief source of these delusions," he says, "is the daily newspaper on both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific. . . . Even the most respectable papers seem to find room in their foreign columns chiefly for startling crimes or awful accidents. . . . Many an English and Australian friend has said to me: 'I should think you would be afraid to travel in America; you always seem to be having such dreadful railway accidents.' . . . When I informed him that I had traveled many tens of thousands of miles without meeting a serious mishap or ever being held up by highwaymen it almost passed his comprehension, and he made up his mind that either the papers which he habitually read or myself had been drawing a long bow." "But, again, it must be confessed that these popular delusions are due quite as much to our own exceedingly sensational newspapers as to anything that is printed in the lands across the seas." John Gilmer Speed discusses "The Right of Privacy" from a legal standpoint. The late General Gibbon, of the United States Army, concludes his argument, "Why Women Should Have the Ballot," with these words: "That the day for the enfranchisement of women in this country is coming cannot be doubted by anyone capable of reading the very apparent signs which have been shown for some years past;" but the only sign specified is "the desperate struggle those opposed to woman suffrage are making to prevent its accomplishment." Incidentally, we believe that women should have the ballot. Max O'Rell's tirade on "Petticoat Government" in the United States is admirably answered by Mrs. Harriet Prescott Spofford and Mrs. Margaret Bottome. Other articles are: "The Stepchild of the Republic," a paper on "the seventeen splendid States and Territories" of our "arid" West, by W. E. Smythe; "A Common Coinage for All Nations," by the Hon. C. W. Stone; "The Teacher's Duty to the Pupil," by Cardinal Gibbons; "Criminal Jurisprudence, Roman and Anglo-Saxon," by M. Romero, Mexican minister to the United States; and "Sound Money the Safeguard of Labor," by the Hon. R. B. Mahany.

THE *Edinburgh Review* for July might easily monopolize the five short pages allotted to this summary. To prove this we need only submit a table of its contents: 1. "Manning and the Catholic Reaction of our Times;" 2. "The New Scottish Novelists;" 3. "Sheridan;" 4. "The Universities of the Middle Ages;" 5. "The Countess Krasinska's Diary;" 6. "The Paget Papers;" 7. "Gardens and Garden Craft;" 8. "The Government of France since 1870;" 9. "History and the National Portrait Gallery;" 10. "Egypt." The first of these is inspired by the recent publication of Purcell's *Life of Manning*—a book that has

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aroused profound interest and no end of controversy, and is characterized by the *Catholic World* as "the recent sad spectacle of a clumsy, narrow-visioned biographer's attempt to belittle the fame of the great Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster by means of his private correspondence, a performance which Cardinal Vaughan has branded in a recent magazine as 'almost a crime.'" The book certainly makes some interesting revelations *ex cathedra;* and we hardly wonder at the ire of our Catholic contemporary. The second article will appeal to all lovers of the new Scotch school of fiction. Says this Scotch review, voicing the acclaim of multitudes of non-Scotch readers, "We hail the revival of the rural Scottish novel as a welcome sign of healthy reaction." Of Barrie's *Window in Thrums* the reviewer says: "There is the Shakespearean subtlety of humor, which, as it seeks its subjects in eternal types of humanity, is bound to survive. The Scotch is perhaps unnecessarily broad; possibly there is too much of it for purposes of effective art, although the extraordinary popularity of the book in the South appears to dispose of that criticism as captious. All the greater is the tribute to the analytical genius which has triumphed over obstacles of its own creation. . . . It is a story we should be sorry to read, were we inclined to homesickness, on the sun-baked plains of Australia or the waterless Karoo of South Africa. We should yearn to exchange the cloudless skies for the dripping heavens and driving mists of Glen Quharity." And further: "An exquisite tenderness of sympathy underlies the book, so that it is difficult to distinguish the pathos from the drollery"—a saying which applies equally well to the writings of "Ian Maclaren." This of Mr. Crockett: "Comparing him with himself, the *Stickit Minister* and the *Raiders*, in their respective manners, stand far above his other productions." The notice of the *Bonnie Brier Bush* is nothing if not appreciative. It is "a sparkling book;" "there is no cleverer chapter than that on 'The Cunning Speech of Drumtochty;'" "'Ian Maclaren' probes the infinite depths of pathos in those simple, sequestered lives;" no sympathy can induce the "rough, almost brutal" Dr. Maclure "to palliate the truth," yet "no fashionable physician from Harley Street or Saville Row can surpass him in natural delicacy;" "The Transformation of Lachlan Campbell" is "the most touching of the tales."

We cannot even mention all of the fifteen articles that fill the pages of *The Nineteenth Century* for July. The first article, "Russia, Persia, and England," is by Sir Lepel Griffin. George W. E. Russell discusses the question of Church unity under the title "Reformation and Reunion," and concludes, "After all, we must remember that the Master promised, not one fold, but one flock and one Shepherd, even himself." "The Bab and Babism," by J. D. Rees, describes a religious sect of Persia, an offshoot from Mohammedanism, which arose about the middle of the present century. The Bab "represented himself as an emanation from the Divinity itself, and then assumed the title of 'highness,' by which also

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Jesus, the Son of Mary, or Miriam, is habitually known amongst Muhammadans." The adherents of the sect abound, "and chiefly among the richer and more educated classes." Walter Alison Phillips writes of Walter von der Vogelweide, "the greatest of the Minnesingers," whose name has been made familiar to us by Longfellow. Edward B. Tylor has an article on "The Matriarchal Family System," a system which has prevailed among our American Indian tribes and among some Oriental peoples, and by which inheritance descends, not through the male side of the family, but through the female. "The Woman Movement in Germany" is sketched by Alys Russell. Alvar Nuñez, better known to us as Cabeça de Vaca, the companion of Narvaez and the discoverer of those famous cities of Cibola which have so unaccountably eluded all further discovery, a man whose remarkable story contains so much of the romantic and the impossible, is the subject of a paper by R. B. Cunninghame Graham dealing chiefly with his adventures on the La Plata in South America. "The Story of the Manitoba Schools Question," by T. C. Down, is a study of an important factor in the Canadian problem. "New Letters of Edward Gibbon," by Rowland E. Prothero, and "The Federation Movement in Australasia," by Sir Edward Braddon, premier of Tasmania, are interesting papers and conclude an interesting number.

THE following is the list of contents of the *Methodist Review* of the Church, South, for July-August: 1. "The Problem of Divine Foreknowledge," by Professor Henry C. Sheldon, of the chair of systematic theology at Boston University; 2. "John Boanerges," by Rev. G. B. Winton, M.A.; 3. "Oxford High Anglicanism," by Rev. W. Harrison; 4. "A Literary Knapsack," by Maurice Thompson; 5. "The Culture Problem in Southern Towns," by Professor J. S. Bassett, of Trinity College; 6. "The Position of the Church in France," by Professor J. F. Crowell, of Columbia College; 7. "Vergil's Preeminence among the Christian Fathers and in the Mediæval Church," by Professor E. W. Bowen, of Randolph-Macon College; 8. "Macbeth and Hamlet," by Rev. J. W. Hill; 9. "Good Roads," by Professor H. H. Stone, of Emory College; 10. "The Making of Methodism" (seventh paper), by the editor, Dr. Tigert. The first objection raised by Dr. Sheldon to the doctrine of divine nescience is "that it postulates a limitation upon God that intrinsically is not agreeable to the thought of his infinite perfection." The "most formidable obstacle," however, "is the veto which it encounters from the side of revelation." In addition to "the testimony of a prophetical consciousness, whose central representative was no less than the Son of God," we have "specific predictions on matters bound up with the free agency of men," which have been not only "confidently uttered," but "fulfilled in a way which argues the legitimacy of the prophetical faith in divine foreknowledge." The seventh article will interest readers of Dante as well as of Vergil. From indications in the fourth eclogue and the sixth book of the "Æneid" Professor Bowen concludes that "there is clearly

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a possibility, not to say a strong probability, that Vergil had at least an indirect knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures," possibly "through the Sibylline books and oracles," or "through the Alexandrine literature, with which we have seen he was quite familiar."

THE *New World* for June contains: 1. "Cardinal Manning," by St. George Mivart; 2. "International Arbitration," by J. B. Moore, of Columbia College; 3. "The Limits of Evolution," by G. H. Howison; 4. "Matthew Arnold's Letters," by Milton Reed; 5. "New England Trinitarianism," by L. L. Paine, of the Bangor Theological Seminary; 6. "The Relation of the Preacher to Social Subjects," by J. W. Day; 7. "Las Casas and Democracy," by C. C. Starbuck; 8. "Mr. Balfour and his Critics," by T. R. Slicer; 9. "The Will to Believe," by William James. From the sixth article we take the following suggestive sentences: "The demand for sermons that are not theological disquisitions or philosophical essays is likewise a demand for sermons that are not studies in sociology." "Mr. John Graham Brooks made precisely the distinction which it has been the purpose of this article to emphasize, in saying, 'I have always admired the way in which Phillips Brooks did not preach upon social subjects.' This did not mean that the great preacher neglected the actual interests of society, for everyone knows how often he flashed upon his hearers the light of duty as to social relations. No influence went further than his into the social life of his city, because none went deeper. . . . It was the way in which he did *not* preach upon social subjects that made an enthusiastic sociological expert admire him."

THE July *Bibliotheca Sacra* has the following articles: 1. "Misapprehensions concerning Calvin," by O. T. Lanphear; 2. "The Divine Origin of the Religion of the Bible," by James Monroe; 3. "Studies in Christology," by F. H. Foster; 4. "Origen and the Return to Greek Theology," by J. W. Falconer; 5. "Gladstone's Edition of Bishop Butler's Works," by Jacob Cooper; 6. "The Hebrew Cosmogony Again," by C. B. Warring; 7. "Individualism and Societism," by Z. S. Holbrook; 8. "The Restriction of Immigration," by E. W. Bemis. The author of the first article thus comments on the doctrine of foreordination: "Another Methodist divine, Dr. Whedon, accepting foreknowledge, but denying foreordination, as though there were succession in the divine mind, concludes that foreordination, according to Calvin, implies that 'God is the author of sin.' The error here consists in failing to observe that foreknowledge and foreordination involve certainty, but not necessity. Thus, Dr. Whedon is logically bound to reject even foreknowledge, as well as foreordination, which is really the Arminian position." Is not the author's logic a little confused? "From Calvin's view of foreordination and decrees," he continues, "fatalism does not follow, for foreordination maintains the true causality of the creature and the free self-determination of men and of angels."

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BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Mind of the Master. By JOHN WATSON, D.D. (Ian Maclaren). 12mo, pp. 338. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This volume is sure of a wide reading. Its author's day is probably at noon. Ten years ago Henry Drummond was the new man, holding public attention as a fresh and fascinating writer with spiritual insight illuminating the higher regions of man's life. To-day the author of *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, *The Days of Auld Lang Syne*, and *The Upper Room* has the popular vogue for his books and lectures and sermons. He comes to America this summer booked for thirty thousand dollars' worth of lectures in various parts of the land. He is a proof that the pulpit is a prime point of vantage for getting acquainted with reality. No man on earth has equal chance with the earnest and strenuous minister for knowing the central facts of human nature and life. None other is so able to analyze, describe, and explain the experiences of men; no other sees so clearly into the deep places of the soul; no other is so aware of the perils and pains and noble possibilities of our nature; no other can lay his hand with such intelligent mastery on all the sensibilities of mind and heart and conscience. The practical man in the pew who imagines the man in the pulpit to be a dreamer probably makes a mistake; for if the minister is a true pastor, as well as a biblical preacher, living in sympathetic contact with the lives of his people, he is the man who knows reality, knows things by their substance rather than their shows, deals with the essential rather than the factitious. He it is who gets an inside view of the human heart and is familiar with its agonies and ecstasies. No wonder he can tell true stories about it in a powerful and moving way, so that only a heart of stone can fail to be touched. In this volume, made up of sermons, we judge, with the texts left off and the probable text not easy to guess, we find the same grip on reality, the same direct drive at the essential, the same shrewd stroke into the heart of things that marked those strong and stirring stories in the *Bonnie Brier Bush* which first made Ian Maclaren known to the reading world. The humor of the stories is absent from the sermons, and there is no pathos of incident; but there is the same blending of sharp common sense and suffusing sympathy. Some of the chapters, like "Faith the Sixth Sense," "The Law of Spiritual Gravitation," and "Judgment according to Type," remind us slightly of Drummond. But John Watson is not an echo; his utterance is his own, and his voice has an individual and unborrowed quality. He is saying the substance of dear old truth in fresh form; he is rendering the mind of the Master with an accent which conveys new meanings, or old meanings turned a little so as to flash a brighter light. This is his charm and his usefulness. There are some who fear variations in form. They

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are unintelligent. "All the forms are fugitive, but the substances survive." Many men of many minds, turning the truth about from side to side, holding it up in different lights, putting it in new arrangement, setting it in fresh relations, will in the end develop and expose to view its large range and richness. There is nothing sacred in antiquated phraseology. He who says a valuable old thing in a new and striking way rouses in us a fresh sense of its value, makes the truth not stale but refreshing, and renders a real service to mankind. Whoever should to-day preach in the style of John Howe or even Thomas Chalmers would be without hearers. He would practically be speaking in an unknown tongue. The same substance of doctrine on essentials, the same Christ and his Gospel, are given by modern men in other terms in the dialect of to-day; given, we believe, more purely, correctly, and fully; given, certainly, with increased intelligibility and convincingness. John Watson is a contemporary, living in his own time and speaking with it face to face, in language it can understand, about things of perennial and transcendent interest, feeling its heartstrings with his thrilling fingers. He makes the impression that his own mind is clear, his own footing solid. Sticklers for the sanctity of accustomed forms and phrases may quarrel with him over some of his variations of statement. A certain inflexible, mechanical type of mind, in bondage to forms and dull to comprehend substance, is overready to charge that an abandonment of some old way of putting a truth is abandonment of the truth itself. Every venture at restatement must be vigilantly and devoutly cautious not to lose a particle of the precious substance. Nevertheless, by careful and reverent ingenuity the eternal truth goes on from age to age, getting itself more fully and clearly revealed to men through successive and progressive restatements. No generation or individual really owns a truth until he can take it out of the language of books and authors and state it in his own terms. No author can be fairly judged by fragments out of their setting; yet brief extracts may give his style and quality. "Perhaps there has been no long period without some voice summoning Christians to break away from the tyranny of tradition and return to the liberty of Jesus. This has been the work of all reformers, from Tauler to Luther, from Luther to Wesley—to unearth the evangel of Jesus from the mass of dogmas and rites which have overlaid it. Two parties have been in recurring conflict—the traditionalists, who insist, 'This is what our fathers have said and what you must believe;' and the evangelists, who declare, 'This is what Jesus has said, and this only will we believe.'" "It must surely strike any one passing from the gospels into the epistles, and comparing the words of Jesus with the writings of St. Paul, that the apostle is less than his Master. . . . St. Paul's devotion to the person of Christ, his grasp of his Master's teaching, his power in working it up into impressive dogma, his skill in applying Jesus's principle to the conduct of life, his unaffected love for man are so evident and so exacting that one shrinks from suggesting that the apostle as a teacher is less than the greatest. It seems almost profanity to criticise St. Paul; but one may not make him equal to Jesus without

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removing Jesus from his judgment seat and destroying the proportion of Holy Scripture. If one may be pardoned his presumption in hinting at any imperfections in the apostle of the Gentiles, is not his style at times overwrought by feeling? Are not some of his illustrations forced? Is not his doctrine often rabbinical, rather than Christian? Does not one feel his treatment of certain subjects—say marriage and asceticism—as somewhat wanting in sweetness? One only makes this rebate from the apostle's excellency in order to magnify the divinity of Jesus's evangel, which is never local, never narrow, never unintelligible, which is ever calm, convincing, human. . . . Ought we to read St. Paul in the light of Jesus, or Jesus in the light of St. Paul?" "Many persons seem to believe that the operations of Jesus's Spirit closed with the apostolic period, and would not hold that the modern Church is under the same divine influence as the Church of Judea. But this surely is an untenable and, if one go into it, an unbelieving, position. No doubt the Council of Jerusalem, which had to decide whether Christianity was to be a Jewish sect or a world-wide religion, had a critical duty to discharge, but no more serious than the Council of Nice, which affirmed Christ's deity; and if the former council was justified in saying, 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,' the latter had as much right to use the same preface. If the Church at Antioch was moved by the Holy Ghost to send forth Barnabas and Paul on the first foreign mission, surely it was by the inspiration of the same Spirit that half a dozen faithful men met in an English town and sent Carey to India. Why should we question that the Spirit of Jesus was in the Council of Trent and the Westminster Assembly? It was disappointing that Trent did not give relief from the tyranny of the priesthood, yet it did reform the discipline of the Roman Church; that Westminster ignored the evangelization of the world, yet it conceived a very majestic idea of God. One does not forget the blazing mistakes of Church councils, from that which ordered the celibacy of the clergy to the one which declared the infallibility of the pope, from the Swiss Synod which asserted the inspiration of the vowel points in Hebrew to the Scottish Assembly which cast out as a heretic McLeod Campbell. This does not mean that the Spirit of Jesus has forsaken his disciples; it only means that he is constantly hindered by his instruments. It is not wonderful that the Church has erred; it is wonderful that, in spite of many a blundering and weakening influence, she has so fully entered into the truth of Jesus." From the chapter on "The Sovereignty of Character" the following: "When Jesus grounds his religion on character he gives radiant proof of his sanity, and wins at once the suffrages of reasonable men. There is nothing on which we differ so hopelessly as creed, nothing on which we agree so utterly as character. Impanel twelve men of clean conscience and average intelligence and ask them to try some person by his opinions, and they may as well be discharged at once; they will not agree till the Greek Kalends. Ask them to take the standard of conduct, and they will bring in a verdict in five minutes. They have agreed in anticipation. Just as he approximates to the beatitudes they will pronounce the man good; just as he diverges

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they will declare him less than good. . . . According to the consistent teaching of Jesus a Christian is one of the same likeness as himself; and nothing will more certainly debauch the religious sense than any shifting of labels, so that one who keeps Jesus's commandment is denied his name, and one in whom there is no resemblance to Jesus receives it on grounds of correct opinion." In the chapter on "Sin an Act of Self-will" we find the following: "Before and since Jesus's day people have been invited to hold an inquest on the sin of Adam, and have discharged this function with keen intellectual interest. It was Jesus who made sin of even date and invited every hearer to see the tragedy of Eden in his own experience. . . . Jesus cast his whole doctrine into the drama of the Prodigal Son, and commands our adherence by its absolute fidelity to life. The parable moves between the two poles of ideal and real human life—home, where the sons of God live in moral harmony with their Father, which is liberty; and exile, where they live in riotous disobedience, which is license. He fixes on his representative sinner and traces his career with great care and various subtle touches. His father does not compel him to stay at home; he has free will. The son claims his portion; he has individuality. He flings himself out of his father's house; he makes a mischoice. He plays the fool in the far country; this is the fulfilling of his bent. He is sent out to feed swine; this is the punishment of sin. He awakes to a bitter contrast; this is repentance. He returns to obedience; this is salvation. Salvation is the restoration of spiritual order—the close of a bitter experience. It is the return of the race from its 'wander year.'" In "The Culture of the Cross" is this: "There are three steps in the *santa scala* which the race is slowly and painfully climbing—barbarism, where men cultivate; the body civilization, where they cultivate the intellect; holiness, where they cultivate the soul. There is for the whole race, for each nation, for every individual, the age of Homer, the age of Socrates, the age of Jesus. Beyond the age of Jesus nothing can be desired or imagined, for it runs on those lofty table-lands where the soul lives with God." Under the "Law of Spiritual Gravitation" these bits: "Progress in the moral world is ever from complexity to simplicity. First, one hundred duties; afterward, they are gathered into ten commandments; then, they are reduced to two, love of God and love of man; and, finally, Jesus says his last word: 'This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you.' . . . Jesus was not an agreeable sentimentalist who imagined he could cleanse the world by rose water; he was the only thinker who grasped the whole situation root and branch. He did not propose to make sin illegal; that had been done without conspicuous benefit. He proposed to make sin impossible by replacing it with love. If sin be an act of self-will, each person making himself the center, then love is the destruction of sin, because love connects instead of isolating. No one can be envious, avaricious, hard-hearted, no one can be gross, sensual, unclean, if he loves. Love is the death of all bitter and unholy moods of the soul, because love lifts the man out of himself and teaches him to live in another." We end quotation with the saying of Angélique, the Abbess

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of Port Royal, "I belong to the order of all the saints, and all the saints belong to my order." In twenty places the author quotes apt bits of poetry, nearly all from Browning. A new maxim might be, "A man is known by the poetry he prefers."

The New Life in Christ. A Study in Personal Religion. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET, D.D. 12mo, pp. 347. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Interest in this, and in other books by the same distinguished author, is stimulated by his presence at this time in this country, preaching in our pulpits, addressing various assemblies, and delivering courses of lectures at Chautauqua, at Chicago University, and at the Ocean Grove Summer School of Theology, where his subjects are: "Religion and Theology," "The Universal Revelation in Nature," "The Historical Revelation in Christ," "The Gospel of Pardon," "The Superhuman Claims of Christ," "The Supernatural Outward Attestation," "The Inward Attestation," and "Results Attained, their Relation to the Bible, to the Church, and to the Christian Life." This volume, like the earlier one, *Through Christ to God*, to which this is a sequel, is marked by solidity, clearness, sound scholarship, and sanity. It is as little mystical as the subject will permit, and is most harmonious with the best past and adapted to the present. These thirty-seven chapters are the elaborate and finished product of the lifework of an earnest and careful student investigating religion and theology according to the principles of scientific research; of a scholar who is a master in his department; and of an instructor who is skilled in the lucid and constructive presentation of truth. Its style and method are those of a teacher; and by reiteration, recapitulation, and review the coherence and symmetry are impressed upon the reader's mind and the parts stand together in rational unity. Other volumes are to follow in due time to complete the statement of truth which this English professor of systematic theology offers to his time. In the former volume the historical basis of the Christian faith and hope was set forth; this one deals with inward spiritual experience and practical life—in a word, personal religion. The need, possibility, and nature of moral resurrection into a new life is the subject. Part I considers THE RUIN: Man as Created, Flesh and Spirit; Man under Probation; Sin and Bondage; The First Fall and its Results; Man Unsaved. Part II surveys THE RESTORATION: Repentance, Faith, Justification, Adoption; The Spirit of Adoption; Assurance of Salvation; The New Birth. Part III traces THE WAY OF HOLINESS: The Holiness of Christ; The Holiness of the Servants of Christ; The New Life of Devotion to Christ; The New Life in the Spirit of God; The New Life of Faith; The New Life in its Further Relation to Christ; The New Life in its Relation to Sin; The New Life in its Relation to the Law; The New Life in its Relation to Things Around; The Christian Conflict; Perseverance in the New Life; Spiritual Growth; The Means of Grace. Part IV discusses THE DIVINE AND HUMAN IN THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. Part V treats of THE NEW LIFE IN CHRIST AS A REVELATION OF GOD. The author's study

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of the Old and New Testaments gives him the following conception of "holiness as understood by the writers of the Bible:" "The adjective 'holy' describes in the Old Testament various objects which God claimed to be specially his own; the verb 'sanctify' denotes the action of God in reserving them for himself, and the action of man in devoting them to his service. In the New Testament the word 'holy' is a frequent title of church members generally, thus teaching that God claims for himself and his service all those whom he receives as his children in Christ. It is used occasionally to describe the new life he would have them live. That this is a life of unreserved loyalty to God we learn from other teaching of the New Testament. And that this is the meaning of the word 'holy' when used to describe the new life in Christ is proved by its use throughout the Bible." On page 119 subjective holiness is described as follows: "Although, as claimed by God, all the children of God are holy, it is evident that the full idea of holiness is realized in them only so far as they yield to God the devotion he claims. To bear the name of saint and yet be animated, in part, by a worldly spirit is evidently a contradiction. Consequently, in a few passages, the word 'holy' denotes actual and absolute devotion to God. And holiness is set before the people of God as a standard for their attainment. So 1 Cor. vii, 34, 'That she may be holy both in body and spirit'—parallel with 'how she may please the Lord;' Eph. i, 4, 'That we may be holy and blameless;' chap. v, 27; Col. i, 22; 1 Thess. v, 23, 'May the God of peace sanctify you;' Heb. xii, 14, 'Follow after holiness;' 1 Peter i, 15, 'Be yourselves holy in all behavior.' In these passages the word 'holy' denotes a realization in man of God's purpose that he live a life of which God is the one and only aim. In other words, that man is holy who looks upon himself and all his possessions as belonging to God, and uses all his time, powers, and opportunities to work out the purposes of God, that is, to advance the kingdom of Christ. This is the subjective holiness to which God calls his people." One of the chief merits of this volume seems to be that it goes straight to the Scriptures for its truth, and is a piece of original research therein rather than a rehash of borrowed opinions. From the closing paragraph of the book we take the following: "At the beginning of my earlier volume I spoke of religion as '*such a conception of the Unseen as makes for righteousness.*' We can now supplement this general definition of all religion by a specific description of the religion taught by Christ. This last may be summed up as loyalty to Christ and to his kingdom. For such loyalty to him implies a definite conception of Christ and God, whom we have never seen; and this conception, more than any other known to us, makes for righteousness. The transition from the general definition given before and the specific description now given has been brought about, in part by the revelation of God in nature, but chiefly by the historic revelations given under the Old Covenant, and especially in Christ. By these means our conception of the Unseen has become knowledge of a Father in heaven, the intelligent and righteous Creator and Ruler of the universe and of man, who so loved us that he gave his

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eternal Son to become Man, to die for man, and to rise from the dead, in order to rescue man from ruin and to build up the rescued ones into an eternal and glorious kingdom of God; and who now day by day sends forth his Spirit to be in them the animating principle of a life like that of Christ. We have found by actual and abundant experience that this conception of One whom we have never seen makes for righteousness. For it both gives clearness and authority to our moral sense and prompts and enables us to do what it commands. As a conception of the Unseen resting upon abundant and decisive evidence, and as a stimulus to right-doing the most effective we can conceive, it is the highest form of religion known to man. And, as we have seen, the nations which profess this religion have a practical monopoly of all that is best on earth. Many indications attest that, before two or three generations have passed, whatever religion there is in the world . . . will be associated with homage to Christ." The later volumes promised by Dr. Beet will be awaited with interest.

An Introduction to Dogmatic Theology. By REVERE FRANKLIN WEIDNER, D.D., LL.D. Second edition, revised. 12mo, pp. 287. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.

The author calls this small handbook a door and vestibule to the science of dogmatics. Special attention is given to the literature of this subject. The work is based on Luthardt's *Compendium der Dogmatik*, now more than twenty years old, the outlines of which are here closely followed. Use has also been made of the manuscript lectures of Dr. C. P. Krauth, late professor of dogmatic theology in the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. No attempt is made to present a system of Christian theology, but only an introduction to such a system. The author shows that biblical theology is a scientific necessity and in harmony with a genuine philosophy. He sets forth the relation of dogmatics to ethics and to other branches of theology. Under "The Contents of Dogmatics" he treats of religion as a universal fact, its origin and essential character, its actuality and truth; also, of Christianity as the one true religion, and its relation to heathenism and Judaism; also of the antithetic difference between Romanism and Protestantism; and also, as is natural for a Lutheran professor, of Lutheran Protestantism, contrasting it with Reformed Protestantism. In Part III the discussion is upon the proper method for the formation of a dogmatic system, with the Scriptures as the normative factor, the churchly character of dogmatics, Church confessions of faith, and the subjective consciousness of faith. Part IV, on the history of Dogmatics, occupies more space than any other. Beginning with the ancient dogmatics of the apostolic fathers, the Oriental Church, and the Western Church, it passes to the dogmatics of the Middle Ages, scholasticism, mysticism, the humanists, and pre-Reformation theology; then presents the dogmatics of the century of the Reformation, especially of Melanchthon and his school; then the orthodox dogmatics of the seventeenth century, with the characteristics, tendencies, and dogmaticisms of that period; then the period of transition,

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with the dogmatics of pietism, the biblical tendency, the historical tendency, the philosophical tendency, and dogmatics outside of Germany; then the dogmatics of rationalism and supernaturalism; and finally the dogmatics of the most recent time, dwelling on the renewal of religious faith, the philosophy of the period, the emotional theology of the period, the dogmatics of the "Mediating Theology," and confessional dogmatics. Largely the book is made up of a list of authorities on the different topics, with a statement of their teachings, position, and character. In a table of select literature of dogmatics, the Methodist authors named are Miley, Pope, Raymond, and Watson. Then follow twelve pages of "Examination Questions," useful for conducting a review of the book; then an index, and thirty-two blank pages for making notes. The book is designed and well fitted for the class room of a Lutheran seminary, but also of interest to all students of dogmatic theology.

Persecution and Tolerance. By M. CREIGHTON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Peterborough, late Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge. 12mo, pp. 140. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

These are the Hulsean Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge in 1893–94. The subject is not a pleasant one. The history of persecution is humiliating and horrible. The progress of Christendom toward the Christianity of Christ has been painfully and shamefully slow. The notion that one may please and glorify God by hounding, burning, butchering his brother was born in the lowest hell; and how the devil ever duped anybody bearing the Christian name into entertaining that infernal notion is one of the abysmal mysteries of human nature and the bottomless pit. The author modestly calls his book a trivial contribution to the investigation of a large subject. He states the main conclusions set forth in its pages thus: Persecution, or the infliction of punishment for erroneous opinions, (1) was contrary to the express teaching of Christ and alien to the spirit of Christianity; (2) was adopted by the Church from the system of the world when the Church accepted the responsibility of maintaining order in the community; (3) was really exercised for political rather than religious ends; (4) was always condemned by the Christian conscience; (5) was felt by those who used it to land them in contradictions; (6) neither originated in any misunderstanding of the Scriptures nor was removed by the progress of intellectual enlightenment; but (7) disappeared because the State became conscious that there was an adequate basis for the maintenance of political society in those principles of right and wrong which were universally recognized by its citizens, apart from their position or beliefs as members of any religious organization. Bishop Creighton rejects Lecky's view of the origin of persecution (which is the current view), which finds that origin in the overwhelming claim which Christianity makes on its adherents; the reasoning which led to persecution being that, as Christianity regards man's life on earth as but the beginning of an eternal destiny, and as it was believed that eternity could bring happiness to those only who are within the fold of the Church, therefore the maintenance of right opinion about religious

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matters was regarded as a point of such primary importance for eternal happiness that it ought, in the interests of mankind, to be enforced even at the cost of immediate suffering to obdurate and misguided individuals. This author draws a line of distinction between the motives which really prompted to persecution and the arguments by which it was defended when once undertaken. His chapters treat of "The Persecuting Spirit," "The Intolerance of the New Testament," "The Church in Relation to Persecution," "The Evolution of Tolerance," and "The Nature of Tolerance." Showing how persecution was fostered by expediency and thirst for power, he says: "Leo X was tolerant of the philosophic doubts of Pomponazzo concerning the immortality of the soul, because such speculations were not likely to affect the position of the papacy; but he could not allow Luther to discuss the dubious and complicated question of indulgences, because it might have disastrous effects upon the system of papal finance." Alas for the blindness of fanaticism and the fierceness of passion! A poor appearance many of the great ones make in the light of a true Christianity. Luther, rising against tyranny, soon began himself to clamor for the blood of his opposers, and cried: "Let there be no pity; it is the time of wrath, and not of mercy. So wondrous are the times that princes can merit heaven better by bloodshed than by prayers. Therefore, dear lords, let him who can, stab, smite, destroy." And when "Calvin, without a shred of claim to jurisdiction, condemned Servetus to the flames," Melanchthon, the mild and retiring student, wrote to congratulate him on his firmness in these words: "The Church, both now and in all generations, owes, and will owe, you a debt of gratitude. I entirely assent to your judgment. And I say that your magistrates did right in that, after solemn trial, they put the blasphemer to death." The book is an awful warning against tolerating in ourselves the spirit of intolerance.

The Gospel of Experience. The Boyle Lectures for 1895. By Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral. 12mo, pp. 206. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The subject is the witness of human life to the truth of revelation. "We know what revelation says of human life; let us see what human life says of revelation." As the archæologist digs up proof of Scripture from buried history, so Canon Newbolt excavates from the depths of the soul's experience other strong confirmations of Holy Writ. The first lecture is on "The Sense of a Personal God;" the second on "The Traces of a Fall—Within;" the third on "The Traces of a Fall—Without;" the fourth on "The Phenomena of Sin;" the fifth on "The Phenomena of Temptation;" the sixth on "The Phenomena of the Punishment of Sin;" the seventh on "The Phenomena of Redemption;" the eighth on "The Phenomena of the Atonement and Grace." The author investigates, not the average man in whom are only faint and fitful vestiges of religion, but the religious consciousness on high levels of spirituality and in connection with the truest and noblest Christian living. The thing most to be criticised in the book is its sacramentarianism, which, however, occasions no surprise. A sample of the style is this from the opening chapter:

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"Looking out widely over the history of religion, we find generally that men have approached a Being outside themselves, whom they call God, in three ways: They felt out after a great Presence outside them; the untroubled and sacred sky was to them the unquestioned abode of God, as the earth was of man, and it opened straight through its gates of cloud into the awfulness of the unseen world. And they declared that this God was worthy, and *they worshiped.* Or they felt within that strong, irrepressible sense of guilt, of remorse, of an eternal principle of right and wrong, and of God, who administers the laws of the universe in accordance with that principle, and *they sacrificed and did acts of reparation and penitence.* Or they pondered and mused over the mysteries of life, its joys and sorrows, and they found, even if they did not know the alphabet of communion, that prayer was the means of connection with a great Being above them, and with more or less imperfection *they prayed.* Follow up any one of these three roads in spiritually developed lives, and we find that human experience has discovered the very same God that revelation made known to us as the object of religion." The author refers to a society in Paris called the Luciferians, whose object is to establish the worship of Lucifer. "Already two temples have been dedicated to Satan in Paris, and there is a sect of devil worshipers, with their motto, '*Voluptas Peccati.*'" This reminds us that the theosophists have given to the periodical which appears as the organ of their sect the name of *Lucifer.*

The Modern Reader's Bible. Edited by R. G. MOULTON, M.A., Ph.D. 18mo. Successive volumes. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, 50 cents per volume.

There is only one book the study and sale of which increase every year and every century, steadily permeating the intelligence of the world. Professor Moulton's work in presenting the books of the Bible in modern literary form is already widely known. His impressive rendering of the Book of Job as a dramatic poem embodying various solutions of the mystery of life, as some men recite Shakespeare, has been heard with interest and wonder by many assemblies. In this series of small volumes his method of modern arrangement is applied, not only to Job, but to other books as well. The text used is that of the Revised Version, with a preference for the marginal renderings. Six volumes are already published. The first, entitled *Biblical Idyls*, contains Solomon's Song, Ruth, Esther, and the Book of Tobit from the Apocrypha; the second, Proverbs; the third, Ecclesiasticus; the fourth, Ecclesiastes and Wisdom of Solomon; the fifth, Job; the sixth, Deuteronomy. The aim of the series is to facilitate the study of the Bible as a part of the world's literature. Those who have not seen the Holy Scriptures in this form will be surprised at the new impressiveness given to familiar books. The arrangement in modern literary form includes the distinction between prose and verse; in verse passages, the indication to the eye of different metrical forms; the insertion of the names of speakers in dialogue; the assignment of titles to such compositions as discourses and essays. Each volume has an extensive and illuminating introduction by Professor Moulton.

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Christianity Vindicated by its Enemies. By DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D. 12mo, pp. 180. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

This excellent little book contains many testimonies, concessions, and proofs, all furnished by enemies of Christianity, or at least by men not committed to it. Its compactness and small price should secure it a large sale. It is adapted to be helpful to minds brought in contact with skepticism in its various forms. It is a good book to put into the hands of young people who have become perplexed by finding the truths of religion called in question. Out of the mouths of skeptics Christ is vindicated. The testimony of the doubters is grouped around God and Immortality, The Genuine Historic Basis of Christianity, The Transcendent Character of Christianity as a Religious System, The Divinity of Christianity, Four Leading Vital Doctrines (The Deity of Christ, The Expiatory Atonement, Experimental Religion, and Future Rewards and Punishments). The final chapter is a summing up of the points established by the foes of Christianity in its favor. The book is like a knapsack packed with forty rounds of ammunition—the bullets in the last chapter, the powder to drive them home in the previous chapters. Pastors will find it a useful book to lend to inquiring young men when needed; and Sunday school libraries might well have it for adult Bible class scholars.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Regeneration. A Reply to Max Nordau. 8vo, pp. 311. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

The authorship of this book is unknown. English reviewers have guessed Herbert Spencer and James Bryce. The latter is a possibility, the former is not. This large and elaborate reply is the most important answer called forth by that much-discussed volume, Max Nordau's *Degeneration*, in which a free-thinking German Jew, learned in science in a secondhand way, undertakes to show that modern civilization is rotting the race, and that this earth is fast becoming, as Voltaire said, the madhouse of the universe. Nordau deserves the scorching he receives in this "reply," which is a justifiable retaliation. His book, while correct in some of its facts, was coarse, offensive, dismal, and unwholesome. Professor N. M. Butler, of Columbia College, who writes the introduction to *Regeneration*, justly says that Nordau "is himself an abnormality and a pathological type. Every large hospital for the insane knows his representative—the one sane man in a world of lunatics." Against Nordau the author of this book holds that "there are a host of indications in all civilized countries pointing to an increase of intellectual power, moral strength, and æsthetic refinement." It is pointed out that even the enjoyments of society present hopeful symptoms; there is increasing taste for healthy games and sport, for travel, for the amateur practice of the arts for recreation's sake; there is increasing interest in science, especially social science; there is an improved tone in social gatherings and a marked decrease in convivial drunkenness. It is noted that even the higher social

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classes of Europe, whose life looks luxurious and frivolous, manifest considerable moral earnestness in subscriptions to hospitals, orphanages, and institutes of every description; that ladies of high rank and wealth give their personal services in sick-nursing establishments and in various efforts to relieve the suffering and uplift the degraded; and that many make sacrifices of time and comfort in the endeavor to brighten the lives of the poor, to save fallen women, to assist released prisoners, to protect children and even animals from cruelty. And beyond this is all the immense charitable work done directly by the Churches. The author points out that religion has more friends than are generally reckoned; that injustice has been done to many men of intellectual power in classing them as infidels, atheists, anti-religionists, because they were at variance with dogmas, established sects, and superstitions, although religion is a matter independent of these; and that it is conceded that almost all men in the past and present deservedly called great have been religionists. This is an English book. Its judgments and prejudices are strongly English. Of the present French Republic it has this to say: "When the Third Republic was launched it had a strongly atheistic character, and the working classes in all the cities, the sincere freethinkers, patriots, and philanthropists, hoped that under a republican form of government the scientific religion of humanity would at last have a fair trial. But they were destined to bitter disappointment. The new republic turned out to be *bourgeois* in the worst sense of the word. Politics passed into a profession. Politicians and administrators became corrupt. Scandals multiplied. Even the press was unable to show clean hands. Wealth became all-powerful, and the plutocrats did not hesitate to use their enormous influence to their own advantage. Speculators and adventurers pulled the strings of the home policy, and especially of the colonial policy, and in order to further private interests the indebtedness of the State was carried to such a point as to threaten the most gigantic financial catastrophe the world has ever witnessed. . . . While penury invaded the homes of the working and lower middle class of a nation which has only partially realized the happy and healthy influence flowing from decent and moral homes, scientific atheism took possession of the minds of the people, especially of the men. It urged them to make the most of the present life and enticed them into a whirlpool of dissipation." Of the prospects of the German empire the author gives this opinion: "Everything in Germany points to a coming catastrophe. Even if we consider only one of the directions from which the first alarm may come—that is, the finance department—it seems impossible that the system can last much longer. The heavy taxation unfortunately undermines its own basis, namely, the ability of the people to pay; and the much-strained credit of the State is likely to collapse at the very moment it will be most needed. It is therefore not premature to consider what will happen in that country at about the end of this century, when the financial resources, the patience of the people, and the confidence of the army may be exhausted." Here is the Englishman's view of the position of his own

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nation: "No nation holds a higher responsibility than the English. Its vast possessions all over the globe, its financial and commercial supremacy, its ethical influence over all the English-speaking countries mark it out as the standard bearer of civilization. Nothing great can happen among us without reechoing in the remotest corners of the earth, and any step onward taken by us will send a thrill throughout humanity. Degenerate Englishmen may still wish meekly to follow other nations; but our mission is to be the practical, energetic, daring pioneers heading the march of progress. By using its great power and influence the British nation can render invaluable service to humanity in the present crisis. On England must therefore rest our hopes for the practical solution of the grave questions on which progress and retrogression depend. From England alone can proceed that electrifying impulse of which the bewildered nations stand in need." This volume shows signs of being hastily and impulsively written by some man of vigorous mind careless of English style. As for Nordau's *Degeneration*, we easily made up a sufficient opinion on discovering that he regards a belief in an intelligent Providence and in the existence of a spiritual life independent of the body as a sign of mental degeneracy. He thinks man merely an organic mechanism, for which death ends all. The book we are now noticing recalls the opinion of John Stuart Mill, that the fact that we find in nature—especially in human and animal bodies—physical and mechanical problems solved in the same way as engineers had solved them long before they knew of such solutions in nature points not only to the existence of an intelligent Creator, but to a similarity of his intelligence to that of human beings.

Critical Kit-Kats. By EDMUND GOSSE. 12mo, pp. 302. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

These graphic and lively sketches are a combination of literary criticism and biography, treating of Mrs. Browning's "Sonnets from the Portuguese," Keats, Thomas Lovell Beddoes, Edward FitzGerald, Walt Whitman, Count Lyof Tolstoi, Christina Rossetti, Lord De Tabley, Toru Dutt, José Maria de Heredia, Walter Pater, and Robert Louis Stevenson. They are piquant, fragrant, and delightful essays, studies in letters and life as breezy, racy, dainty, and discerning as can be found anywhere in current literature. We reckon them much more valuable than Richard Le Gallienne's *Retrospective Reviews*, the latter being thin and frothy by comparison. In the last line of page 6 are the mysterious words "over tost." That is what the typesetter made of "strove to" in the author's manuscript, and the proof reader failed to detect it. The first essay says, "The keynote of Elizabeth Barrett was sincerity;" "Critics are beginning to see now, and sorrowfully to admit, that what is causing the noble figure of Elizabeth Barrett to recede gradually from that front place in which Tennyson, for instance, and Keats hold their preeminence is her turbidity. The best poetry may roll down violent places, but it remains as limpid as a trout stream; what is unfortunate about Mrs. Browning's is that it is constantly stained and clouded." Nevertheless, Mr. Gosse's

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praise of the "Sonnets from the Portuguese" is pitched in a high key, uses superlatives. His address delivered at Hampstead at the unveiling of the monument reared by Americans to the memory of Keats, July 16, 1894, contains these statements: "Tennyson was more than once heard to assert that Keats, had his life been prolonged, would have been our greatest poet since Milton;" and Gosse says, "I sometimes fancy that we lost in Keats the most masterful capacity for poetic expression which the world has ever seen." The third essay is about Beddoes, the author of that strange production, *Death's Jest-book*, a half-insane sort of man, one feels. His poetry is grim, abnormal, ghastly, with here and there wild flights of humor and occasional exquisite verses. The fourth is on Edward FitzGerald, from whom is quoted this bit in 1838: "I am very heavy indeed with a kind of influenza, which has blocked up most of my senses and put a wet blanket over my brains. This state of head has not been improved by trying to get through a new book much in fashion—Carlyle's *French Revolution* —written in a German style. An Englishman writes of French revolutions in a German style! People say the book is very deep; but it appears to me that the meaning *seems* deep from lying under mystical language. There is no repose, no equable movement in it; all cut up into short sentences, half reflective, half narrative; so that one labors through it as vessels do through a chop sea—small, contrary-going waves caused by shallows and straits and meeting tides. I like to sail before the wind over the surface of an even-rolling eloquence, like that of Bacon or the Opium Eater. There is also pleasant fresh-water sailing with such writers as Addison. Is there any *pond*-sailing in literature?—that is, drowsy, slow, and of small compass? Perhaps we may say, some sermons. But this is only conjecture. Certainly Jeremy Taylor rolls along as majestically as any of them. We have had Alfred Tennyson here, very droll and very wayward, and much sitting up of nights till two and three in the morning, with pipes in our mouths; at which good hour we would get Alfred to give us some of his magic music, which he does between growling and smoking, and go to bed." Of the captain of a Lowestoft lugger, an auburn-haired and blue-eyed giant, FitzGerald says, "He was a grand, tender soul, lodged in a suitable carcase, altogether the greatest man I have known." Of FitzGerald's feats in English prose and verse Gosse writes: "When much contemporary clamor has died out forever the clear note of the nightingale of Woodbridge will still be heard from the alleys of his Persian garden." Of the one American writer discussed in this volume the author says: "Whitman is mere *bathybius;* he is literature in the condition of protoplasm;" and then he speaks of his brutality, his toleration of the ugly and the forbidden, his terrible laxity of thought and fatuity of judgment. Writing of Christina Rossetti, a great writer who was also a great saint, it is said that the influence over her of her elder sister Maria Francesca seemed "like that of Newton upon Cowper, a species of police surveillance exercised by a hard, convinced mind over a softer and more fanciful one." The most striking thing in Lord De Tabley's poetry is "its brocaded magnificence." He was such a bibliophile

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that Gosse says, "He was one of those who think nothing of hanging about a bookshop at six in the morning, waiting for the shutters to be taken down." He was so morbidly sensitive that it is written: "The epidermis of his nature was so excessively thin that the merest trifle pained him; he was like those unfortunate persons who are born without a scarf-skin, on whom the pressure of a twig or the grip of a hand brings blood. This sensitiveness was pitiable, and the results of it even a little blameworthy, since, if they entailed wretchedness on himself, they caused needless pain to those who truly loved him. I doubt if any friend, however tactful in self-abnegation, got through many years of Lord De Tabley's intimacy without an electric storm. His imagination aided his ingenuity in self-torture, and conjured up monsters of malignity, specters that strode across the path of friendship and rendered it impassable." His appearance is thus described by Mr. A. C. Benson: "There was something archaic, almost, one might say, hierarchical, about his head, with its long, rippled, gray hair, the transparent pallor of complexion, the piercing eye. He dressed with severity, and . . . there was about him *a certain monastic stateliness of air which one sees most frequently in those who combine worldly position with the possession of a tranquillizing faith.*" He was baptized in infancy in water brought for the purpose from the river Jordan by his godfather, Lord Zouche; and, dying in his sixty-first year, earth from the Holy Land was sprinkled over his body in Little Peover churchyard in Cheshire, where he wished to lie, and where, if any purifying virtue be in external applications, his flesh should rest in the odor of sanctity, like a disused garment laid up in lavender upon a shelf of the wardrobe of the world. Toru Dutt was a pure-blooded, high-caste Hindu girl, born in Calcutta, who wrote surprising poetry in French and English, and died aged twenty-one. Her story and a study of her writings are in this volume. Mr. Gosse agrees with many others in calling Robert Louis Stevenson "the most exquisite English writer of his generation."

Wages and Capital. An Examination of the Wages Fund Doctrine. By F. W. TAUSSIG, Professor of Political Economy in Harvard University. 12mo, pp. 329. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Fortunately, the wages fund doctrine is rather academic than practical. The inferences which make it of high social importance are not drawn with precision; and they cannot be, if for no other reason than for this one—that the doctrine itself has always lacked precision in its conception. Professor Taussig's book presents nothing more clearly and forcibly than the lack of precise accuracy in all attempts to formulate the doctrine and to draw inferences from it. In recent discussion the fighting line is drawn between the proposition, as old as Adam Smith, that wages are paid from capital, and the more modern theory that they are paid from product. The corollaries of the old theory, that the wages fund is a fixed amount and that the rate of wages—whether high or low—is fixed by this fixed amount of the fund, are not now regarded as necessarily drawn from the simple doctrine that wages are paid from capital. In the five chapters constituting Part I of the present volume, Professor

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Taussig elaborates his own view of the interesting problems presented by the wages fund doctrine. His views are thus stated at the end of chapter v: "The old doctrine of the wages fund had a solid basis in its conception, incomplete, yet in essentials just, of *the payment of present labor from past product.* The new theories which disregard this fundamental fact, and seek to explain distribution by considering labor as paid directly from its own present product, begin with a false premise and distort the facts of the actual world. . . . The wages fund theory—if that name can be given to the form in which it has here been set forth—shows the steps by which wages get into the laborer's hands, and so points to the nearest and most obvious causes which affect them." All this, however, the author believes, "describes the machinery of production and distribution, not the forces which move the machinery and cause its parts to shift and change." This confining of the play of the wage fund to the actual external fact, and the throwing farther back of the inquiries which must uncover the real forces, is rather disappointing; and one might say that the advocates of the opposite theory will concede all that Professor Taussig claims. It is certainly a literal fact that the workman must get his wages out of things already in existence, as food, housing, and clothing—for these are his real wages. But our author goes a step further on page 321, where he says that hired workmen's "money received is derived from what the capitalists find it profitable to turn over to them." In the second and larger part of his work our author presents a very valuable and interesting history of the wages fund doctrine, with a criticism acute and searching of the writers who have expounded or attacked the doctrine. It is this part of the book which the general reader will find most useful. It is a lesson in economic thinking and reasoning. The reader will get a clear view of the breadth of economic problems, of the difficulties they present for thought and expression, of the great need of two things—first, of the minutest and widest study of a complex system of industrial society; second, of a gift and skill in analysis of the concrete order of things in our industries. A single criticism of Professor Taussig seems to us a duty. He refers disparagingly to the stress laid by Adam Smith upon parsimony. There is something more than academic theory concerned. A hundred and twenty years ago Adam Smith in England and Benjamin Franklin in America set in motion a moral machine of wealth-making by advocating parsimonious living. The force may have been too strenuous; it is always our human danger to fall into excess. But our generation has gone to the other extreme, and is rearing a new generation on the plan of the most profuse possible expenditure. This queer generation is in danger of falling into the grasp of a theory that what is necessary for them is not to *save* from what they earn, but to *take* what others possess. It is obviously true that Adam Smith was broadly right. His teaching has made England rich by making it a nation of money-getters and money-savers. Franklin did a like service for us. Our largest social need is to recover ground lost in this field of patient thrift. These remarks present only a very partial view of a solid contribution to

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contemporary economic discussion. The novice will not understand the book, but all who have made some progress in economic study will find it exceedingly helpful to the study, not of the wage fund only, but of all economic theory.

Moral Law and Civil Law Parts of the Same Thing. By ELI F. RITTER. 12mo, pp. 212. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

This essay is a timely one, because it restates in an original and forcible way the sound doctrine that law exists to enforce and maintain moral principles in human conduct. Setting out with illustrations of the principle that public necessity justifies the setting aside of every so-called "personal right"—that the public welfare is the object of government, and that individual liberty must be surrendered to this object—Mr. Ritter proceeds to identify morality and the civil law by the most careful analysis and ample quotation from constitutions and from works on jurisprudence. Perhaps his most forcible illustration is a list of the acts which are forbidden by the laws of Indiana. Three hundred and twenty kinds of acts are forbidden in that commonwealth, and every reader of the list will recognize every one of these forbidden acts as immoral. After such a test hardly anything is left to be said. The laws of Indiana are seen to be in harmony with the common moral consciousness. The same results would be found by examining the original laws of other States. Our State legislatures forbid only those acts which all citizens feel to be wrong acts —contrary to moral law. The same conclusion is reached by examining the statutes of the United States; they forbid only wrong conduct. In the States some laws are habitually broken; those, for example, which forbid foul tongues. No men whose conscience is worth considering believe that profanity is right. The statute books are better than the practice of citizens who violate, or permit others to violate, the laws in restraint of profanity. It is, in fact, a common law crime; and the only purpose of a statute is to fix a penalty for this crime. The tenth chapter of this book, entitled "No Privileges for Evil," is an unanswerable argument for the suppression of the saloon. The State forbids wrong acts; it ought to forbid all wrong acts; to do this it must suppress the saloon, which exists to commit wrong acts. It is a privileged American institution, privileged to defy moral principles. "The settled rule of law is that if the general character and effect of any business is against public morals it cannot have a legal standing." No one will dispute this statement; and no men of sound morals will deny that the American saloon exists in flagrant opposition to this rule. Mr. Ritter writes in a singularly clear style, simple, dispassionate, and convincing.

My Brother and I. Selected Papers on Social Topics. 12mo, pp. 303. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

These papers discuss a variety of subjects from a Christian point of view. The compiler, Rev. William Ingraham Haven, hopes that the book may stimulate the young people of our churches to take up the study of these great and pressing problems. Here is the list of topics and authors: "Am I My Brother's Keeper?" by F. W. Farrar; "Christ

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the Greatest of Social Reformers," by Hugh Price Hughes; "The Church of the World," by Richard T. Ely; "The Negro Question," by George W. Cable; "The World's Drink Problem," by Axel Gustafson; "Is Labor a Commodity?" by Washington Gladden; "The Pauline Doctrine of the Sword," by A. J. F. Behrends; "Gambling," by Hugh Price Hughes; "The Problem of the Children," by Jacob A. Riis; "The Redemption of the Slums," by H. G. Mitchell. With his eye evidently on the Salvation Army, Farrar speaks thus to the Church: "We have not quite done our duty to the world of the wretched when we have proved, to our own satisfaction, that men whose passionate love for their fellow-men has reclaimed thousands of the Arabs of our streets and preached the Gospel to the lowest of the poor are contemptible fanatics. Is it indeed the case that, as we loll in our luxurious armchairs, we not only need give nothing to help such efforts, but can even afford to look down from the whole height of our paltry conventionalism on workers who have more of the love of God and man in their little fingers than any ordinary thousand of us have in our whole loins? I esteem far higher the burning desire to help their fellow-men, the strenuous effort to carry that desire into effect, which actuates men who are the common sneer of worldlings and of religious newspapers than I estimate the thin respectability and smug decorum of thousands of commonplace churchmen. These lovers of their brethren have not criticised and sneered—they have rescued the perishing, they have cared for the dying, they have healed the broken-hearted, they have wrought, and fought, and toiled, and prayed, and suffered. James Russell Lowell was a poet, a statesman, a man of the world. You know his poem, 'A Parable:'

> 'Said Christ our Lord, "I will go and see
> How the men, my brethren, believe in me?"'

The chief priests and rulers welcomed him with state and pompous services:

> 'Great organs surged through arches dim
> Their jubilant floods in praise of him;
> And in church, and palace, and judgment hall
> He saw his own image high over all.
> But still, wherever his steps they led,
> The Lord in sorrow bent down his head;
> And from under the heavy foundation stones
> The Son of Mary heard bitter groans.
> . . . . . .
> "Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then,
> On the bodies and souls of living men?
> And think ye that building shall endure
> Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?"'

In vain they pleaded their customs and their religious rites:

> 'Then Christ sought out an artisan,
> A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,
> And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin
> Pushed from her faintly want and sin.
> These led he in the midst of them,
> And as they drew back their garments-hem
> For fear of defilement, "Lo! here," said he,
> "The images ye have made of me!"'"

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HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Bayard Taylor. By ALBERT H. SMYTH. 16mo, pp. 320. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The hero of this charming biography was no ordinary American. One of the certain and vivid impressions which follows the reading of his life story is that we are standing in the presence of an engaging personality. As a traveler alone, had he never struck the poet's lyre, he would have been noteworthy. George Macdonald's representation of a desire, on the part of one of his characters, to climb the highest hills and the tallest steeples had its parallel in Taylor's disposition. "In looking back to my childhood," he once wrote, "I can recall the intensest desire to climb upward, so that without shifting the circle of my horizon I could yet extend it and take in a far wider sweep of vision. I envied every bird that sat swinging upon the topmost bough of the great century-old cherry tree; the weather-cock on our barn seemed to me to whirl in a higher region of the air; and to rise from the earth in a balloon was a bliss which I would have almost given my life to enjoy." When fourteen years of age a phrenological lecturer said of Taylor to his father: "You will never make a farmer of him to any great extent; you will never keep him home; that boy will ramble around the world; and, furthermore, he has all the marks of a poet." True to the prophecy of the phrenologist, Taylor, we read, sailed for Europe when nineteen, with scanty and hard-gathered resources. The story of his enforced frugality, as it is told by Mr. Smyth, includes his living in Germany on thirty-three cents a day, and his subsistence sometimes on "bread, figs, and roasted chestnuts." At Marseilles, on his return from Italy, his fund had diminished to fifteen francs; and at Lyons he "lay in pawn" with his two companions until an expected remittance should come from Paris. At London the case was no better. "I stood," he afterward writes, "upon London bridge, in the raw mist and the falling twilight, with a franc and a half in my pocket, and deliberated what I should do. Weak from seasickness, hungry, chilled, and without a single acquaintance in the great city, my situation was about as hopeless as it is possible to conceive." In 1852, while on his journey in the Orient, so thoroughly had he taken on the coloring of his environment that his very nationality was mistaken. He writes of himself to James T. Fields, while in Constantinople: "I wear the tarboosh, smoke the Persian pipe, and drop crosslegged on the floor with the ease of any tailor whatever. When I went into my bankers' they addressed me in Turkish. The other day, at Brousa, my fellow-Mussulmen indignantly denounced me as damned, because I broke the fast of the Ramazan by taking a drink of water in the bazaar. I have gone into the holiest mosques in Asia Minor with perfect impunity. I determined to taste the Orient as it was in reality, not as a mere outside looker-on, and so picked up the Arabic tongue, put on the wide trousers, and adopted as many Eastern customs as was becoming to a good Christian." And thenceforward until 1878, when he, who had first sailed, a callow youth, in the second cabin of the *Oxford*, "fitted with

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temporary berths of rough planks," last crossed to Germany with the honors of the United States minister to Berlin, he never dropped, except for short intervals, the tourist's staff. Norway, India, Greece, Russia, and Japan in turn gave him welcome. He was an untiring, all-seeing, insatiable traveler, as this biography shows. His descriptions are breezy, unconventional, rich; and the world will not cease to be thankful that the old-time prophecy of phrenology regarding him came true, whatever other failures may be charged up against the science. But as a man of letters Bayard Taylor was even greater than as a traveler. Through the choice pages of Mr. Smyth we wander in hopeless bewilderment, as we seek to quote the descriptions of Taylor's intellectual force. He was born for literature. As a lad "his verbal memory and his facility in rhymes were chiefly noticeable." His vocabulary was large and chaste. On his first visit to the Continent, before a half year had ended, "he was not only fluent in conversation, but had written rhyming German verse." Greek he studied at fifty. His acquaintance with Old World literature was exhaustive; and it is doubtful if any foreigner ever obtained more complete mastery than Bayard Taylor of the German language. His knowledge of "men and affairs" was great. "He was once surprised at Cedarcroft," says his biographer, "with an order from the *Tribune* to prepare a sketch of Louis Napoleon 'to be used in the event of the emperor's abdication.' Drawing almost entirely from the stores of his memory, Taylor wrote in three days an entire page of the *Tribune*." But it was as a poet, rather than a prose writer, that Taylor preferred to go down to the future. His first poem, left anonymously at the door of the *Saturday Evening Post*, was published when he was sixteen. "If the sinking sun had wheeled about and gone up the western sky," he afterward wrote, "or the budding trees had snapped into full leaf in five minutes, I don't believe it would have astonished me." His way led past a little brick building, with a lawyer's tin sign on the shutter. "As I caught a glimpse of his head, silhouetted against the back window, I found myself, nevertheless, rather inclined to pity him for being unconscious that the author of 'The Unknown Bard' was at that moment passing his door." His place among the poets of America is thus assigned him by Mr. Smyth: "When the extraordinary range of his interests and efforts is considered, and his variety and cosmopolitanism weighed, it appears that other poets of America have surpassed him in parts, but that no one has equaled him in all." He had fellowship with such men as Greeley, Whittier, and Lowell. Emerson, Curtis, Stedman, and Aldrich were his guests at Cedarcroft. Stoddard, Boker, and others were his friends. He was one of the choice spirits of his age, who went away too soon from his company and his work. In his funeral address Auerbach said of him that he was born in the New World, but ripened in the Old. There is, therefore, the flavor of European liberality in his verses, as there was in his personal life; and whoever understands him must realize first of all his cosmopolitanism. The lives of few American men of letters have come to fuller fruitage in the generation; and we turn away from the

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witchery of his presence as from a landscape on which the darkness has too soon settled down.

Lord John Russell. By STUART J. REID. 12mo, pp. 381. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

Mr. Reid is the editor of "a series of political biographies" entitled *The Queen's Prime Ministers*, of which his monograph, as he himself modestly calls it, is the ninth and the last published volume. We have read only one other volume of the series, that on the Earl of Aberdeen; but if the remaining seven volumes are as interesting as these two the series amply justifies its appearance. Lord John Russell was the third son of the fourth Duke of Bedford. He began his parliamentary career of over half a century in 1813, at the age of twenty-one, when his father procured for him the election for Tavistock, in Devonshire. This was nearly twenty years before the era of reform. "Parliament was little more than an assembly of delegates sent by the large landowners. Ninety members were returned by forty-six places, in which there were less than fifty electors; and seventy members were returned by thirty-five places containing scarcely any electors at all. Places such as Old Sarum—consisting of a mound and a few ruins—returned two members; whilst Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, in spite of their great populations, and in spite, too, of keen political intelligence and far-reaching commercial activity, were not yet judged worthy of the least voice in affairs." It was an age of unblushing bribery. "An election for Northampton cost the two candidates £80,000 each; whilst Lord Milton and Mr. Lascelles, in 1807, spent between them £200,000 at a contested election for the county of York." The most corrupt violations of the franchise were openly practiced. A candidate in Ireland marched a whole regiment of soldiers to the polls, had them sworn in as electors, and was, of course, triumphantly returned. "The statute book was disfigured by excessive penalties. . . . Forgers, robbers, incendiaries, poachers, and mutilators of cattle were sent to the gallows." "Yet, though the Church of England had no vision of the needs of the people and no voice for their wrongs, the great wave of religious life which had followed the preaching of Whitefield [misspelled 'Whitfield'] and Wesley had not spent its force, nor was it designed to do so before it had awakened in the multitude a spirit of quickened intelligence and self-respect, which made them restive under political servitude and in the presence of acknowledged, but unredressed, grievances." Lord John first openly espoused the cause of parliamentary reform after the "Peterloo Massacre" in Manchester in 1819, and that of Catholic emancipation in 1826. Two years later he moved the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. These had been enacted at the time of the Restoration, and were designed to cripple the political power of the Nonconformists. They required that all public officials should partake of the communion according to the rites of the Church of England, and, while they "excluded conscientious men" among the Dissenters, "proved no barrier to unprincipled hypocrites." After a long debate, to the no small surprise of both Lord Russell and

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the Nonconformists, "the cause of religious freedom triumphed, and on May 9, 1828, the Test and Corporation Acts were finally repealed." The Tory government, anticipating Lord Russell, who was about to introduce the question of Catholic emancipation in the House, itself adopted the measure in self-defense, and it was carried in 1829. In the following year, on the accession of William IV, the Duke of Wellington declared in the House of Lords that his government would oppose all further measures of reform. The reaction caused by this announcement hastened the overthrow of the Wellington administration, and brought into power Lord Grey and the Whigs. Lord John Russell was selected by the new administration for the honor of introducing into the House of Commons the first bill for parliamentary reform. On the first of March, 1831, he unfolded his measure in a speech lasting two hours and a quarter. "It was ludicrous to see the faces of the members for those places doomed to disfranchisement, as they were severally announced." Were a foreigner to come to England to study her institutions, would he not be astonished, asked Lord Russell, "if he were taken to a green mound and informed that it sent two members to the British Parliament; if he were shown a stone wall and told that it also sent two members to the British Parliament; or if he walked into a park without the vestige of a dwelling and was told that it, too, sent two members to the British Parliament? But if he were surprised at this, how much more would he be astonished if he were carried into the north of England, where he would see large, flourishing towns, full of trade, activity, and intelligence, vast magazines of wealth and manufactures, and were told that these places sent no representatives to Parliament?" The king defeated the measure for the time by abruptly dissolving Parliament. The appeal to the country, however, returned the Whigs with a largely increased majority. A second bill, also introduced by Lord John, was carried in the Commons, and thrown out in the Lords; but a third bill was finally accepted on the threat of the government to create new peers in order to insure its passage. From this point we can sketch Lord John's career only briefly. He became the Whig leader in the Commons in 1834; home secretary in 1835; thereafter held various portfolios, including those of the war and colonial offices, the treasury, and foreign affairs; and was twice prime minister of England—from 1846 to 1852, and after Palmerston's death, from October, 1865, to June, 1866. He was secretary of state for foreign affairs during both the Crimean and our own civil war, and represented England at the Congress of Vienna. An intelligible account of the causes of the struggle in the Crimea and a condensed statement of the British side of the Trent and Alabama controversies will be found in these pages. Lord John was created Earl Russell in 1861. In 1866 he retired from active public life. He died in 1878. Works such as this necessarily throw their heroes with undue prominence into the history of their times; but they atone for doing so in large measure by making us, as it were, personally acquainted with the actors in great national events; for history, after

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all, is only a grand aggregation of individual interest and personal motive.

Adoniram Judson Gordon. A Biography, with letters and illustrative extracts drawn from unpublished or uncollected sermons and addresses. By his son, ERNEST B. GORDON. 8vo, pp. 386. New York: F. H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Among men of high rank, intellectually and oratorically, the number who have a genius for goodness and give themselves to God with an absolute devotion is not large. But however small the circle be made, A. J. Gordon takes his place therein by a clear title. He was truly great, according to the Saviour's own standard: "Whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister: and whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all." There was no class of the community at whose feet he did not lay himself in ministration. He gave his life in the ransom of a vast multitude. This may be understood literally. For it is one of the extremely few charges that can, even tentatively, be brought against the perfection of this pattern man that he did not take rest enough, that he wore himself out ten good years before his time, and thereby robbed the world to that extent. The strain on him in his busy Boston pastorate, where the clang of the door bell knew scarce any intermission, day or night, was intense. He labored seven days in the week. Monday was even more crowded than other days with special addresses and important committee meetings, often to the number of half a dozen. And the summer brought little or no cessation. He carried on services continually at his country home and evangelized all the neighborhoods round about. He had large numbers of the neglected city children up to enjoy the invigorating New Hampshire air, and laid himself out for their advantage. He wrote scores and hundreds of long letters to all such in his parish as needed comfort or counsel. He threw himself into the Northfield meetings with immense enthusiasm and efficiency. If on the ocean, he holds services in the steerage and labors arduously for the neglected there. If on the other side of the sea, it is not for sight-seeing, but for missionary addresses, helping Mr. McAll in Paris, undertaking a campaign in Scotland, thrilling great meetings in London. To every part of our own wide country he was imperatively summoned, and he knew not how to repose. He could never be induced to stop while strength remained. His system was thus depleted and prepared for the disease which finished his career when only fifty-eight years old. The wonder is that, even with his magnificent constitution, he stood it so long. It could with strict accuracy be said of him, "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up." The simple outline of his life may be given in few words: Born at New Hampton, N. H., April 19, 1836; his father, John Calvin Gordon, a hyper-Calvinist, whose whole soul was bound up in the five points of the Genevan system; his mother, a Susannah Wesley woman, of the rarest, most unselfish piety, the beneficent spirit of the entire village as well as of her own large family; soundly converted in his fifteenth year, and within a twelvemonth fixed in his purpose to be a minister; graduated at Brown University in 1860, after many pecuniary struggles, and at Newton Theological Seminary in

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1868, he was immediately installed at Jamaica Plain, in the suburbs of Boston, and after six years was transferred to Clarendon Street, in the city itself, where he remained in his most laborious and magnificent pastorate of a quarter of a century. The transformation which he wrought in that church and the power for world-wide usefulness into which he turned it were something wonderful. From being a sort of "saints' everlasting rest" and "church of the bank presidents," with classical quartet music and high-toned exclusivism, it became a perfect hive of industry, where the whole congregation sang lustily the praises of God, where drunkards were converted and made welcome, and where the outside gifts of the church, chiefly to missions, without direct appeals, amounted in five years to nearly eighty-five thousand dollars. But it took a good while to accomplish this. His biographer says, "During fifteen years preconceived opinions and prejudices stood out against his patient efforts; then they gave way, to his great joy and to the general satisfaction." One can but ask what such a man would have done had he been compelled to move every two or three years, or even at the end of every five. It may as well be admitted that it is absolutely impossible under our present Methodist system to build up such churches as the Clarendon Street Baptist, or such pastors as A. J. Gordon. It is in other directions that we have now to look for the excellencies of the itinerancy and its compensating advantages. Dr. Gordon was a fountain of spiritual impulse to immense multitudes. The immensity and grandeur of his religious life, both in its private exercises and its public activities, stand forth unquestioned. He had a radiant soul. There seemed no limits to his patience, humility, and self-denial. In devotion to Jesus intense, in faith preeminent, in love unsurpassed, a most Christlike man. But it may well be noted, as a striking object lesson, how far all this close walk with God was from procuring for him any infallible correctness in matters of opinion and belief. He was a strong Calvinist, a most pronounced Baptist, a prominent faith healer, and a very zealous Premillennialist, on all which points his views were diametrically opposed to those held by the readers of this *Review* and by the Christian Church in general. Although a disciple of the Holy Ghost, if ever there was one, he was not led into the truth on these matters, so far as we have any criterion for distinguishing the truth. On two of the points especially his failure may even be said to have been demonstrated. "No Christian of the early Church," says his son, "ever looked with more assurance for the manifestation of the Lord in the clouds. Hardly a sermon was preached without some allusion to the glorious appearing." He confidently expected to be "caught up to meet the Lord; no winding-sheet for me, or house of sod." But, like all the rest who have, through the centuries, shared in this pitiful delusion, his body rests beneath the ground; and in this case there is the singularly inappropriate inscription above it, "Until he come." Also, although an ardent believer in and practicer of faith healing, he was swept off by disease long before the allotted period of human life. How clearly all this shows that errors of judgment in matters of doctrine are perfectly compatible with the most single-eyed

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consecration of life and the most earnest search after truth. Too much cannot be said of the excellent taste with which the son has performed his difficult task in preparing this biography. The style is singularly clear and beautiful, and the whole work is admirably done. Few fathers are so favored.

Sunset Memories. By Rev. NICHOLAS VANSANT. Introduction by General JAMES F. RUSLING. 12mo, pp. 271. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.

The writer of this life story, a venerated and highly esteemed member of the Newark Conference, is not new to authorship, being known by several previous books, as well as by contributions to the *Methodist Review*, *Christian Advocate*, and other periodicals. This record of his ministry of over half a century brings to view much of the history of Methodism in that time, especially in the territory of the Philadelphia, New Jersey, and Newark Conferences, giving glimpses of some six hundred persons, lay and clerical, who helped to make that history. Many families in those regions, as well as elsewhere, will be interested in these narratives and references. Many years ago, in a parsonage known to us, two books were read, even by us children, with sensitive and critical interest; one was *The Shady Side*, and the other *The Sunny Side*. Every parsonage family found in them more or less the transcript of its own two-sided experience. The fresh and interesting book now before us shows both sides of itinerant ministerial labor, its trials and its triumphs, its pains and its blisses. The secret of a happy life is in it. Written in a bright, clear, serene, and cheerful old age, it contains, we think, between preface and conclusion, more "sweetness and light" than Matthew Arnold succeeded in producing. Simple, plain, matter-of-fact, and accurate, it breathes the spirit of perfect love and is touched with the beauty of holiness. Though pressed for space we make two extracts. The first describes the author's inward experience during a long and severe illness: "My whole emotional nature seemed under bonds. Joyless, griefless, tearless, I lay for weary weeks with cloudless mind, in the calm exercise of steady, restful faith. Had anyone asked, 'Do you *feel* happy?' the answer must have been, 'No, but I *am* happy, for, Blessed [happy] is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered.' Or, 'Do you *feel* that you are a child of God and an heir of heaven?' 'No, but I am *sure* of it, for, The Spirit beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God: and if children, then heirs.' Or, 'Do you *feel* that, should you die, you would go to Jesus?' 'No, but I *know* it, for, We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'" The second extract is the closing part of the author's address to his Conference on retiring from his over fifty years of active service: "With your indulgence I now pass from the 'effective' to the 'supernumerary' ranks. This I do uncomplainingly, cheerfully, and with a grateful appreciation of the kindness and confidence of my ministerial brethren and of the churches and districts which I have served. If in my necessary seclusion

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you sometimes call me to mind, please think of me forgivingly, charitably, prayerfully. Think not of me as repining over any suspected or fancied neglect, but as quietly confiding for needed succor and care in the supreme goodness of God and the ready beneficence of the Church I have so long endeavored to serve. Think not of me as idle or unemployed, with time hanging heavily on my hands, but as still diligent in study and ever busy with voice and pen, according to strength and opportunity, in trying to make the world better. Think not of me as gloomy or sour or morose, but as rejoicing evermore, continuing instant in prayer, and in everything giving thanks. And at last, when I am gone, O think of me as having swept through the gates, washed in the blood of the Lamb!" Closing these *Memories*, the venerable author seems to say,

> Sunset and evening star,
> And one clear call for me;
> But there will be no moaning of the bar
> When I put out to sea.

Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc. By the Sieur LOUIS DE CONTE, her Page and Secretary. Freely translated out of the ancient French into modern English from the original unpublished manuscript in the national archives of France, by JEAN FRANÇOIS ALDEN. Illustrated from original drawings by F. V. DU MOND, and from reproductions of old paintings and statues. Crown 8vo, pp. 461. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

In other words, this is a modern historical novel by Mr. S. L. Clemens, known to the majority of us as Mark Twain. Not a word in the book indicates its real authorship, or even the true nature of the work, unless it be certain marks of internal evidence which would arrest the attention of a careful critic or arouse the suspicion of one versed in the manners and habits of thought and speech that were current in the world of the fifteenth century. It is provided with a veritable "Translator's Preface" in true canonical form; and probably few of those who read it as it appeared in successive numbers of *Harper's Magazine* were aware that it was otherwise than what it purported to be—a genuine memoir of Joan by the page who faithfully attended her through prosperity and adversities. Yet, though his name nowhere occurs on its pages, Mr. Twain, if we may call him so, has no reason to be ashamed of his work. Those of us who are familiar with his inimitable *Prince and the Pauper*, as well as one or two of his other works, have long known that he was capable of better things than *The Innocents Abroad*, as good as that is of its kind—that he was something more than a delightful maker of mere horse merriment. Of course there are anachronisms in the present volume; these are inevitable, for no modern writer can so project himself into a former century and a foreign people as to produce a work that shall be true to the life it describes in all its details. But Mr. Clemens has made as diligent and successful a study of the original authorities as if he had indeed been writing a biography. Under the disguise of history the book is a romance; yet under the romance there is the truth of history, and one may get as accurate an idea of Joan's story and personality from Mr. Clemens as from Mr. Lowell's excellent *Life of Joan of Arc*, which we noticed some

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months ago. The book is, perhaps, too serious in its tone. One grows somewhat aweary of the incessant eulogy, and a dash of judicious humor here and there would have been a relief. Human nature, like the human body, requires more than one sort of diet. Shakespeare knew that laughter and tears are never far apart, and introduces flashes of the keenest wit and intervals of exquisite and irresistible humor into some of his darkest tragedies; and he knew that both the tragedy and the comedy were enhanced by the juxtaposition. But these are minor blemishes in a work for which we sincerely thank the author. He has written a book that is well worthy of being read, and that will be read with deep and tender interest; for it is hardly too much to say of Joan, as the author, in his character of a surviving and reminiscent contemporary, says, that hers was "the most noble life that was ever born into this world save only One."

History of Prussia under Frederic the Great—1756, 1757. By HERBERT TUTTLE, late Professor in Cornell University. With a Biographical Sketch of the Author, by HERBERT B. ADAMS. Crown 8vo, pp. xlvi, 159. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

At the time of his death, two years ago, Professor Tuttle had completed three chapters of the fourth volume of his *History of Prussia*. The first volume, published in 1883, had brought that history down to the ascension of the great Frederic; the second and third, published five years later, had extended it as far as the opening of the Seven Years' War. These three chapters now appear as the last installment of a work to which he had given many years of his life, and to which it may be truthfully said he died a martyr. "He told his wife that the wars of Frederic would kill him," says Mr. Adams. For a year he was the Paris correspondent of the *Boston Advertiser;* he reported the proceedings of the Court of Alabama Claims at Geneva for the *New York Tribune;* and a long residence in Germany as the Berlin correspondent of the London *Daily News* and the *Tribune* brought him into contact with the leaders of German politics and thought, acquainted him with the workings of German governmental methods, and gave him "the best opportunities for observation in the Prussian capital, for travel and study in Germany, Belgium, Austria, Russia, and the Danube Provinces." Laborious years were given to patient research among the original sources of Prussian history, and the result was a work, now terminated by death, that is distinctively a study of political and constitutional development. It is not a history of the people of Prussia in the sense that Mr. Green's work is a history of the English people. The people are, of course, implied, but are considered in the abstract rather than as concrete realities of actual life. Thus, from the very limitations of his method, Dr. Tuttle was precluded from that picturesque treatment of his material, that vivid portrayal of event and painting of character, which lend such fascination to the European histories of his countrymen, Prescott and Motley. In a work of this extent we might, indeed, justly expect more of local coloring, as in the description of the manœuvers about Pirna, in that region known as the Saxon Switzerland, from the wild and romantic beauty of its scenery, where a

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few graphic sentences as to the rugged and mountainous nature of the ground would have enabled us to follow the military evolutions more closely and intelligently. But if the work has not the brilliancy of a Macaulay, neither has it his strong bias of partisanship or the insidious prejudices with which, in the guise of history, he traduced the character of men and measures distasteful to himself. Dr. Tuttle is thoroughly conscientious, scholarly, impartial, safe; and his style, while without conscious rhetorical adornment, is clear, forcible, direct. There is no superfluous wording, no striving for effect. When his authorities are so confused or so flatly contradictory that it is impossible to arrive at the exact verity of any transaction he frankly states that this is so and gives the probability most in accord, in his opinion, with known and related facts. And he does succeed in making us positively acquainted with the personages of his history. We understand the real Frederic better, perhaps, than if we had known him in life with all the superficial glamour of his personality obscuring the essential character of the man within. This volume opens with the preparations for the occupation of Saxony in 1756, and ends with the close of the campaign of 1757. It includes the very climax of Frederic's military career. In chapter iii, which has for its title "A Year of Battles," we have an account of what are probably the four greatest battles he ever fought. The victory of Prague, May 6, 1757, "was one of the most sanguinary battles of modern times." Kollin, June 18, was "Frederic's first defeat." "Eight successful battles, nearly all fought against superior numbers, had spread abroad a general belief in the invincibility of the Prussian troops; . . . and this useful superstition was now forever shattered." Rossbach, November 4, fought at an odds of twenty thousand against thirty-six thousand of the allies, retrieved the glory of the Prussian arms; and Leuthen, December 5, was the most famous battle "of all that Frederic fought," won with thirty thousand men against an Austrian army of eighty thousand, and pronounced by Napoleon "a masterpiece in the history of war." In conclusion, we cannot refrain from quoting the account of the battle of Hastenbeck, July 26: "As the French had seventy thousand men, with seventy heavy guns, while the other side was only half as strong, the issue seemed hardly doubtful; but the fight was badly conducted on both sides, and as its fortunes changed each commander in turn gave the word to retreat, so that the curious spectacle was offered of two armies running away from each other before the battle was over. But the duke had the start in the race, and D'Estrées, finally yielding to his officers, returned to occupy the field as victor."

MISCELLANEOUS.

Extraordinary Cases. By HENRY LAUREN CLINTON. 8vo, pp. 408. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

The author, a distinguished lawyer, after forty years of active practice in the city of New York, during which he was engaged in many

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celebrated cases where life and liberty were at stake and in litigation involving amounts ranging from one hundred dollars to one hundred millions, has here sketched some of the most interesting and famous cases. The cases of Henri Carnal and Otto Grunzig give an account of the desperate fights of counsel for their clients' lives. Others show extraordinarily fertile ingenuity of defense. The book is sprinkled with anecdotes of judges, lawyers, journalists, and other well-known men. Here is an account of the Forrest divorce case, the Lemmon slave case, and the Jumel will case, besides various murder and other criminal cases, one of the strangest being that of Henri Carnal, tried in New York in 1851 for the murder of Charles M. Rosseau, in Dey Street—a case filled with startling and thrilling incidents from the beginning to the end of the legal proceedings, which lasted several years. Narrating the "Curious Case of a Clergyman," the author comments thus: "How true it is that clergymen have but little opportunity to know the world and its ways as understood by other people! They have but little intercourse with business men *as such*. They are brought in contact mostly with women and children. In their associations with men they do not see them as others do. Men in the company of clergymen do not talk altogether as they would in their absence. Every allowance is made for their unfamiliarity with business and worldly matters outside their clerical duties. Clergymen see men of affairs and public men at great disadvantage. . . . It is a calamity to clergymen that, before entering upon the active duties of their sacred profession, they do not have the practical education which comes of actual contact with the world."

Uncle Ben, and Other Poems, with an Essay on Poetry and Religion. By JAMES STEPHENSON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 160. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.

The author says that the verses of this volume are the product of the restful and recreative hours of a busy ministerial life, plain verses which men and women of common education and ordinary intelligence can comprehend at a glance. If their fate shall be an early oblivion their author will conclude "that they died because they were born either too early or too late in the history of poetical literature." They furnish pleasant reading, with elevated sentiment and considerable felicity of expression, on such themes as "The Life Beyond," "The Ascension of Elijah," "My Bird Teachers," "Sympathy," "Resignation," "Heroes of the Future," "Rutherford B. Hayes," "Tenebrious Poetry," "The Music of the Future," "My Catbird," "U. S. Grant," "John A. Logan." On page 104 is a noble and fitting tribute to that veteran emancipator and educator, Dr. R. S. Rust. The book closes with a dozen poems called "Blue Monday Recreations," which show the tone and tendency of one minister's mind in the reaction from the strain of Sunday's work. For a man's own happiness and for the delight of those around him it is no small blessing to have a fountain of music bubbling up from the depths of one's soul and flowing, like water brooks, clear and sweet down all the slopes and vales of life, in sunshine and in shade.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1896.

ART. I.—WHEN THIS WORLD IS NOT.

"THE day of the Lord will come . . .; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up."

What is there after that?

To this question there are three answers:

I. There are left all of what may be called natural forces that there were before the world was created. They are not dependent on it. The sea is not lost when one bubble or a thousand break on the rocky shore. The world is not the main thing in the universe. It is only a temporary contrivance, a mere scaffolding for a special purpose. When that purpose is fulfilled it is natural that it should pass away. The time then comes when the voice that shook the earth should signify the removal of "those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain." We already have a kingdom that cannot be moved. "The things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal."

It should not be supposed that the space away from the world is an empty desert. God is everywhere, and creative energy is omnipresent. Not merely is a millionth of space occupied where the worlds are, but all space is full of God and his manifestations of wisdom and power. David could think of no place of hiding from that presence. The first word of rev-

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elation is, "In the beginning God created the heaven." And the great angel, standing on sea and land when time is to be no longer, swears by Him who "created heaven, and the things that therein are," in distinction from the earth and its things that are to be removed. What God created with things that are therein is not empty. Poets, the true seers, recognize this. When Longfellow died one of them, remembering the heart-breaking hunt of Gabriel for Evangeline, and their passing each other on opposite sides of an island in the Mississippi, makes him say of his wife long since gone before:

> And now I shall seek her once more,
> On some Mississippi's vast tide
> That flows the whole universe through,
> Than earth's widest rivers more wide.
>
> Evangeline I shall not miss
> Though we wander the dim starry sheen,
> On opposite sides of rivers so vast
> That islands of worlds intervene.

But what is there in space? There is the great ceaseless force of gravitation. Though the weakest of natural forces, yet when displayed in world-masses its might is measureless by man's arithmetic. Tie an apple or a stone to one end of a string, and taking the other end whirl it around your finger, noting its pull. That depends on the weight of the whirling ball, the length of the string, and the swiftness of the whirl. The stone let loose from David's finger flies crashing into the head of Goliath. But suppose the stone is eight thousand miles in diameter, the string ninety-two million five hundred thousand miles long, and the swiftness one thousand miles a minute, what needs be the tensile strength of the string? If we covered the whole side of the earth next the sun, from pole to pole and from side to side, with steel wires attaching the earth to the sun, thus representing the tension of gravitation, the wires would need to be so many that a mouse could not run around among them.

There swings the moon above us. Its best service is not its light, though lovers prize that highly. Its gravitative work is its best. It lifts the sea and pours it into every river and fiord of the coast. Our universal tugboat is in the sky. It saves millions of dollars in towage to London alone every year. And

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this world would not be habitable without the moon to wash out every festering swamp and deposit of sewage along the shore.

Gravitation reaches every place, whether worlds be there or not. This force is universally present and effective. In the possibilities of a no-world condition a spirit may be able to so relate itself to matter that gravitation would impart its incredible swiftness of transference to a soul thus temporarily relating itself to matter. What gravitation does in the absence of the kind of matter we know it is difficult to assert. But as will be seen in our second division there is still ample room for its exercise when worlds as such have ceased to be.

In space empty of worlds there is light. It flies or runs one hundred and eighty-six thousand miles a second. There must be somewhat on which its wing-beat shall fall, stepping stones for its hurrying feet. We call it ether, not knowing what we mean. But in this space is the play of intensest force and quickest activity. There are hundreds of millions of millions of wing-beats or footfalls in a second. Mathematical necessities surpass mental conceptions. In a cubic mile of space there are demonstrably seventy millions of foot tons of power. Steam and lightning have nothing comparable to the activity and power of the celestial ether. Sir William Thompson thinks he has proved that a cubic mile of celestial ether may have as little as one billionth of a pound of ponderable matter. It is too fine for our experimentation, too strong for our measurement. We must get rid of our thumby fingers first.

What is light doing in space? That has greatly puzzled all philosophers. Without question there is inexpressible power. It is seen in velocity. But what is it doing? The law of conservation of force forbids the thought that it can be wasted. On the earth its power long ages ago was turned into coal. The power was reservoired in mountains ready for man. It is so great that a piece of coal that weighs the same as a silver dollar carries a ton's weight a mile at sea. But what is the thousand million times more light than ever struck the earth doing in space? That is among the things we want to find out when we get there. There will be ample opportunity, space, time, and light enough.

It is biblically asserted and scientifically demonstrable that space is full of causes of sound. To any one capable of turning

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these causes to effects this sound is not dull and monotonous, but richly varied into songful music. Light makes its impression of color by its different number of vibrations. So music sounds its keys. We know the number of vibrations necessary for the note C of the soprano scale, and the number that runs the pitch up to inaudibility. We know the number of vibrations of light necessary to give us a sensation of red or violet. These, apprehended by a sufficiently sensitive ear, pour not only light to one organ, but tuneful harmonies to another. The morning stars do sing together, and when worlds are gone, and heavy ears of clay laid down, we may be able to hear them

> Singing as they shine,
> "The hand that made us is divine."

There are places where this music is so fine that the soft and soul-like sounds of a zephyr in the pines would be like a storm in comparison, and places where the fierce intensity of light in a congeries of suns would make it seem as if all the stops of being from piccolo to sub-bass had been drawn. No angel flying interstellar spaces, no soul fallen overboard and left behind by a swift sailing world, need fear being left in awful silences.

There seems to be good evidence that electrical disturbances in the sun are almost instantly reported and effective on the earth. It is evident that the destructive force in cyclones is not wind, but electricity. It is altogether likely that it is generated in the sun, and that all the space between it and us thrills with this unknown power.* All astronomers except Faye admit the connection between sun spots and the condition of the earth's magnetic elements. The parallelism between auroral and sun-spot frequency is almost perfect. That between sun spots and cyclones is as confidently asserted but not quite so demonstrable. Enough proof exists to make this clear, that space may be full of higher Andes and Alps, rivers broader than Gulf Streams, skies brighter than the Milky Way, more beautiful than the rainbow. Occasionally some scoffer who thinks he is smart and does not know that he is mistaken asks with an air of a Socrates putting his last question, "You say that 'heaven is above us.' But if one dies at noon and another at midnight, one goes toward Orion and the other toward Hercules; or an

* The action that drives off the material of a comet's tail proves that other forces besides gravitation are operative in the interplanetary space.—*The Sun*, C. A. Young, p. 156.

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Eskimo goes toward Polaris and a Patagonian toward the coal-black hole in the sky near the south pole. Where is your heaven anyhow?" O sapient, sap-ient questioner! Heaven is above us, you especially; but going in different directions from such a little world as this is no more than a bee's leaving different sides of a bruised pear exuding honey. Up or down he is in the same fragrant garden, warm, light, redolent of roses, tremulous with bird song, amid a thousand caves of honeysuckles, "illuminate seclusions swung in air" to which his open sesame gives entrance at will.

II. But there will be in space what the world has become. It is nowhere intimated that matter had been annihilated. Worlds shall perish as worlds. They shall wax old as doth a garment. They will be folded up as a vesture, and they "shall be changed." The motto with which this article began says heavens pass away, elements melt, earth and its works are burned up. But always after the heaven and earth pass away we are to look for "new heavens and a new earth." On all that God has made he has stamped the great principle of progress, refinement, development—rock to soil, soil to vegetable life, to insect, bird, and man. Each dies as to what it is, that it may have resurrection or may feed something higher. So in the light of revelation earth is not lost. Science comes, after ages of creeping, up to the same position. It too asserts that matter is indestructible. Burn a candle in a great jar hermetically sealed. The weight of jar and contents is just the same after the burning as before. A burned-up candle as big as the world will not be annihilated. It will be "changed."

It is necessary for us to get familiar with some of the protean metamorphoses of matter. Up at New Almaden, above the writer, is a vast mass of porous lava rock into which has been infiltrated a great deal of mercury. How shall we get it out? You can jar out numberless minute globules by hand. This metal, be it remembered, is liquid, and so heavy that solid iron floats in it as cork does in water. Now, to get it out of the rock we apply fire, and the mercury exhales away in the smoke. The real task of scientific painstaking is to get that heavy stuff out of the smoke again. It is changed, volatilized, and it likes that state so well that it is very difficult to persuade it to come back to heaviness again.

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Take a great mass of marble. It was not always a mountain. It floated invisibly in the sea. Invisible animals took it up particle by particle to build a testudo, a traveling house, for themselves. The ephemeral life departing, there was a rain of dead shells to make limestone masses at the bottom of the sea. It will not always remain rock. Air and water disintegrate it once more. Little rootlets seize upon it, and it goes coursing in the veins of plants. It becomes fiber to the tree, color to the rose, and fragrance to the violet. But whether floating invisibly in the water, shell of infusoria in the seas, marble asleep in the Pentelican hills, constituting the sparkle and fizz of soda water, claiming the world's admiration as the Venus de Milo, or giving beauty and meaning to the most fitting symbol that goes between lovers, it is still the same matter. It may be diffused as gas or concentrated as a world, but it is still the same matter.

Matter is worthy of God's creation. Astronomy is awe-full; microscopy is no less so. Astronomy means immensity, bulk; atoms mean individuality. The essence of matter seems to be spirit, personality. It seems to be able to count, or at least to be cognizant of certain exact quantities. An atom of bromine will combine with one of hydrogen; one of oxygen with two of hydrogen; one of nitrogen with three of hydrogen; one of silicon with four of hydrogen, etc. They marry without thought of divorce. A group of atoms married by affinity is called a molecule. Two atoms of hydrogen joined to one of oxygen make water. They are like three marbles laid near together on the ground, not close together; for we well know that water does not fill all the space it occupies. We can put eight or ten similar bulks of other substances into a glass of water without greatly increasing its bulk, some actually diminishing it. Water molecules are like a mass of shot, with large interstices between. Drive the atoms of water apart by heat till the water becomes steam, till they are as three marbles a larger distance apart, yet the molecule is not destroyed, the union is still indissoluble. One physicist has declared that the atoms of oxygen and hydrogen are probably not nearer to each other in water than one hundred and fifty men would be if scattered over the surface of England—one man for each four hundred square miles.* What must the distance be in steam?

* See *Recreations in Astronomy*, p. 257.

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what the greater distance in the more extreme rarefactions? It is asserted that millions of cubic miles of some comets' tails would not make a cubic inch of matter solid as iron. Now, when earth and oceans are "changed" to this sort of tenuity creations will be more easy. We shall not be obliged to hew out our material with broadaxes, nor blast it out with dynamite. Let us not fear that these creations will not be permanent; they will be enough so for our purpose. We can then afford to waste more worlds in a day than dull stupidity can count in a lifetime.

We are getting used to this sort of work already. When we reduce common air in a bulb to one one-thousandth of its normal density at the sea, we get the possibility of continuous incandescent electric light by the vibration of platinum wire. When we reduce it to a tenuity of one millionth of the normal density, we get the possibility of the X rays by vibrations of itself without any platinum wire. The greater the tenuity the greater the creative results. For example, water in freezing exerts an expansive, thrusting force of thirty thousand pounds to the square inch, over two thousand tons to the square foot; an incomprehensible force, but applicable in nature to little besides splitting rocks. On the other hand, when water is rarefied into steam its power is vastly more versatile, tractable, and serviceable in a thousand ways. Take a bit of metal called zinc. It is heavy, subject to gravitation, solid, subject to cohesion. But cause it to be burned, to pass away, and be changed. To do this we use fire, not the ordinary kind, but liquid that we keep in a bottle and call acid. The zinc is burned up. What becomes of it? It becomes electricity. How changed! It is no longer solid, but is a live fire that rings bells in our houses, picks up our thought and pours it into the ear of a friend miles away by the telephone, or thousands of miles away by the telegraph. Burning up is only the means of a new and higher life. Ah, delicate Ariel, tricksy sprite, the only way to get you is to burn up the solid body.

The possibility of rare creation depends on rare material, on spiritlike tenuity. And that is what the world goes into. There is a substance called nitrite of amyl, known to many as a medicine for heart disease. It is applied by inhaling its odor—

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a style of very much rarefied application. Fill a tube with its vapor. It is invisible as ordinary air in daylight. But pour a beam of direct sunlight from end to end along its major axis. A dense cloud forms along the path of the sunbeam; creation is going on. What the sun may do in the thinner vapors the world goes into when burned up will be for us to find out when we get there. Standing on Popocatepetl we have seen a sea of clouds below, white as the light of transfiguration, tossed into waves a mile high by the touch of the sunbeam. Creative ordering was observed in actual process. It is done under our eyes to show us how easy it is. Would it be any less glorious if there were no Popocatepetl? A thrush among vines outside is just now showing us how easy it is to create an ecstasy of music out of silence. She has only to open her mouth and the innate aptitudes of air rush in to actualize her creative wish. Not only is it easy for the bird, but she is even provoked to this love and good works by the creation of a rainbow on the retreating blackness of a storm yonder. Thunder is the sub-bass nature furnishes her, and thus invites her to add the complementary notes.

Some one may think that all this tenuity is as vaporous as the stuff that dreams are made of, and call for solid rocks for foundations. Perhaps we may so call while we have material bodies of two hundred pounds weight. Yet even these bodies are delicate enough to be valuable to us solely because they have the utmost chemical instability. We are burning up their substance with every breath, in order to have delicacy of feeling and thought. What were a wooden body worth? Substances are valuable to us according to their fineness and facility of change. Even iron is mobile in all its particles. We call it solid, but it is not. We lift our eyes from this writing and behold the tumbling surf of the great Pacific sea. Line after line of its billows are charging on the shore and tumbling in utmost confusion and roar of advancing and refluent waves. So the iron of the telephone wire. You often hold the receiver to your ear listening, not to the voice of business or friendship of men, but to the gentle hum of the rolling surf in the wire's own substance. And in order that we may know the essential stability of things that are fine we are told that the city which hath enduring foundations is in the spirit world, not this kind

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of material. The whole new Jerusalem, to come down "out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband," is as movable as a train of cars is movable here. There may still be rainbows and rivers of life if there are no more rocks. There is a real realm of "scientific imagination." But all our imaginings fall far short of realities. Some men do not desire this realm, and demand solid rocks to walk on. But a bird does not. He oars himself along the upper fields and rides on air. So does a bicyclist and balloonist. Some men have a sort of contempt for aeronauts and workers at flying machines. That feeling is a testimony to their depravity and groveling tendencies. Aeronautics and nautics are an effort toward angelhood. Men can walk water who are willing to take a boat for an overshoe. So we may air when we get the right shoe. Browning gives us a delicious sense of being amphibian as we swim. And the butterfly, that winged rather than rooted flower, looking down upon us as we float, begets in us a great longing to be polyphibian. We have innate tendencies toward a life of finer surroundings, and we shall take to them with zest, if we are not too much of the earth earthy. We were designed for this finer life. We do take to it even now in the days of our deterioration, not to say depravity. The great marvels of the world are not so much in matter as in man. We were meant to be more sensitive to finer influences than we are. We are far more so than we think. Take your child into the street. Another child coughs at a window on the other side, and your child has three months of terrific whooping-cough. All such diseases are taken by homeopathic doses of the millionth dilution. Many people feel "in their bones" the coming of storms days before their arrival. We knew a man who ate honey with delight till he was twenty-five years old, and then could do so no more. This peculiarity he inherited from his father. One man has an insatiable desire for drink, because some ancestor of his, back in the third or fourth generation, bequeathed him that curse. In the South you can go a mile in the face of the wind and find that peerless blossom of a magnolia by following the drift of its far-reaching odor. Who has not received a letter and knew before opening it that it had violets within? It had atmosphered itself with rich perfume, and something far richer, for three thousand miles. The first

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influences which came over the Atlantic cable were so feeble that a sleeping infant's breath were a whirlwind in comparison. But they were read. It is no wonder that the old astrologers thought that men's whole lives were influenced by the stars. Every vegetable life, from the meanest flower that blows to the largest tree, has its whole existence shaped by the sun. Doubtless man's body was meant to be an Æolian (how the vowels and liquids flow into the very name!) harp of a thousand strings over which a thousand delicate influences might breathe. His soul was meant to be sensitive to the influences of the spirit. This capability has been somewhat lost in our deterioration. To recover these finer faculties men are required to die. And for the field of exercising them the world must be changed. Paul understood this. He associated some sort of perfection with the resurrection, with the redemption, or buying back, of the powers of the body. And the whole creation waiteth for the apocalypse of the full-sized sons of God.

Does one fear the change from gross to fine, from force of freezing to the winged energy of steam, from solid zinc to lightning?

Our whole desire for education is a desire for refining influences. We know there is a higher love of country than that begotten by the fanfare of the Fourth of July. There is a smile of joy at our country's education and purity finer than the guffaws provoked by hearing the howls of a dog and the explosions of firecrackers when the two are inextricably mixed. There is a flame of religious love when the heart sacrifices itself in humble realization of the joy of its adorable love purer than the fierce fire of the hating heart that applies the torch to the martyr's pyre. We give our lives to seeking these higher refinements because they are stronger and more like God.

Does one fear to leave bodily appetites and passions for spiritual aptitudes fitted to finer surroundings? He should not. Man has had two modes of life already—one, slightly conscious, closely confined, peculiarly nourished, in the dark, without the possible exercise of any one of the five senses. That is prenatal. He comes into the next life. At once he breathes, often vociferously, looks about with eyes of wonder, nourishes himself with avidity, is fitted to his new surroundings, his immensely wider life, and finds his superior companions and surroundings

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fitted to him, even to his finest need for love. Why hesitate for a third mode of life? He loses modes of nourishment; so he has before. He loses relations to former life; so he has before. He comes into new companionships and surroundings; so he has before. But each time and in every respect his powers, possibilities, and field have been immensely enlarged.

O the hour when this material
Shall have vanished like a cloud,
When amid the wide ethereal
All the invisible shall crowd.
In that sudden, strange transition,
By what new and finer sense
Shall we grasp the mighty vision,
And receive the influence?

Knowledge of the third state of man is not so difficult to attain in the second as knowledge of the second was in the first. If a fit intelligence should study a specimen of man about to emerge from its first stage of existence, it could judge much of the conditions of the second. Feet suggest solid land; lungs suggest liquid air; eyes, light; hands, acquisitiveness, and hence dominion; tongue, talk, and hence companions, etc. What foregleams have we of the future life? They are from two sources —revelation and present aptitudes not yet realized. What feet have we for undiscovered continents, what wings for wider and finer airs, what eyes for diviner light? Everything tells us that such aptitudes have fit field for development. The water fowl flies through night and storm, lone wandering but not lost, straight to the south, with an instinct for mild airs, food, and a nest among the rushes. It is not disappointed.

Man has an instinct for dominion that cannot be gratified here. He weeps for more worlds to conquer. He is only a boy yet, getting a grip on the hilt of the sword of conquest, feeling for some Prospero's wand that is able to command the tempest. When he gets the proper pitch of power, take away his body, and he is, as Richter says, no more afraid, and he is also free from the binding effect of gravitation. Then there are worlds enough, and every one a lighthouse to guide him to its harbor. They all seek a Columbus with more allurements than America did hers. Dominion over ten cities is the reward for faithfulness in the use of a single talent merely.

Man has an instinct for travel and speed. To travel a couple

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of months is a sufficient reward for a thousand toilful days. He earnestly desires speed, develops race horses and bicycles to surpass them, yachts, and engines. Not satisfied with this he harnesses lightning that takes his mind, his thought, to the ends of the earth in a twinkling. But he is stopped there. How he yearns to go to the moon, the sun, and stars! But he could not take his present body through the temperatures of space three or four hundred degrees below zero. So he must find a way of disembodying and of attachment to some force swift as lightning, of which there are plenty in the spaces when the world has ceased to be a world. It is all provided for by death.

Man has an instinct for knowledge not gratified nor gratifiable in the present narrow bounds that hedge him in like walls of hewn stone. A thousand questions he cannot solve about himself, his relations to others and to the world about him, beset him here. There he shall know even as he is known by perfect intelligence.

Here he has an instinct for love that is unsunderable. But the wails of separation have filled the air since Eve shrieked over Abel. Husbands and fathers are ever crying:

> Immortal? I feel it and know it.
> Who doubts of such as she?
> But that's the pang's very essence,
> Immortal away from me.

But there, in finer realms, shall be a knitting of severed friendships up to be sundered no more forever.

Specially has man sought in this stage of being to know God. Job in his pain and loss, assailed by the cruel rebukes of his friends and desolate by the desertion of his wife, says, "O that I knew where I might find him." David cries out while his tears are flowing day and night, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God?" Moses, in the broadest of visions, material, historic, prophetic, says to God, "Show me thy glory." And common men have always turned the high places of earth to altar piles, and blackened the heavens with the smoke of their sacrifices. But the means of knowing God are to be increased. The very essence of life eternal is to know the true God, and Jesus Christ whom he has sent. Great pains have

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been taken to manifest forth God to dull senses and to oxlike thoughts here; greater pains, with better results, shall be taken there. Every reader of the Apocalypse notices with joy, if not rapture, that when the book that was sealed with seven seals, which no man in heaven, nor earth, was able to reveal, nor open, nor even look upon, was finally opened by the Lamb, and its marvelous panoramas, charades, and symbolic significances had to be carefully explained to John, the man best able of any to understand them—we observe with rapture that the regular inhabitants of that hitherto unseen world understood all at once, and broke into shouts like the sound of these many waters in a storm. Above all these superior manifestations in finer realms the pure in heart shall *see* God.

III. But there is in space what there was before the world began. Philosophy asserts that the invisible universe is a perfect fluid in which not even atoms exist, and atoms are produced therefrom by the First Great Cause by creation, not by development. This conception is full of difficulties to thought. We cannot even agree whether creation was in time or eternity. But all agree in this, that the invisible is rapidly absorbing all the force at least of the visible universe, and that when force is gone the corpse will not remain unburied. Indeed, when the range of seeing puts the size of an atom at less than one two hundred and twenty-four thousandth of an inch, and when the range of thinking puts it at less than one six millionth of an inch, many prefer to consider an atom as a center of force and not as a material entity at all. But, amid uncertainties, this is certain, that the forces of the visible worlds are extraneous. They come out of the invisible. They are all also returning to the invisible; that is what light is doing in space, previously referred to. This incredibly high-class energy is not banking up coal in the celestial ether as it did on the earth, but is returning to the quick, mobile forces of the invisible worlds. One thing more is certain, that the origin of all the forces of the invisible is in personality; for the atom, it is agreed, bears all the marks of being a manufactured article. Different-sized shot could not have greater uniformity of structure and constitution. And their whole behavior shows that they are controlled by an admirable wisdom past finding out.

That these forces exist and are necessarily active there are

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three proofs: Worlds have been made, not of things and forces that do appear. They were abundantly displayed in the physical miracles of Christ and others; and these forces, independently of the physical miracles at various times, have continuously helped men.

(1) Concerning the first fact, that worlds have been made, nothing need be said except that these forces, being personal, cannot be supposed to be exhausted, and hence creations can go on continuously. We are assured that they do. And the personal element more and more relates itself to personalities. "I go to prepare a place for *you*," to fit up a mansion according to tastes, needs, and enjoyments of the future occupant.

(2) This is the place to assert, not to prove, that this visible world has always been subject to the forces of the invisible world. It does not matter whether these forces are personal or personally directed. Its waters divide, gravitation at that point being overcome; they harden for a path, or bodies are levitated; they burn by a fire as fierce as that which plays between two electric poles. These forces are not the ordinary endowments of matter; they step out of the realm of the greater invisible, execute their mission, and, like an angel's sudden appearance, disappear. Who knows how frequently they come? We, for whose sake all nature stands "and stars their courses move," may need more frequent motherly attentions than the infant knows of. They will not be lacking, even if not sufficiently evident to the infant to be cried for. "Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things."

(3) It is here designed to be asserted that the forces of the invisible seek to be continually in full play on the intellectual and moral natures of man. Our unique Christian Scriptures have this thought for their whole significance. It begins with God's walking with Adam in the garden, and goes on till it is said, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you," in the invisible, and by the invisible, from before the foundation of the visible world. It includes all time and opportunity between and after; we need specify only to intensify the conception of the fact. Paul says, "Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day," when otherwise oppressive circumstances and hate of men seeking to kill him would have prevented his continuing in life.

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It is possible for all who believe to be given power, out of the invisible, to become sons of God. It has been said that there is power and continuousness enough in the tides, winds, rotating and revolving worlds for man to make a machine for perpetual motion. The only difficulty is to belt on. The great object of life in the visible should be to belt on to the invisible. Our great Example who did this made his ordinary doing better than common men's best, his parentheses of thought richer than other men's paragraphs and volumes. And he left on record for us promises of greater works than these, at which we stagger through unbelief. We should not; for men who have lived by the evidence of things not seen, and sought a city that received Jesus out of sight, have found that "God is not ashamed to be called their God." They have wrought marvels that men tell over like a rosary of what is possible to men. It is beyond the belief of all who have not been touched by the power of an endless life. But what they do is chiefly valuable as evidence of what they are. It is little that men quench the violence of fire and receive their dead raised to life again. It is great that they are able to do it. That they hold the hand that holds the world is something. But that they have eyes to see, a wisdom to choose, and will to execute the best, is more. Fire may kindle again and the resurrected die, but the great personality survives.

These forces are not discontinuous, connected with this temporary world, and liable to cease when it fails. They belong to the permanent, invisible order of things. Suppose one loses his body. Then there is no force whereby earth can hold its child any longer to its breast. It flies on at terrific speed, dwindling to a speck in unknown distances, and leaving the man amid infinitudes alone. But there are other attractions. There was One uplifted on a cross to draw all men unto him. Love has finer attraction for souls than gravitation has for bodies.

> Then all his being thrills with joy. And past
> The comets' sweep, the choral stars above,
> With multiplying raptures drawn more swift
> He flies into the very heart of love.

It is hoped that the object of this writing is accomplished, to widen our view of the great principle of continuity in the uni-

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verse. It is not sought to dwarf the earth, but to fit it rightly into its place as a part of a great whole. It is better for a state to be a part of a glorious union than to be independent; better for a man to belong to the entirety of creation than to be Robinson Crusoe on his island. We belong to more than this earth. It is not of the greatest importance whether we lose it or it lose itself. We look for a "new heavens and a new earth." We are, or should be, used to their forces, and at home among their personalities. This universe is a unity. It is not made up of separate, catastrophic movements, but it all flows on like the sweetly blended notes of a psalm. "Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea;" though the heavens be "rolled together as a scroll," the stars fall, "even as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs," when it is shaken with the wind, and though our bodies are whelmed in the removal of things that can be shaken. For even then we may find the calm force that shakes the earth, the force that is from everlasting to everlasting, may find that it is personal and loving. It says, "Lo, it is I; be not afraid."

Henry W. Warren

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Art. II.—SOCIALISM AND THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Perhaps the time has come to make some carefully considered answers to the excellent people calling themselves Christian socialists, who make very serious accusations against the existing economic order of society, and do not spare the Christian Church in their denunciations. The main indictment runs to the effect that the economic order is unchristian, and that the Church maintains that order and subsists upon it. The second part of the charge is true, and even a little more is true; and the omitted truth is that the very Christian socialist subsists upon that order. If money be "soiled," which is the fruit of our economic system, then the admission fees to the lectures of the Christian socialist, and the dollars paid for his books are "soiled." If we are all verily guilty in this matter, the accusers of the brethren are sharers in the guilt, and they share it with their eyes open.

I. The socialist who calls himself a Christian is in strange company; for most of his associates are not Christians to their knowledge. The essential thing in their doctrine is that private ownership is robbery, and that, therefore, the whole fabric of our industrial and commercial life is built upon a monstrous crime. Words come upon strange destinies. Robbery should mean a breaking of the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal;" and another commandment reads, "Thou shalt not covet." The two seem to be standing guard over property. But if property is itself theft, our human intelligence is put to a serious strain in the effort to comprehend the moral sanction surrounding these two commandments. Theft, robbery, spoliation, covteousness, and a large number of other words could have no meaning in a socialistic state.

It is true that some of our Christian socialists are pleased to limit their great principles to a part of property—to that which is employed in production, to "the instruments of production." But, since all property is actually or potentially an instrument of production—down to a carpenter's jackknife and dinner-pail—the distinction does not distinguish, and no lines can be drawn between the things sinfully owned and those whose possession is righteous. The expediency of state ownership of

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some instruments of production, such as all lands and railroads, may be debated. It is an open question in this sense, that no moral defects are exhibited by a man who takes either side of the question. But when we are told that private ownership is a sin we may reasonably ask for such a clear account of the matter as will enable us to escape the guilt involved in ownership; and we naturally look to our new guides for the righteous example we are to follow. It is unsatisfactory, not to say bewildering, to be told that one may innocently own some things, while it is a deadly sin to own others.

We have suggested that one fifth of the moral law would have no application in a socialistic state. One may go further and say that in such a state the very teachings of Christ, which we are accused of disregarding, would be unintelligible. Who could "lend, hoping for nothing again?" How would it be possible to sell fields, and lay the money "at the apostles' feet?" What meaning would attach to Christ's denunciation of certain rich men? Who could understand the parables in which "capitalists" represent God? What nonsense would be made of the parable of the talents with its trading, its varying rewards, its "mine own with usury!" The economic order based upon property is so woven into the New Testament that the fading of that order out of the world would make Jesus the founder of a temporary dispensation, a teacher whose lessons had so transformed society—to accept for a moment the socialistic theory—that the redeemed generations would not be able to understand him. A world in which one could not fall among thieves would get no lesson from the parable of the good Samaritan, and the lesson of the sad fate of the five foolish virgins would become a piece of archæological lumber in a socialistic society. We should find no meaning in the sweet goodness of the husbandman who gave to every man a penny though some toiled twelve hours and others only one hour; for the wage system with its capitalistic robbers would have disappeared. The wisest of teachers would have ceased to teach because he had cast his truth into perishing molds.

Worse still, what confidence could a socialist have in a teacher who had inclosed his lessons in unclean vessels, who had presented God in the dress of a capitalist with hired servants and a private estate which he divides? To such a world as social-

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ism imagines the God of the New Testament would be as far from perfect as the gods of Olympus are, in our view. We can conceive the new preacher in that celestial dispensation noting for the edification of the new kind of saints the appropriateness of the betrayal for thirty pieces of silver of a teacher who advised men to "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," using one of Cæsar's coins for an object lesson. This is not fanciful. The Rev. Mr. Sprague, in his *Socialism*, tells us that our system enabled Judas to sell his Master, which quite takes away one's breath, but is, after all, true enough from Mr. Sprague's remarkable premises.

At the risk of seeming to deal in commonplaces, we must be clear in our thinking upon the fundamental principles. If we were considering what is expedient we might find some reason for permitting a poor man to own a cow while denying him the right to own a share in a mill, the share having the same value as the cow. But when we are told that the shareholding is contrary to the New Testament because the mill is a means of production, we are compelled to reply that the cow is also a means of production, and are forced to conclude that the poor man has no moral right to own a cow.

The insistence of socialists that they mean to limit their principles to some large things might be passed over with a smile and a comfortable feeling that their scheme has no chance of being adopted; but when Christian men set up a theory that to own one kind of property is a sin, while it is lawful to own another kind of property, we must protest that there is not the smallest trace or the faintest hint of the distinction in the New Testament or in the nature of things.

The fiction in question grew at first out of the definition of capital as only that part of one's savings which one devotes to future production. The economists who drew this line were concerned to explain some features of production in mills, especially the origin of wages. Strictly construed, only a small part of all property entered into the definition; indeed, one may doubt whether it covered any property; for the wage-fund theory must be explained as an account of the way—the only way—in which savings become property, that is, by employing labor to produce things. The socialists stretched the term capital to cover the lands and the mills, and stopped stretching at their

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pleasure when they had covered the large implements concerned in manufacture and transportation. But just so soon as capital is identified with some property—say, some product of labor—the limitation has no value outside of bookkeeping. Last of all has it any moral validity as marking the boundary between right and wrong.

II. We must lay down or accept some theory of the primary cause of the evils which confront us in a moral survey of the world. Rousseau said that men are naturally good, but are made bad by their institutions. The socialist limits the cause of our evils to one set of institutions, those which concern property. This is not Christ's doctrine. The evil, according to the New Testament, is in our hearts. "Ye must be born again." Just how a Christian gets upon the opposite ground—that the institutions make us bad—presents a puzzling problem. That there are evils connected with property no one denies. For example, men covet and steal. If the institution of property must be destroyed to cure the evil, then our Saviour missed the mark when he warned us against covetousness. All our human institutions are soiled by sin. The newspapers too often report cases in which fathers abuse parental authority. There are a few socialists who would cure the evil by putting the State in the place of fathers and mothers. No one has yet said that Christians ought to destroy the home and make "our father" an unintelligible term to future generations.

Government shows us a mass of evils. Whether we look into Armenia or an American city council we are compelled to blush for shame. The anarchist has an easy way of removing all the evil. Abolish government, and we shall be misgoverned no longer. Still, we do not accept this simple remedy, for we believe that government is a divine institution because it is a necessary one. Property and its functions grasp our lives so comprehensively that we should expect our handling of it to be attended by a train of evils and sorrows. We do not hasten to abolish it, because we believe that it also is a divine institution, since it is a necessary one. There is not a hint in the New Testament that it is a wicked institution. "The love of money"—not money—"is the root of all evil." Rich men are condemned, but some rich men are commended; and the most important parables put rich men into noble relations. The in-

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ference is that some rich men are bad and some good, which is our common human experience. The lesson in Luke xix would be lost if the rich owner were not entitled to interest upon his idle pound. The sweet charity which Jesus taught would be impossible in a world where individual men had nothing to "sell" and "give."

The case of the apostolic Church, in which the rich brethren sold their fields to feed the starving saints, is often cited to prove that socialism began with the day of Pentecost. The whole case is an example of charity. Peter made to Ananias an emphatic declaration of the latter's right of property in the field he sold and in the money he received for the land. But there is a melancholy sequel to this case. Years afterward we find Paul making collections, even from the poor Macedonians, to feed the saints at Jerusalem. It is as though Bishops Thoburn and Hartzell were making collections in Africa and India to feed starving Christians in the United States. A pauper church at Jerusalem is a good object lesson, but it does not encourage us to have "all things common." An economist perceives that when the rich sold their fields they deprived themselves of the power to further help their brethren.

"There must be some Christian remedy for this mass of evils connected with property." Yes, there is a remedy in "the God that answereth by fire." The Holy Ghost in men's hearts has abolished a vast amount of poverty. John Wesley led the poor to Christ and gave them such sound economic advice that they gradually became rich. Methodism in the United States has recruited its vast army among the poor, and yet these Methodists own to-day their *per capita* share of the wealth of the nation. It is a rule that the man whom Christ saves becomes an economic success. Cut off idleness, thriftlessness, drunkenness, and the vices they beget, and there is at once a mobilization of that productive force which makes a nation rich. Leave these views in full play, and no persons or people can escape poverty and degradation.

III. The Christian socialist indulges a good deal in general allegations. Many of these are wild conjectures, as that "a few will soon have all and the many nothing." Some construct tables to prove this awful prophecy. Now, unfortunately, we do not know how wealth is distributed, and these tables are as

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conjectural as the prophecy they buttress. But it might be true that a tendency to collect wealth in few hands should exist, and yet true also that expediency measures would avert the tendency. Radicalism is the last issue to be tried, and the diagnosis must be far more thorough before we can intelligently decide that any other remedy than the grace of God in men's souls is needed in our economic society.

"We ought to live according to the golden rule." No doubt we ought; but, first of all, we cannot enforce the golden rule with a policeman's club or by an act of Congress. It is a rule for personal living, and its methods of working are through individuals. If a man feels moved to grasp the possessions of his neighbor it need not be regarded as an effect of the golden rule on his heart. Perhaps the common belief that the impulse is covetousness is nearer the truth. The golden rule is only a variation of the command to love our neighbor as ourselves; and that command is a part of, and personally consistent with, the forbidding of theft and covetousness.

"The spirit of our religion revolts at competition." Mr. Sprague does not see how any Christian can approve of competition. Well, if the abuses of a system constitute the system, then the family, the State, and about all the rest of our institutions must go. To many competition means only abuses having their root in human sinfulness. It is not proved that the evils cannot be removed by expediency legislation, that we must burn down the house to destroy some flies on the ceiling. We suspect that thousands do not know what competition really is. There is a saying that "he who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before is a public benefactor." This man is a competitor; he mows a double crop of hay. His neighbors imitate him. It is so far a beneficence. The price of hay falls, and consumers save money on their hay bills. But—and this is what renders our Christian socialist frantic—the people who go on producing the one-blade crop of hay get only half as much as they formerly received. This little parable explains a large part of the so-called evil of competition.

The theory that the New Testament forbids a man to do better than his neighbor, to produce more wheat on an acre of land, or to spade his garden with fewer strokes, hardly needs refutation; and yet competition is merely making one's labor

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more efficient, and getting a better return from it. If we are told that this gain ought to belong to us all, we may suggest, first, that the claim lacks proof of reasonableness, and, second, that in point of fact we do all receive the bulk of the gains arising from making a double crop of grass—for we are all consumers of the products for which in this parable the double crop stands; and we procure them at half the old prices. The one-blade producer is as well off as he was before; but he is relatively poorer because his more enterprising neighbors have made some small gains during a transition period.

It is too common to preach about the coarseness of the spirit of competition, as though only a man of a grasping spirit could succeed in this field. Our parable will help us to see that the coarseness or refinement of his nature has nothing to do with his success. He succeeds because he invents and combines and constructs the implements which double his grass crop. Private ownership gives him, first, a field on which to work unhindered; and, secondly, some means to risk in experiment. That "the State" would or could give him these things few of us can believe. And all industrial progress depends upon the power of the inventor, combiner, and mobilizer of industrial forces to use his liberty and take his risks.

There will be no disagreement about this successful man's duty to use his gains for the benefit of his fellows; no doubt that his wealth exposes him to peculiar temptations; no doubt that he may miss heaven through love of his goods; no doubt that it may come to be "a disgrace to die rich." Much more might be suggested, if our theme were the duties of wealth.

Our Lord taught directly no economic doctrine; no theory of government, not even of Church government. He gave us the hope and the means of salvation from sin, and the sound principles of personal conduct. But he used government and property to teach his spiritual truth, without conveying any hint that he was either an anarchist or a socialist. When he was asked to divide a disputed estate he refused, and added, "Beware of covetousness." The readers of the tenth commandment will not fail to perceive the weight of this warning.

IV. Some Christian socialists allege that the world is moving toward the nationalization of production, and that it would be a sad spectacle if the Church came in at the end of this

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procession, its proper place being at the head of it. No such change is going on. There is only one place where governments produce for the public, and that is the penitentiary; nor is it a new thing in any sense. The convict has for many generations been a competitor of the free workman; nor do we regard the fact as of millennial significance. Many of the cases cited are merely forms of government control—as factory acts—which is bounded by principles of expediency. The governments sort and deliver letters, employing corporations to make stamps and mail pouches, and to transport the mails. Cities construct streets and bridges by contract with persons or corporations. More miles of railway were owned by States in 1870 than are now so owned; and, as a rule, the State property in transportation lines is managed by corporations. There is no procession for the Christian Church to lead toward socialism. The proper business of the Church in the twentieth century will be what it was in the first, to preach the Gospel of salvation from sin, and to foster the virtues which make social life on earth more wholesome as the generations pass. But let us look into the claim that the cause of collectivism is making rapid progress. Let us analyze the facts of the situation. Government—the collectivity, as our modern socialist describes it—has these distinct relations to property:

1. It owns public streets, parks, buildings, libraries, schools, and military equipments on land and sea, along with innumerable small things which it obtains by purchase from private producers. Sometimes it makes war ships and cannon; sometimes it buys them. No principle, except that of temporary expediency, regulates the practice. The rule, however, is that the government employs a contractor and not the workman. If, in a city, it should seem wise to build and operate a railway or a gas plant, this instance would not be modern or indicate any great revolution. We shall experiment in such ways with varying results; but the continuance of such experiments already old does not foreshadow a coming time when all workmen will be on government pay rolls.

2. Government exercises control over all private property. The limits of this control have never been defined. They may extend indefinitely beyond any lines marked out by experience. The concentration of industrial production has required an ex-

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tension of these lines; and a good deal of new legislation is going upon record. There is no socialism involved; no new principle; such regulation is as old as human society. Nor is there any discoverable tendency of regulative measures to pass over into measures of confiscation. And yet every measure of a regulative nature is hailed as an advance toward collectivist socialism. We have been advancing in this way ever since the children of Israel made bricks in Egypt. Control and ownership are totally distinct things; and the two have no tendency to become one. Increase of control will be found in all history wherever men become massed; and the massing of men by our new industrial engines has required legislative regulation, and will continue to require it.

3. Government takes possession of property for public uses. The only modern note here is that governments are more scrupulously exact in paying for such property than they once were. The progress here is straight away from collectivism. To be sure, the state takes in the form of taxes the means for its own maintenance. Here, too, the large lesson is the evident purpose to be just, fair, and equal. And it is this purpose which animates some laws which have been too enthusiastically claimed as socialistic. No new principle appears in the school tax, an income tax, a tax on corporations, or a tax on inheritances. As they relate to private property they signify nothing which is not signified by the simplest and oldest tax in the world. The simplest tax means that the government takes its part absolutely, and decides for itself what is equitable and just.

In the three fields so hastily surveyed we for our part cannot discover the smallest sign of collectivism—of the passing of the instruments of production into the ownership of the state. In fact, the state produces relatively less than formerly. We are building war ships by contract, though we have navy yards. Fewer men, relatively to the whole population, are on public pay rolls than were on them in 1870. In the collectivist sense our progress is backward—away from the socialistic ideal.

David H. Wheeler

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Art. III.—THE EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS OF ANCIENT COINS.

No form of art had a more perpetual and widespread educational influence on the Greek mind in developing taste and fostering the idea of beauty than the national and colonial coinage. There seemed to exist a desire on the part of the cities of Greece, Sicily, Asia Minor, and Magna Græcia to rival each other in the taste displayed on so common an article as their money. This desire, or ambition, resulted in the production of coins which reached the highest beauty and artistic merit, rivaling the engraved gems and even the best sculpture of their periods.

These coins are of singular interest, not only to the numismatist, but also to the archæologist, historian, and student of art. Ancient coins are most reliable witnesses of remote events, customs, and peoples. In many cases they are the only material evidences remaining of the former existence of an ancient city. The survival of these relics, or rather monuments, is easily accounted for. A single column, arch, or temple of wood or stone, erected to commemorate a great national event, is doomed in time to absolute destruction; but the coin celebrating that event is sent forth from the mint in multiplied thousands, and the chances are that a few at least will survive destruction to the latest ages of time. Even in our day pots of ancient money are now and then unearthed by the plowshare of the husbandman or the pick and shovel of the excavator, and many a hid treasure of silver or gold coins has remained where it was originally deposited in the earth from the days of Alexander the Great to the present time. When brought to view some of these coins are as perfect as when they came from the mint, and are in many cases beautiful with the impress of ancient art, which thus becomes a fascinating teacher of history. On the Roman coins we find preserved the very portraits of the Roman emperors, and superscriptions and emblems recording important events of their reigns. Nearly every collection of Roman coins can boast the possession of a "Vespasian," with the obverse bearing the image of that emperor and the reverse stamped with the

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legend, *Judea Capta*, with the emblematical design of a woman seated and mourning under a palm tree, while the emperor as conqueror stands holding a spear in his hand. Here is a monument executed by the order of the Roman senate to commemorate the conquest of Judea by Vespasian and Titus. The superscription and in some cases the images of Philip, Alexander, Lysimachus, Antiochus, and other rulers are to be found on the Greek coins, and frequently some commemorative inscription or emblem giving to them an historical value. The names of certain ancient colonies live to-day in no other material form than such as is found on coins of their mints. Their temples, marts, and monuments have disappeared; their very sites are in question, if not absolutely unknown to the archæologist; their arts, sciences, and laws have passed away with every other vestige of their physical existence. But here is a coin which was struck by the mint of that city or colony five hundred years before Christ. It is the only remaining material evidence of the glory of the civilization by which it was produced, the only witness to its commercial importance, its intellectual refinement, and its ethical culture. As the ichthyologist will describe a fish from a single scale, or the botanist name a tree from a single leaf, so must the historian often construct a civilization from the suggestions given him by so small a relic as a piece of money. Thus the historiographic importance of a study of ancient coins is clearly evident.

Equally manifest to the student of ancient taste is the artistic importance of these coins, and more particularly of the Greek coins. The refinement and art-knowledge of those remote ages are displayed on their silver and gold pieces, which often rank with precious gems of art. It may not be too much to say that the public demand for the artistic and the beautiful is here proven, since the coin reflects the taste of the people. The citizens are not only in a condition to enjoy and appreciate art, but their æsthetic feeling demands it when their municipal authorities, be they democratic or despotic, find it necessary to employ artists in the production of beautiful designs for their coinage. As fine buildings, monuments, statuary, and galleries of paintings are created by the art-loving intellectualism dominating the age, and as they prove the existence of a popular demand, so that ancient money—often splendid with art more

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valuable than the silver and gold which it adorned—plainly said, "The people demand the beautiful." Nay, more, those coins prove that the culture of the people had reached a high degree of perfection, and that in the smallest matters they had come to recognize the utility of beauty and the refining influence of art. This artistic coinage also means: Here is a medium for universal education in taste, a means of disseminating a universal and perpetual æsthetical enjoyment. Let the very money which the people handle daily in the common affairs of life, even in their constant trafficking, be a thing of beauty; and let this beauty, this art, have a daily ministry to the people, counteracting the world's sordidness, the grosser and less intellectual tendencies of life's drudgeries in commerce and physical labor. Let taste, art, beauty, intellectualism enter the shop and mart, and, in the form of an artistically executed coin in the hand of a trader, artisan, mechanic, laborer, soldier, or husbandman, let these refining influences be felt on the common mind and life. Moreover, the children and youth, by daily contact with art, even in the coins, shall acquire unconsciously a love for the beautiful and a taste for art which the schools cannot impart by direct instruction. This taste, this æstheticism shall finally come to pervade all the forms, movements, designs, and activities of life, and thus the idea of beauty in all things shall dominate the Greek character and civilization.

What the sculpture, painting, and architecture of many of these cities of Greek colonization may have been we can only surmise. It is quite certain that they never rose to the power and perfection in art-creation which distinguished Athens when she built the Parthenon and patronized Phidias and Praxiteles. But in the production of smaller objects of art, such as engraved gems and coins of the precious metals, wherein an Edmund Burke might have found all the elements of beauty to satisfy and support his philosophy of the beautiful, these cities often rivaled and even excelled proud Athens. If it be claimed that Athens was the pupil of other cities in the beautiful arts, one of the strongest arguments in support of the claim is to be found in the fact that the mint of Athens never equaled in her designs for money the perfection of the mints of Thurium, Rhodes, Metapontum, Agrigentum, Heraclea, Terina, and Syracuse. The influence of such artists as Phidias, Praxiteles,

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Scopas, Kimon, Myron, Polycletus, and Lysippus was reflected with greater perfection in the coinage of the Greek colonies than in the money of Athens. There may have been conditions —political, commercial, and industrial—which were not particularly favorable to the highest development of sculpture and architecture in the Greek cities of Italy, Sicily, and Asia Minor. But Athens, as the intellectual center of Hellenic civilization, furnished the conditions for the development of all the modes and forms of art, and hence it led the world in sculpture, painting, and architecture. In its unapproachable excellency along these higher planes it seems to have treated the art of its coinage with comparative indifference, so that, during the most brilliant age of its history, its money was hardly worthy of the art of Phidias and of the Parthenon. Many of the Greek colonies, which were commercial and industrial centers, cultivated a taste for art which possessed the true Hellenic aspiration and refinement, though it expressed itself in a less ambitious form than the Athenian. We must ever keep in mind that the glory of Grecian civilization was derived from various elements, not alone Athenian. Of the great men whose names stand for ancient culture and whose intellectual power made the Greek name synonymous with all that is classical and immortal in ancient art and letters many were not natives of Athens. Hesiod and Pittacus, if not Homer, were Æolians; Pythagoras was a Dorian; Pindar and Epaminondas were Bœotians; Lycurgus was of Sparta; Thales, of Crete; Plato was of Ægina; Aristotle was born at Stagira; Archimedes, at Syracuse; Euripides, at Salamis; Herodotus, at Halicarnassus; Scopas was a native of Paros; Myron, of Eleutheræ in Bœotia; Polycletus and Lysippus, of Sicyon; Kimon, of Cleonæ; and Apelles, of Colophon. Thus the intellectualism of the Greeks was not confined to Attica. It is interesting to recall the fact that not one of the great schools of Hellenic architecture originated in Athens. These were Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, showing that the most original and most creative genius and feeling were provincial and colonial. But æstheticism was as universal as Hellenism. Wherever the Greek mind held sway the idea of beauty became almost a dominating cult. To it Grecian civilization sacrificed itself. If this idea of beauty exalted Greece it also finally exhausted her. A wrong concep-

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tion of the mission and ministry of the beautiful may result in an enervating use or misuse of art, and a people may become degenerate by devoting themselves to the mere æsthetical enjoyments, the sensuous cult, of beauty.

A very commendable civic pride was manifest in that ancient coinage. The emblem adopted by the city was often stamped on its money, and wherever the coin circulated it carried on its face some legend of which its people were justly proud, some device commemorating an event of importance in the city's history, or representing an industry, art, product, or traffic for which the city was renowned. The crab most perfectly and artistically engraved on the coins of Agrigentum, doubtless represents the abundance of crabs which abounded in the river on which the city was built. On the money of Metapontum is found engraved a head of wheat, an emblem of the fertility of the soil and possibly of the principal harvest. This is also said to refer to Demeter, "the giver of fertility and queen of corn fields." The coin of Rhodes bears on the reverse a beautifully engraved rose, the flower from which the city derived its name. Certain authorities claim that this flower is not a rose, but rather the pomegranate flower, which was used for dyeing purposes, and was a source of considerable income to the Rhodians. Again, there are authorities who tell us this was a "flower sacred to the sun god." The principal emblem on the reverse of the Athenian coin was the owl. The origin of this device is not known. Some have supposed it was inspired by an event of the naval battle of Salamis. The appearance of an owl was considered as an omen of victory, and the Athenians under Themistocles defeated the Persian fleet of Xerxes. For chronological reasons this could not have been the historical origin of the emblem. It is more likely that the owl represented the favor of Minerva, and as the head of the patron goddess of Athens was placed on the obverse of the coin this bird of good omen was for that reason engraved on the reverse. Similar traditions explain the devices on other coins, such as the Ox of Sybaris, the Lion of Rhegium, the Dolphin of Tarentum, the Tripod of Croton, and the Chariot of Syracuse. These emblems had a twofold influence, one artistic, the others patriotic; so that the idea of beauty and the thought of municipal patriotism were associated in the minds of the people from childhood.

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In Grecian coinage beauty was also associated with reverence, art with religion—if we are disposed to see a religion in the Olympian mythology. There was a time indeed when it was considered sacrilegious to issue money without some recognition expressed on it of the supernatural influences known as the gods. With the money of Philip II and of Alexander the Great art entered on its most brilliant age in the decoration of gold and silver coins. On the tetradrachms of Philip we find a strong artistic head of Zeus, and on Alexander's coins are noble images of Hercules, with perhaps some resemblance to Alexander himself. On the reverse of these coins is the image of Zeus seated and holding an eagle in his outstretched hand. The coins of Athens bear the image of Pallas, to whom the Parthenon was dedicated and by whose favor the city was founded. By that image the Athenians said, "In Pallas we trust," as on some of our American coins we say in so many words, "In God we trust." Syracuse stamped the beautiful head of Persephone, or Kora, on her coins, as if to propitiate the goddess of the changing seasons and secure her favor and patronage. On the coins of Rhodes is found the head of Helios, the sun god, with rays of light radiating from his abundant and flowing locks. Thus, on the money of various cities will be found the images of Zeus, Apollo, Pallas, Cybele, Poseidon, Ceres, and other gods and goddesses of the Greek Pantheon. Undoubtedly their reverence for the gods suggested to the Greeks the highest art as the only fit and adequate method of honoring them and celebrating and inculcating their virtues.

The modern student must be profoundly impressed with the educational use to which the ancients put the idea of beauty in developing taste, patriotism, and worship. Take the silver tetradrachm of Rhodes. It is a coin of striking peculiarity and beauty. The head of the sun god is stamped on the obverse in nobly bold relief. This image is supposed by some to represent the head of the Colossus of Rhodes, one of the seven wonders of the world, but it is beyond question now admitted to be the head of the sun god, Helios. On the reverse is the finely executed rose or pomegranate flower. Above the flower is stamped the name of the city, "Rodion;" below the flower is the name of the magistrate of the city, or possibly the name of the very engraver of the coin, "A. Meineas." How suggestive

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such a relic of antiquity must be to the modern student of art and history! Before his imagination towers the famous Colossus; beneath its huge feet passes the rich commerce of the Ægean to and from the busy ports and marts of Rhodes. Here the painters Protogenes and even Apelles have wrought. Here art and eloquence vie with trade and jurisprudence in conferring distinction upon the greatest city of the Dorian Hexapolis. To the archæologist, numismatist, historian, and student of art this single relic of all that vanished glory, this silver tetradrachm of Rhodes, says: "The Rhodians, with all their commercial instincts and enterprise, were a people of refinement and culture, who applied their wealth to the encouragement and production of art and to the enjoyment of the beautiful." With what an eloquence does this Athenian coin appeal to our imagination and our taste! It leads us back in thought to the splendid age of Pericles. It saw Phidias build the Parthenon; it may have been paid as wages to men who toiled on the monuments of the Acropolis; probably it was in the pocket of a soldier who fought at Marathon; it could have been in the wallet of a citizen the very day he stood in the Agora and heard Demosthenes deliver his first philippic; Paul may have flung it to a beggar on his way to Mars' Hill. Somewhat archaic, it has seen the rise of Grecian art; it has witnessed the development of the highest Hellenism in philosophy, literature, and civilization. That owl's eyes have looked into the faces of great men and upon the graces of Athenian beauty; they have scanned the battlefields, witnessed revolutions, conquests, national decadences, national births, the rise and fall of empires. That placid, cynical face of Pallas has looked ages out of countenance, and, without a smile or frown, but as serene and imperturbable as the Sphinx of the Egyptian plain, it has mingled with the faces of nearly seventy generations of the sons of men. To-day it looks as indifferently upon the virtuous reign of Victoria as it ever looked upon the corrupt social supremacy of Aspasia, while it seems to contemplate the rise of freedom in the land of Washington and Lincoln as stolidly and absent-mindedly as ever it considered the loss of Athenian democracy under Pisistratus the tyrant. In the development of Athenian art this archaic image of Pallas gradually gave way to a more and more artistic head, and at last to a copy of the statue of the goddess

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which Phidias had produced for the Parthenon, a statue of ivory and gold.

The many, various coins of Alexander the Great, minted in both his European and Asiatic dominions, indicate a progress in the art of coinage, although his money never reached the excellence to be seen on the money of Rhodes, Heraclea, or Syracuse. Nor, indeed, can Alexander's coins be compared to the regal money of Demetrius, Lysimachus, or Antigonus. Nevertheless, the head of the young Hercules, bearing a supposed resemblance to the great conqueror, is often a powerful and handsome work, and on some of the coins may represent the influence, if it is not the real work, of Lysippus, the sculptor of Sicyon, to whom we are indebted for celebrated portraits of Alexander. The education of the Macedonian, it will be remembered, had received special attention. For several years he was the pupil of no less a master than Aristotle. Under the instruction of this philosopher, whose system of instruction included training in art, poetry, and music, Alexander must have developed a taste for letters and art which was never entirely sacrificed even to his military genius or his political ambition. It is further known, if the date be reliable, that Alexander patronized the arts and brought to his court such masters as Lysippus, Pergathocles, and Apelles. The story is that no one but Lysippus was allowed to represent him in sculpture, no one but Pergathocles was allowed to engrave his image on gems, and no one but the great Apelles had authority to paint his portrait. It was doubtless to disparage his finer qualities of mind that the anecdote was started in which he is represented as making some foolish remark about painting while in the studio of Apelles, when the great artist bade him to be silent if he did not wish the apprentices to laugh at his ignorance. But, if he was ignorant of the technicalities of art, he was evidently wise enough to leave the ornamentation of the regal money to the master artists, who certainly succeeded in producing coins which bear the impress of a bold, free, rugged art, quite in keeping with his character and achievements. They represent strength, force, aggressive ambition, and are quite sufficiently typical of the man.

The tetradrachms of Antigonus "Doson"—one of Alexander's generals, and later the ruler of Pamphylia, Lycia, and

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Phrygia Major—are of remarkable beauty. The obverse bears the head of Poseidon, the supreme lord of the sea. This head is a work of extraordinary strength and character, the artistic representation of the hair and beard displaying taste and workmanship worthy of the best masters. The reverse of this coin has few if any rivals. The nude figure of Apollo is seated on a galley in a pose of consummate ease and grace, and, if it could be proven that either Lysippus or Phidias engraved the figure it would detract in no measure from the reputation of the great artist. One who is so fortunate as to own this coin in fine condition must regard it as something far higher and more valuable than a mere piece of money. It is in the highest sense a work of great art, as truly as is a painting by Raphael, a statue by Michael Angelo, or a jewel wrought by the hand of Benvenuto Cellini.

Another gem of art is the coin of Heraclea, the work, no doubt, of some recognized master. The obverse bears the helmeted head of Pallas most artistically rendered, while on the reverse is stamped the image of Hercules. Perhaps the most beautiful design is one representing Hercules in conflict with the Nemean lion. The lion has sprung upon the side of Hercules, the hero grasps it by the head and mane, while every muscle of body, arms, and legs swells with strength; grace, energy, power, agility, movement are all portrayed with wonderful skill. The famous Laocoön could not have been executed by a more skillful artist than the unknown genius who wrought on this rare and exquisite coin.

It was left for Syracuse, however, to bear away the palm for superiority in the production of beautiful money. This city, founded by the Corinthians 735 B. C. and destroyed by the Saracens in the ninth century of the Christian era, passed through many vicissitudes, but had its period of splendor, during which it rivaled both Athens and Carthage and successfully resisted their ambitious arms. The mixture of Grecian and Egyptian elements in the Sicilians and the Syracusans resulted in an art which revealed the characteristics of both civilizations. The head of Persephone, or Arethusa, found on the early coins, is unmistakably Egyptian and remains so for a long period, gradually changing into the more decidedly Greek type, until the age of the democracy following the dynasty of Gelon, when the

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archaic and the Egyptian forms give way to the simple and artistic Greek engraving which comes to its perfection of exquisite beauty in the decadrachms of Dionysius. The head of Persephone, surrounded by dolphins, is here treated with a most artistic representation of sensuous beauty. The elegant, fascinating, almost bewitching arrangement of the hair, the sweet Greek brow, the perfect ideal features of female loveliness, the soft, graceful throat and neck all conspire to produce "a combination and a form indeed where every *goddess seems* to set her seal." The reverse of this coin is hardly less beautiful, and is certainly no less artistic, than the obverse. It is adorned with the representation of the victorious chariot of the Olympic race, in which the representative of Syracuse, Gelon, perhaps, brought immortal renown to the city. The chariot is nearing the goal; victory hovers in the air holding forth the coveted crown toward the brow of Syracuse; the four horses are leaping forth as if animated with the very sentiments of the charioteer and hearing the applause and loud acclaim of the assembled multitude. One cannot look on this design without catching the spirit of the occasion which inspired the artist as he wrought this beautiful monument in celebration of the triumph of Syracuse. It may be doubted whether ancient art ever produced a more gracefully animated and beautiful representation of a horse, or of several horses, in motion than is found on this noble decadrachm. Some of these coins bear the signatures of the artists whose skill produced them. One name in particular, "Kimon," is conspicuous on the dolphin below the head of the beautiful Persephone. This work marked the climax of Syracusan art in the beautifying of coins. It may be said that it marked the high-water limit of all art in the adornment of money. This coin must be classed with the noblest achievements of ancient art, not only with the engraved gems and ornamented pottery, but with the statues, friezes of temples, mosaics, and paintings in which the Greeks demonstrated their superlative art-genius and æstheticism.

The flat and inartistic heads and images on the coins of to-day would indicate an absence of that elegant taste which made the Greeks famous for art. What a contrast the head of Liberty on the American dollar is to the head of Persephone on the decadrachm of Syracuse! How much inferior the American eagle is

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to the eagle of Ptolemy! How inartistically flat and how contemptible is the head of Columbus on the Columbian coin as compared with the noble head of Poseidon on the tetradrachms of Antigonus or the head of young Hercules on the coins of Alexander! Why should there not be a display of art on the money of the civilized nations of the earth in this age, as there was in the days of Alexander and Pericles, of Lysippus and Phidias? To give a coin artistic value, to stamp it with the sculptor's genius and to make it teach beauty, patriotism, civic pride, and worship—that is beyond the dull appreciation of the utilitarian age which has lost, or rather has never caught, the spirit of the elegant and intellectual Greeks. Is there nothing left in art possibility for the creative, or at least the inventive, genius of Americanism to do? Is there no more originality in art to be expected of humanity? Do our huge piles of expressionless, characterless, but utilitarian brick and mortar prove a lack of architectural originality and taste? Do our insipid, inane Liberty heads prove a gross, mean, sordid indifference to the beauty and artistic merit of our national money? There does not seem to exist in the American brain that universal, classical taste which once demanded that art should touch all things with beauty and minister to the refinement and the æsthetical pleasure of the common mind and the common life. Nor have we as yet developed that national pride in art that "made the old times splendid," when the mints of Athens, Rhodes, and Syracuse were coining money which to the most distant ages of posterity was destined to celebrate the genius, power, and culture of those splendid cities and refined peoples. Is there a glorious future to American art? Shall the utility of art yet be appreciated? Shall high art become as common as money, and come to all classes at all hours with its ministry of beauty and delight? And shall that high art be controlled by the religious feeling and aspiration of our Christianity, as Greek art was controlled by the Olympian religion? Shall it give expression to the refined imagination, the classical taste, the intelligent patriotism, and the sanctified aspirations of this new Christian life and civilization?

F. M. Bristol.

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Art. IV.—THE THREE GREAT EPOCHS OF WORLD EVOLUTION.

If one should attempt to characterize the spirit of the age it would not be far from the truth to speak of it as a feeling of expectancy. The time is gone when one could say that the beliefs that were good enough for our fathers are good enough for us. The world refuses to stand still. The last fifty years have disclosed to us many of nature's grand truths, and they are making their way into our life. During the last few decades science has been dealing what were thought at first to be heavy blows against our faith; but we are now seeing that this was only in anticipation for a grander faith which should arise. The pendulum of belief is now to-day swinging back again, and our science and our religion, the scientist and the Christian, are beginning to join hands. The day feels that a new adjustment of belief is coming, not only in philosophy and science, but also in religion, and the clear-sighted thinker sees immediately ahead a revival of faith which shall take the place of the questionings of to-day. But this revival of faith must be in the spirit of to-day, and not of yesterday. Our science has undoubtedly made some discoveries in the last fifty years, and the new life of the world will not be met by going back to the beliefs of half a century ago, but by meeting the knowledge of to-day with a faith adapted to the day.

There has been no conception that has so revolutionized our thoughts as that which is comprised under the general head of evolution. Not only science, but philosophy, history, political economy, philology, art, and religion are being profoundly modified by it. It has crept into every department of thought until it has unconsciously become a part of our life. On the other hand, evolution itself is becoming profoundly modified by the light thrown upon it from other sources of thought, and we are beginning to learn that Christianity itself is putting a capstone upon the arch of nature for which science has been disclosing the foundations.

As for evolution itself, we no longer hear it discussed as a theory. We shall vainly search the literature of to-day to find an argument trying to prove the truth of evolution. But this

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is not, as it is occasionally assumed, because it is being abandoned. We shall search with equal futility for an argument to prove the truth of the law of gravitation. While, indeed, evolution has not yet received the kind of demonstration which has been given to the law of gravitation, it has been so convincingly attested by thousands of lines of argument that it is to-day accepted by science as a foundation stone, and the scientist no more thinks of discussing its truth than he does the truth of chemical affinity. Not only so, but he who is abreast of modern thought sees that the same great law is rapidly becoming the corner stone of the great truth of Christianity. The teachings of our Master, Christ, so wonderfully fit into this evolution as to leave us amazed that we have not long since perceived the truth. "The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner," may apply equally well to the scientist's attitude toward Christianity or the theist's attitude toward evolution. Evolution is indeed only the method of creation, and teaches us that the history of the universe has been one grand sweep of omnipotent power. Each individual is born into the world by natural processes, and yet we must look upon every man as an independent creation. So the world with its life has grown into its present form by natural laws and natural forces, and must still be looked upon as an expression of eternal creative force.

From the earliest dawn of creation until to-day the history of nature has been one grand sweep of continuity, one eternal expression of omnipotent force. But, as we look at this history in the light of our present knowledge, we can see three great phases of that evolution, each unique in itself. These three epochs are: The evolution of worlds, the evolution of life, the evolution of mind.

1. The evolution of worlds. This subject need detain us but a moment. It has been the task of astronomy to disclose to us the processes by which the starry heavens, or more especially the planets of our own solar system, have been evolved from an early nebulous diffused mass. It has been the task of geology to show how the earth after its first formation has been developed into its present form. All of this we have been taught has been due to the action of simple natural laws. For our immediate purpose we need not dwell upon this phase of the

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evolutionary history beyond pointing out one very essential and significant fact. For this evolution of worlds there seem to be needed only the forces of chemistry and physics. The astronomer and geologist tell us that by the action of the laws of chemical affinity and physical forces, acting in accordance with mechanical principles, the nebulous mass was gradually molded into the planetary system. Thus we reach the conclusion that, granting the existence of the nebulous mass, its evolution into worlds is fully explained by the action of chemical and physical forces of nature.

2. The evolution of life. With the evolution of life the second phase of the evolutionary history began. Whatever may have been the forces which brought life first into existence, there is no question that the first forms of life were of the simplest types, and that from this early rudimentary beginning life has been subject to evolution. It has been to Darwin that we owe chiefly this study of the evolution of life; for, while plants and animals had been studied for centuries, it was not until the genius of Darwin turned man's attention to the method by which living species were brought into existence that any serious attempt was made to study the history of life. Since the time when Darwin pointed out the new line of study for science we have learned how in the past the simple has become the complex, how the lowly organized has become the highly organized. The rocks have been opened, and have disclosed their hidden secrets. Embryos have been studied, and have told us many an unexpected story. Animals from the poles and the equators have each contributed, and the inhabitants of the islands of the oceans have added not a little to this general history. All tell us of the gradual development of life and its origin from common centers. Step by step, year by year, age by age, epoch by epoch, has this life of the world been growing in its wonders. Beginning first in the form of the simplest kind of living matter, slowly has this been molded into more complex forms; slowly have these forms become higher and higher in their structure, larger and larger in size; little by little has the life thus slowly rising come to occupy the various departments of nature. The ocean and the land have become peopled. Greater and greater has been the diversity that has appeared in the world as life has continued to develop, until

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to-day nature has come to be filled with thousands and hundreds of thousands of forms of life, each with its own position in nature, and thus the surface of the world is covered with an endless variety of forms.

Over all this growth, all this increase in complexity of structure, this elevation of type, this production of variety, there has presided a law which was not present in the early evolution of worlds. While many subsidiary facts have come to regulate this growth of life, nevertheless there has been one fact of sublime importance which has produced the elevation and the variety in the world of living nature. That law is the law of strife, made necessary and inevitable by the appearance among living things of the factor of reproduction. As one lies on a warm summer's day under the shade of a tree and looks at the smoke rising from the distant city; as he hears the birds singing merrily over his head; as he hears the humming bees flitting to and fro from flower to flower in search of honey, all seems at peace around him. But if he turns his attention to the distant city, and thinks of the heartburnings, the toil and care, the strife and bitter combat, the ceaseless struggle that is going on under the smoke of that city, he is inclined to look upon nature as the ideal of peace and harmony, and man as the ideal of strife. The harmony and peace around him fill him with a horror of the constant conflict of human life. And yet this impression could not be farther from the actual truth. The truth is that nature is in constant strife, while man alone is occasionally at peace. When he looks below the surface of the seeming harmony around him he finds, not peace, but eternal warfare. The bird that is singing over his head is rejoicing because he has succeeded in committing several ruthless murders in the morning and in devouring his victims as food, while he is ever keeping a watchful eye aloft lest he in turn fall victim to some keen-sighted hawk. The very flower that delights the eye is able to open its petals to the sky simply because it has succeeded in overcoming some other plants that started with it a few weeks before in the race for life. In nature strife is ever present. More individuals are born in every race of animals and plants than can possibly live, and many must die that the few may survive. This produces a constant, an eternal and never-ceasing strife and struggle for life, in which the van-

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quished inevitably perish and only the victor remains alive. As a result of this struggle it will happen that only those that are best adapted to the conditions of life in which they find themselves continue to exist, while those that are in any way less adapted to their conditions are ruthlessly pushed to the wall. This principle is the law of natural selection, and it is the law that has presided over the whole of the evolution of life. This law could not exist in the evolution of worlds, because it is a factor of reproduction. It could not have any influence upon chemical and physical forces alone, but only upon those peculiar conditions which are found when life has made its appearance and animals and plants began to multiply upon the face of the earth. Then first came into play this law of natural selection, with its boundless power producing its wonderful results.

It has been natural selection which has produced the gradually increasing complexity of life, which has given rise to the gradual evolution or growth of the lower forms of nature into the higher ones, until from the simple jelly masses of the earliest periods have arisen the higher complex animals and plants that fill the world to-day. The result, in a word, has been divergence and diversity. At first life was simple and uniform, but as the result of this never-ceasing law of natural selection the descendants of the early types have gradually become unlike each other. They have diverged from each other like the branches of a tree, until from a simple uniform type of life, corresponding to the trunk of the tree, the world has become filled with hundreds of thousands of diversified types, representing the numerous twigs of widely spreading branches. It has been, in short, the law of natural selection which has filled the world with diversity, that has made the animal different from the plant, that has made one animal different from another, and that has produced the variety which we find in the face of nature to-day.

3. The evolution of mind. Without dwelling longer upon this evolution of life, presided over by the law of strife, we pass to the last and highest, the grandest phase of this sweep of evolution, the evolution of mind and soul. In the use of these two terms, mind and soul, we would for our present purpose make no distinction. In the term mind we shall include everything that we usually consider under the

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head of mind and soul, without drawing any inference as to their unity or duality. That mind itself has also been subject to an evolution is just beginning to dawn on our thoughts. Only within the last year or two has it been clearly recognized that the study of the evolution of mind is a field as productive of marvelous and amazing results as the study of either the evolution of worlds or the evolution of life. It is only to-day that we are recognizing that there has been such a thing as the evolution of mind. It is only to-day that we are beginning to perceive that the evolution of mind presents to us the last great phase in the evolutionary history of nature. So new is the subject that, as yet, we can hardly gain any idea of its depth, its scope, or of the grand phases of life which will be disclosed by more careful study; but already our thinkers have been attempting to apply to the evolution of mind some of the same principles that have been hitherto applied to the evolution of life. Already the accumulated knowledge of the last century, the study of history, and the study of all the types and phases of mental life have been adding their information to the study of the evolution of mind, until we are beginning to get some little conception of the grand salient features of this last phase of evolutionary progress. Although we are still groping in the dark, although as yet we have little knowledge of where or how mind began, although as yet we can say almost nothing as to the origin of this new, grand phase of evolution, still, with all the uncertainty a few bright and wonderful truths are being disclosed to us that are producing great revolution in thought. It is the chief object of this paper to emphasize one of these great truths that has already forced itself upon our minds very cogently as the result of this new line of study.

Perhaps we can best introduce the subject by calling attention to one fact. In the history of the evolution of mind there has been produced, not divergence, but convergence of descent. As already noticed, the evolution of life has been one of increasing complexity and increasing diversity. As each age has passed it has seen a wider divergence of the separating lines of descent, and each age has seen the world filled with a larger and larger number of varied types of life. Divergence has been the history of life. When, however, we come to consider the history of man we find that convergence has taken the

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place of divergence. In the primitive history of early man, however, this was not true. On the contrary, all accounts of primitive man tell us that at the beginning of his existence he was controlled by the same laws that regulate the evolution of animals; and like the history of animals, so the early history of man was one of divergence. Whatever may have been the origin of man, whether from a single point or from several points, whether as a special creation or, as scientists believe, as an evolution, there is no question that his early history for many centuries was that of constant warfare, resulting in the gradual separation of tribes from each other, until the world became filled with its many tribes of men and their wonderful diversity. Just as among animals, so among men, descent with divergence was the history, and from one or more original points of divergence this continued until there were thousands of tribes of men, each differing from the others in language, in habits, in customs, and even in structure. After a time, however, this tendency toward divergence was checked, and in its place there appeared, dimly at first, a tendency toward union. Families little by little associated together into tribes; tribes after a time aggregated into larger bands of men; and, as we trace the history of the world through century after century, we find a gradual but constant increase of this tendency toward union. Tribes became united to form nations, and little by little the whole of the race of man has been coming together, as the nations are becoming fewer and larger. Within historic times the history of man has been one of slowly growing union and combination. To-day the few great nations that remain are finding that they are becoming more and more dependent upon each other, and this is inevitably leading to greater combinations, which shall be commercial, at least, if not political. The point of especial interest with us, in considering the relation of man in this history, is that the tendency toward concentration is diametrically opposite to the tendency which has regulated the history of animals. On the one hand there is isolation and divergence, and, on the other, concentration and convergence. National and tribal divergences have ceased, and, so far as our nations are progressing, they are progressing toward concentration. It is evident that in some way mankind is dominated by a new principle. It is evident, also, that this

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new principle, whatever it may be, must be something producing results which are diametrically opposed to those produced in animals. If the law of natural selection has been the great law which has been and is guiding the evolution of life, then the grand law which has been and is guiding the evolution of man must be something very different from natural selection.

Natural selection is based upon what we may call the love of self. It is the attempt of every animal in creation to gain its own ends, leading thus to an endless conflict which results in the survival of the fittest. The law of natural selection is the law of selfishness, and leads to strife. With a little thought we can see that the new law under which mankind is developing is the law of love for others. It is the law which teaches mankind to place the good of another on an equality with, if not higher than, his own good. The new law is the law of love, which leads not to strife but to peace, not to competition but to harmony. Notice the growth of this principle. While it is the highest law for the regulation of man, it is a principle of which we can at least find traces elsewhere. Among animals it is, however, only suggested here and there in rudiment. Among the lowest animals love does not exist in any form. Not even a semblance to love can we find among animals which are perfectly ready to eat their own young and whose offspring are equally eager to devour their mothers. Throughout the lower orders of nature there is a complete absence of anything like pity, sympathy, or readiness to aid another. When we come to some of the higher types of animals we do get occasionally a glimpse of the idea of an interest in others. Even among insects there is an occasional hint, for among the colonial insects we find that the young are carefully nursed and cared for by the adults. Among mammals the principle of mother's love is not infrequently highly developed. The fierce lion or tiger has an intense love for her offspring, for a few weeks, and will submit herself even to death in order to protect the offspring she has borne. All through the higher orders of animals this principle of mother love is developed to quite a considerable extent; but it has hardly expanded beyond the love of the mother for her offspring, and even here lasts only a short period. Among animals the father only in the rarest instances has a love for his offspring. It is the mother that protects the young, and

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until we reach man we hardly find any other trace of love for others. Among men, too, it appears almost certain that the first indication of love was the mother's love for her offspring. The communal relations of primitive peoples commonly makes it impossible for the father to know his own offspring, and under these relations neither fatherly love nor connubial love is possible. But to the mother's love was later added the love of the father, and from this arose the family. This was the first step toward higher life, and this arose from the expansion of this love for others. With many a primitive race this principle of love hardly extends beyond the family. But the force is too potent to remain so contracted among beings endowed with social instincts and intelligence. The family relations, when not rigidly drawn, gave rise to tribal relations, where all members were united by community of interests and community of descent. The principle of love for others, therefore, extended from the child and the parent to the other members of the tribe, and soon man's noblest feelings impelled him to sacrifice himself for his tribe in warfare. From this point the history has been a constant one. The tribes have united into larger combinations, and these have finally become nations. As these combinations have become larger so has this principle of love for others extended its scope from the narrow to the wider limits. To-day this principle of love is extending, in theory, at least, to a universal love of mankind leading to a universal brotherhood. Not yet, however, has the race of man reached this position except in theory; but, as we look at the future in the light of the past, as we remember man's evolution in the ages gone and the growing force of the social community, we see ahead of us inevitably a universal brotherhood. One universal nation, at least in its interests, one universal combination of men into an harmonious union of common interests, is the inevitable future toward which we are drifting. How far from it we may be we cannot say, but it is yet in the distant future, and occasionally we think of it and call it the millennium.

We must not, however, make any mistake here. It is not, of course, possible to pretend that it has been the principle of love which has caused the combination of men into these growing bodies of people. In many cases, in most cases, indeed, it has been a love for glory, a desire for mutual protection against

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common enemies, that has brought men together. More often still it has been love of conquest which has made nations. Instead of love, it has commonly been selfishness that has united men, for greater conquests are possible for combinations of men than for units. In unity there is strength, and this is the principle that has commonly built up our nations. But, while this love of self and love of conquest may have caused nations to grow, it does not explain their continued existence. Some of these nations have continued only a short time, while others have lasted centuries. Among savages has existed the same stimulus for conquest, the same love for glory, and the same need for union. Many a time have savages formed combinations of tribes for the purpose of conquest and defense. They have the same need for unity that has instigated the formation of nations, and the savage has frequently fully appreciated this need. In our American continent the Indian formed many a combination to resist the invading white, but they were all failures. The combinations of the Indians have broken to pieces, while the combinations of civilized men have remained intact, or have given way to others whose union was firmer or whose extent was greater. In spite of all the need which the savage felt, in spite of the greatest personal valor and sacrifice, in spite of all attempts at concerted action, there has been something lacking among these miscellaneous tribes that has been present among the nations that have succeeded in holding together. The tribes of savages, though superior in numbers to the bands of civilized men, have uniformly given way in the end before the greater firmness of combination. The American Indian, outnumbering the white men one hundred to one, provided with a greater knowledge of woodcraft, has nevertheless slowly given way before the small band of invaders. What, then, is the principle whose presence on the one hand has made and held nations together, and whose absence has prevented their formation or rendered them liable to fall to pieces?

A little study of the history of nations will show us the answer, and tell us that it is the new law of love which has bound nations together and prevented them from breaking to pieces as have the nations of savages. We do not always call it love, however. We call it patriotism, self-sacrifice; we call it the principle of justice; we call it honor, honesty, mutual trust,

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mutual reliance, sympathy with others in distress. We think of it as the spirit that regards the rights of others as equal to the rights of self, that influences us to sacrifice our own individual comfort for the public good, and tells us that there are interests of more importance than self-interests, and thus teaches us to formulate public law. Indeed, the whole may be comprised under one general thought. The cement that binds nations into unity is the principle that holds self-interest in abeyance and subordinates it to public good. However much a people may feel the need of concentrated action, no lasting union is possible unless a spirit of mutual trust and individual sacrifice is present as the guiding principle of action, to bind the members of a nation into such compact unity that it can resist the inevitable strain of clashing interests. Great nations are destroyed by disunion, and not by conquest. In a word, the principle that binds together the parts of a nation, and that has thus made it possible for great nations to exist in larger and larger combinations, is the principle of love for others, or love for the public as a whole. Thus we see that the evolution of mankind is being guided and directed by a law diametrically opposite to the law which has produced the evolution of animals. Love for self only and love for others are the two contrasting forces. With this in mind we can readily understand that the history of man has been, and will be in the future, one of increasing convergence, while the history of animals has been and must always be one of divergence.

We must now notice more closely the result of the application of this new law to the evolution of man. The first point to attract our attention is that, with this new guiding principle, the physical development of man has ceased. There is no question that, for the evolution of a body, for the development of strength and physical force, there is needed the law which preserves the strong and exterminates the weak. Moreover, in order to keep the physical strength at its maximum, it is insisted upon by our scientists that some such law of struggle and extermination should be constantly exerting its influence. Certain it is that the law by which physical structure has been developed, during the ages of the history of the world, has been the law of natural selection, the law of self-love. When, therefore, we replace this law with the law of love for others, the whole tend-

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ency of development is inevitably changed. The law of love is telling us to protect the weak, to do all in our power to preserve their lives, and, instead of allowing them to be exterminated by their own weakness, to foster their existence in every way. Our inebriate asylums, our jails, our institutions of charity generally are having a tendency to preserve the lives of those who are least fitted to live and who would inevitably perish under the influence of the law of natural selection. The result of this is that man's physical nature is no longer under the influence of developing forces. The development of body ceased when the law of love entered into man's life. The action of the law of natural selection continued until there was developed a body as complicated and as well adapted for various purposes as is the body of man, and then, by a change in the law under which life should develop, the attention of nature was turned to the development of a new phase of life.

The secret of this change in the law of nature lies in the fact that there is something more valuable than the development of a body. The value of a mind and a soul is far greater than the value of a body, and this new law of love is introduced to stimulate thus the last and highest phase of nature. It is only under the influence of the law of love that the development of mind and the development of soul is possible. It is only under the influence of the law which draws men together in communities and makes them have sympathy with each other that it is possible for the highest phase of nature to grow into its noblest possibilities. It is this new law of altruism that underlies all of the special features of our modern life. It is this law that makes nations larger; for, while it is true that in most cases our nations have been formed by conquest, it is equally true that it is only this principle of mutual love, mutual trust and confidence that enables them to hold together, and thus it is love and love alone that makes the continued existence of nations a possibility. It is this principle again that has founded our democratic institutions and underlies our belief in individual liberty. During the early centuries of the world might made right; but to-day, owing to the spread of this feeling that every man owes something to his neighbor, and that all have equal rights, democratic institutions have sprung up, and we now feel that the world was made for man and not for the

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mighty. It is this principle again which lies at the basis of all social reforms. The emancipation of slaves was the result of it, and the emancipation of labor, which is a revolution slowly but surely going on in our midst, is again the result of this principle of the love for others. It is true that upon the surface it seems as if these resulted simply from a contest of force with force. Slavery was abolished by bloodshed, and labor is being emancipated only by much pain and suffering. But if we look below the surface we find that the factor that makes these changes possible is not might, but love. It was certainly love which called out the sacrifices which made an end to slavery. The united forces of the higher classes, with their almost unlimited power of capital, have been through all ages far more than enough to counterbalance the force which labor might bring against them. It has been the history of the world everywhere, that when capital comes in direct conflict with the might of the lower classes the combinations of capital are in the end too much for the power of the masses. To-day, one who reads the signs of the times sees that the force of labor, the cause of mankind in general, is little by little mastering the forces of capital, though not by might. Labor is constantly discovering that its only stronghold is the sympathy of the public. When labor contests by force it almost always fails, but when it appeals to the hearts of the people its success is more probable. The fact is that among the controlling classes, even more than among the masses, this principle is slowly entering the heart and teaching that each man is his brother's keeper. It is thus slowly undermining the force of capital, by convincing the capitalist that he has responsibilities resting upon him, and that he is bound to recognize not only the rights of the employed, but to enter into sympathy with their lives. It takes a mighty force to shatter an iceberg, but the gentle action of the sun little by little dissolves it into limpid water. So in this conflict between force and love. It is the softening principle of love for others that is teaching the world that the demands of the people are right, since the world was made for man and not for the ruling classes. It is the principle of altruism that is telling us day by day more and more clearly that the law under which our commercial and social affairs ought to be regulated is not the law of competition, is not simply the

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law of supply and demand, but is the law of humanity, the law which gives each man an equal chance with his neighbor. It is the same principle of altruism which is giving our nations a greater and greater hesitancy to war. Warfare was our heritage from the past, and for centuries it has been the chief aim of nations. But to-day, while we have by no means outgrown this heritage, we find a greater and greater hesitancy among the higher civilized nations to engage in war. This hesitancy lies partly, no doubt, in the great dread of the destructiveness of modern weapons, but underlying this is the sympathy which nations feel for those in suffering and the horror of the misery introduced by war. Warfare is no longer the normal but the abnormal condition of man. Thus within and without it is love that underlies modern civilization.

Look at the matter from another standpoint. It is this principle alone that makes possible the growth of mind and soul. Convergence of races is the only condition under which mind can develop. The development of the intelligence and the growth of the soul come only when one individual is able to share and profit by the experience of another. A hermit can have no high mental development and no morality. He may be independent, but his intelligence must be of a low order, for mental development comes only from contact of mind with mind. He may not be immoral, but a positive morality he cannot have, for morality concerns the relation of man with man. It has been well said that Christianity requires two men and God. God and one man can never produce Christianity, for the very essence of Christianity is found in the relation of man with man. Every increase in the complexity of society demands an increase in the complexity of the mental and moral nature of man to meet it. The development of mind and soul requires thus the association of men in large communities. The reverse is sometimes thought to be true. Certainly the lowest moral conditions are found among the inhabitants of the city, and we commonly find that men of broad intellect come from the country. But we must remember that the moral nature must be more than a negative quality. Moral strength comes from temptations resisted, not from a lack of temptations, and the broader the relations the more positive the moral nature. It is true that in the city some do fall very low, but it is neverthe-

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less also true that it is under the complex conditions of the city that there is the greatest chance of the development of moral strength. The great men of the ages have lived with men and not alone, for the development of positive mind and positive intellect is possible only where man is associated with man. The country may produce, but can never develop, the genius. It is broad contact of man with man that brings intellectual powers into play, and the genius of the country must broaden his vision or he fails. A Gladstone is impossible in a small tribe. Lincoln was great only after he left the backwoods and assumed his relations with the millions of his fellow-men. An Indian chief may have the intellect to develop the statesman, if he lived among the nations, but as an Indian he can never become more than the warrior.

With these ideas in mind the great significance of the new law of nature is clear. In the development of the body one generation does not profit by the experience of another. In the development of mind, however, experience accumulates. In the development of the body it is the unit that must be preserved for advance; in the development of mind it is only by the advance of the race that growth is possible. Thus it is that the law of natural selection acting alone results in the development of body, or when acting upon mankind produces the many individual tribes at enmity with each other. The law of love when perfected will unite man into one brotherhood, in which the mental power will be the resultant of all, and hence in the long run will rise to the higher level. Union produces the advance of the whole race together, and not of a class or clique. The law of love produces the greatest good to the greatest number. Natural selection must be the law for the development of physical structure, for isolation and extermination of the weak are necessary factors in such an evolution; but to develop the mighty mind and soul the necessary condition is union, and for this nature's law is love. Every step toward the diffusion of knowledge, every incident that leads nations to a better knowledge of each other, every bit of missionary work that broadens human sympathies, everything that leads to closer union is a step toward advance, while everything that leads toward disintegration of nations is a step backward.

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Thus it is, that man in his development comes under a new law and characterizes a new phase of evolution. The grand conception of the history of the universe shows us its threefold nature—the evolution of worlds, the evolution of life, the evolution of mind. In each of these three phases of history a special law has been foremost. For the evolution of worlds chemical and physical forces sufficed. For the evolution of life there is necessary the law of selfishness, with the struggle for existence, and the natural selection to which it leads. For the development of mind and soul there is needed a new law still, and this we find to be the law of love for others, or altruism. World, life, soul—these are the phases of evolution. Law, strife, love—these are the laws under which nature has thus far developed.

It is only the last few years that have disclosed to us this result. It is only as we have learned of the evolution of animals as guided and controlled by the law of natural selection, and then as we have come to think of the development of man and the laws under which he has developed, that this grand conception of the universe has dawned upon our minds. Two thousand years ago it was announced to the world that the law under which man should live and develop was the law of altruism, but it was not understood. The followers of Christ failed entirely to comprehend it; the centuries that followed failed to understand it in the slightest degree; and century after century followed in which man was still controlled almost wholly by the principle of selfishness and strife. But altruism slowly made its way into the hearts of men. This lesson, that the law of man is the law of love, has been subjected to the test of the centuries. It has been tried by the fires of superstition, by the fires of persecution, by the fires of the wars of religion, and the fires of the Inquisition; and yet through them all it has retained its integrity and has come to the close of each century nobler and truer and clearer.

When a few years ago science turned its attention to the study of the evolution of life it was thought that the result would be the destruction of the principles of Christianity, and that this hope of the centuries would be laid low should the theory of evolution prove a fact. When the principle of natural selection was disclosed it was thought by some that this law, so

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diametrically opposed to the doctrine of Christ, was a stigma upon Christianity. How could the same God be the author of the law of selfishness and the law of love? Little did it appear then that this same line of scientific study would in a short time teach that the doctrine of Christianity is the capstone of the arch which has been built by the history of the ages. For, however much we may have felt this law of love to be designed for us, it has been science itself that has disclosed its crowning position in the evolution of the universe. To science, then, Christianity owes a debt of gratitude deeper than it has fully conceived. While science has in past years been disclosing to us the evolution of worlds, while it has been explaining the evolution of life, it is now beginning to tell us of the evolution of mind. While it has found a sufficient cause for the evolution of worlds in the physical laws of nature, while it has found the efficient cause of the evolution of life in the laws of strife and the struggle for existence, it is beginning to recognize to-day that the only law under which is possible the evolution of mind and soul is the law which was disclosed to us two thousand years ago by the lowly Nazarene. Faith, hope, love, and the greatest of these is love. This is the teaching, not only handed down to us from the inspired writings of the fathers of Christianity, but it is also the teaching which is to-day becoming more and more clear as the result of our study of nature, guided by the thought of evolution.

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Art. V.—THE NECESSITY OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.

In order that the necessity of Church membership may be rightly understood, it will be well for us first to get some notion of what the New Testament Church is. It has been quite generally supposed that because Christ said to Peter, "Upon this rock I will build my Church," he meant a new Church, or another body of peculiar people entirely separated from, and independent of, the peculiar people as instituted by the faith of Abraham. But he never spoke of making, erecting, or building another Church. The supposition that he did necessarily involves the setting aside of the plan of salvation which both Christ and the prophets taught, and supposes the introduction of a plan essentially different and independent. In this conversation with Peter the Lord spoke of "my Church," the company of the "called out," the "separated," the "community of believers," the "peculiar people." It was no new Church, no new plan, but "my" Church, instituted at the call of Abraham; and he declared that he was about to do something with it and for it. And that something was that he would build it on a rock. It is not necessary to discuss here who or what that rock was, for it is not relevant to our case; but it is well for us to know what he meant by building his Church.

Now, the term "build" is quite an elastic one, adapting its significance to the peculiar demands of the case in which it is used, such as to *frame*, *construct*, *increase*, *strengthen*, *settle*, *establish*, *preserve*, etc. And its Scripture significance is especially to *increase*, *strengthen*, *settle*, *bless*, *preserve*, *knit together*, *edify*, etc. In New Testament Greek it and its derivatives occur about seventy times, and are rendered *edify*, *edifying*, and *edification* some twenty times; and a careful analysis of all passages in which it occurs referable to the Almighty God as the actor will reveal the fact that it always refers to some well-known, existing thing to be improved and made better, and never to a new thing to be set up or erected, then or thereafter.

Now, there is one thing patent to all who are New Testament students—that at the time of Christ's conversation with Peter it was not a settled matter in the minds of all whether

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Jesus was or was not the Christ. Another thing is self-evident —that, whatever he might do with the Church and for the Church must be done upon the supposition of the great, all-controlling, and fundamental fact that he was the Christ. He says to Peter, "Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?" Peter answers, "Some say you are one, some that you are another." "But whom say ye that I am?" Peter says, "Thou art the Christ." "You," says Christ, "have said the truth." Now, giving any explanation he may choose to the rest of the conversation, no Christian can get away from the great fundamental truth and doctrine that then and thereafter, as indeed theretofore prospectively, the divine blessing, enlargement, and up-building of the Church—the then existing Church, God's community of believers, the body of the faithful—must grow out of and recognize this Christologic fact just uttered by Peter. There may be room for difference of belief as to some other elements in this conversation; but there is no room for difference as to the principles on which Christ would build up, bless, and enlarge his Church. Jesus is the Christ; therefore all Church enlargement, blessing, and strengthening must emanate from him and rest on him. Other foundation hath no man laid. This is the foundation on which the prophets built. And Paul, in speaking of the salvation of the Gentiles, says (Eph. iii, 5, 6), "Which in other ages [that is, in the times of the patriarchs and prophets] was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit; that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body." What body? Evidently the body of Christ. But what do the Scriptures teach us is the body of Christ? The Church. But in this same epistle Paul conveys the thought that the Church antedates even the age of the prophets; that in the dispensation of the fullness of times all things in Christ are to be gathered together in one, both those which are in heaven and those which are on earth; and that Christ is the Head over all things to the Church, which is his body.

From this we clearly infer that Christ was not intending to build another Church, but was merely affirming that a new and more blessed order of things was about to be introduced in the same Church. The Church which came into being under the call of Abraham and was built up, strengthened, and bound

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together by faith in the divine promise shall hereafter be built up, strengthened, and held together by faith in the promise fulfilled—in the Christ, now come. So, then, the Church of the New Testament is not a different Church, but the same Church, which has already come through its primal or patriarchal age, its intermediate, scholastic, or theocratic age, into its culminating or militant age; in which, beginning at Jerusalem, it was to march forth to the conquest of the world, and then enter upon its sabbatic, glorified, or triumphant age eternal.

As to the necessity of visible union with this Church, we must next inquire, What was required of them who claimed faith in God and fellowship with the saints in the ages of the Church past? Every careful reader of God's word must know that in the Jewish Church not only was circumcision, instead of which baptism is now in place, required, as a mark of membership in the communion of the faithful and of acceptance with God, but that by other precise ceremonies of induction, such as anointings, washings, purifications, and offerings, everyone was required to make recognition of divine authority, of ecclesiastical unity, and of *faith;* and whoever presumed on a place among the peculiar people of God, or on his acceptance with God, and conformed not to these ceremonial requirements, was not only rejected but pronounced accursed.* The Church is a divine institution, and from the very first was an organized one. And in the patriarchal age it had as many denominations as there were tribes; among whom, in some instances, probably more difference existed as to minor points of faith and polity than exists now among the orthodox evangelical Churches. There were the Reubenites, the Danites, the Ephraimites, the Gadites, the Judaites, etc., between whom were as great differences, in some particulars, as may be found to-day between the Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Methodists. In the scholastic or theocratic age of the Church there were just as many denominations as there were schools of prophets; but they were all confederated under one common head, just as the orthodox Churches are to-day confederated, through justification, by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as their common Head. Whether or not there were different denominations, differing in some points of doctrine and

* See Lev. x, 1, 2; xvii, 8, 9; Num. xv, 13-16.

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polity, in the apostolic age, one thing we do know—there were different churches; and, from the tenor of the epistles to these churches, they certainly were not a unit in all points, either of doctrine or of polity. But they were all confederated into one body of Christian believers, having faith in, and being baptized into, the one common body of Jesus Christ. So, then, the denominational condition of the Church cuts no figure at all as an excuse for nonaffiliation or nonunion with the Church.

But in all ages the Church has been an organic body; and at no time has it had the need of being more so than under the New Testament *régime*, in which it is arrayed as a militant host for aggressive operations against the powers of darkness. But an organization must have rules and members and officers. Taking the New Testament itself for a witness, the Church of the New Testament had rules—rules for the treatment and disciplining of an erring brother; rules for the relations existing between husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant, neighbor and neighbor; rules for righteous living and purity; rules for giving for the support of the Church, for the relief of the needy; and rules for the management of charities. It also had a law for the observance of the holy communion; a law setting forth our preeminent duty to God; and a law covering our duty to our fellow-man. Indeed, the Church of the New Testament was full of rules; and for it Christ not only reaffirmed the decalogue, condensed by him into two compact sentences, but laid down other regulations, some of them contained in his own comments on his prayer, which, unless practiced, must shut the gates of life against the offender. And as to officers, the New Testament Church had deacons and elders. Now, how did they become such? Did an ecclesiastical mob make them? Or did they presumptuously assume the diaconate and eldership? We are very sure not. But just as Matthew was chosen to the apostleship and the seven were chosen to the stewardship, so both deacons and elders were selected by a vote of the Church in session assembled. One thing is beyond all question—the New Testament form of the Church is even more severely an organized form than any other since the first call of God's people to visible union among themselves and separateness from the world. And an organized body of necessity implies a membership joined together by some

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creed and polity to which each one has subscribed his assent and devotion.

Often it is affirmed that God can be served just as well out of the Church as in it. If we deny this we are answered by the affirmation, "We do not hold that anyone can serve God acceptably out of the spiritual Church of Christ into which the new birth inducts us; but we do not subscribe to the need of union with the visible denominations termed, as a whole, the Church." But, we ask, for what kind of Church did Christ lay down his rules and reaffirm the decalogue? What kind of churches elected deacons and elders? And what kind of churches did Paul and the other apostles organize and establish in Asia Minor, Gaul, Italy, and other places? They were, without doubt, joined by the operation of the Holy Ghost to the *ἐκκλησία πνευματική* and every member who was really and truly born again was thus inducted into spiritual union with Christ. But we most emphatically affirm that these churches were, in a remarkable degree, very "visible." If Paul understood himself when he spoke he understood that the body, the visible body, of the believer was to be in visible union with the Church—the visible body of Christ. "Know ye not," he says, when exhorting to bodily purity, "know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?" And, "We, being many, are one body in Christ, and everyone members one of another." In his letter to the Corinthians he says, "I robbed [or, rather, carried away from] other churches, taking wages of them, to do you service." Pray, what kind of churches did he rob, or take wages from? Were they a lot of invisible, ethereal "sublimitates?" Or were they visible, unaffiliated, unorganized? Paul could hardly have carried any wages away from such bodies. The truth is, these churches were thoroughly organized and visible. If we are to understand anything from the references of John to the bishops of the several churches we must consider them to be both organic and visible, and that such a condition of the Church was essential for the promotion of the interests of Christ in the world. If essential, then it is the duty of all the followers of Christ to be so confederated. A matter of duty in our relations to God is equivalent to requirement; and failure to meet a requirement deprives one of the blessed results of obedience to the divine

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will and, therefore, to all that the atonement in Christ has put in the reach of every believer. In other words, it means alienation from God, which, if persisted in, means eternal death.

But, if Christ is ready and willing to receive one as his accredited follower outside the pale of the visible Church he is ready and willing to receive another. If he will own one he will own two, and if two, then any number; for he is "no respecter of persons." He has not regulations for one and "irregulations" for another. But if irregularities, irregulation, and noncommitment to prescribed rules and nonassumption of prescribed vows could be allowed by the great Head of the Church to his followers, then where would be the members, whence the officers, and where their authority? How could there be any organization, and where would be the visible Church of Christ? It will not do to affirm that it exists in the individual believer; for from the beginning the visible Church has been an organized community of believers.

At no time has this community been more essential than now to the militant character and office of the Church. When Paul returned from Damascus he immediately "assayed to join himself to the disciples." But if there ever was a man who had a divinely invested right to act independently of the Church it was Paul; for God told him that he was a chosen vessel for a special purpose, a special detail, under God, for a special work beyond the limits of the then existent Church. But Paul was obedient to every requirement of God in him. Therefore, being filled with the same spirit with which the disciples were inspired, he was as naturally drawn into the communion of the visible body of Christ as the condensed moisture of the atmosphere is precipitated to the earth by gravitation. If there is no such drawing into this visible communion the evidence is most conclusive that the spirit of Christ is not in us. And if we have not the spirit of Christ we are none of his; and if none of his, then what? Why, this, and nothing else—we are aliens from the commonwealth of Israel and in a lost condition. While union with the visible Church will not save without union with Christ by the Spirit, yet in the very nature of the case spiritual union with Christ must manifest itself in a visible community or its salvable efficacy will soon be dissipated and lost.

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The Church is, beyond all question, a divinely appointed institution; and entering within its pale and taking its vows are divinely appointed duties—essential duties for Christian life and, hence, to salvation. No lodge, order, or other institution can take its place or be substituted for it. Its sacred ordinances and means of grace, which are not and cannot be maintained but by an organized, visible communion of believers, we are strictly commanded to observe. Even the various analogies by which the Church is represented, such as "army," "body," "kingdom," etc., indicate its organic nature and the especial need of visible and substantial union with it. Whoever heard of one really and truly born of the Spirit who wanted to throw any obstacles in the way of his highest usefulness in the world? Yet there is one who claims to have the "baptism of the Holy Spirit," but who stands off from the Church, declines the company of the people of God in holy compact, refuses his recognition to the visible Church as a divine institution, willingly allows himself to be classed with outsiders, and would have everyone now in visible union with the Church be a "come-outer" and be numbered with the outsiders too. He thus lends his influence to the moral estrangement of the world from Christ, as against the moral adhesion of the Church to Christ. He by precept and example preaches indifference to, and disapproval of, the great evangelical, benevolent, and educational enterprises of the Church. His position declares, so far as he is concerned, that the preaching of the Gospel and the celebration of the holy sacraments may forever cease. His entire attitude is a pompously sophisticated arraignment of the apostles for having ever affirmed their belief in the "communion of saints." Can any rational mind believe that such a one is born of the Spirit of Christ? Does not his attitude toward the Church and its sacred ordinances indicate, the rather, that he has been woefully hoodwinked by the great deceiver, instead of enlightened and quickened by the Spirit of Christ? To stand aloof from the Church and condemn it as a "man-made" institution is to condemn some of the most sacred things of all times. The tabernacle in the wilderness, with all its paraphernalia and services, was man-made; but it was also God-planned and God-commanded. The temple, with its vessels and ceremonies, was man-made; but it was also God-required. The Holy Bible is preeminently man-

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made; but it is God's revelation and is divinely inspired. The Church, with its various denominations, may be man-made; but these denominations, confederated by a common creed and the one fundamental dogma of justification by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as symbolized in the celebration of the holy sacraments, constitute the visible body of Christ and become the reincarnation of his spirit.

When we speak of Church membership as a voluntary matter we are apt to lose sight of the fact that it is not voluntary, as many other privileges are voluntary. A man may join a secret order or club or not, as he may please, and he may have neglected no duty. But the Church, being a divine, though in matters of polity in some respects a man-made, institution, having been founded on the Christologic fact stated by Peter, that Jesus is the Christ, and having been declared to be the "pillar and ground of truth," and Christ having made it his special charge and organ, union with it becomes a duty—an essential duty and need in order to a sincere and sufficient allegiance to the dominion of Christ. Through it the Spirit, Christ's successor on earth, operates for the salvation of the world.

There is no other institution like the Church. Though it may often have been weakened and corrupted by mercenary and unholy men, yet it has ever been the organ of the divine Spirit, the authorized representative of the Lord Jesus Christ.

If we expect to succeed in anything we must employ every means and help in our reach; and in the Church, and the Church alone, are found the very helps we need for efficient and acceptable service in the Lord's vineyard and for successful prosecution of the warfare of faith to a triumphant conclusion. In it we have both visible and spiritual union with the great Head of the Church. Its ordinances, its means of grace, its fellowship, its unity of faith and action, its channels of service in evangelical, charitable, and educational enterprises, its Gospel ministry and systematic dissemination of the word, its cooperative efforts under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, for the evangelization of the world, all make the Church necessary to whoever would be a true soldier of the cross and a sincere follower of the Lamb.

In Christ we are saved. Out of Christ we are lost. But to be in Christ and out of his visible body—the Church—is an absurdity. As the Church is the reincarnation of Christ by the

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Holy Ghost given unto it on the day of Pentecost, whoso has the experience of the new birth by the operation of the Holy Ghost is as forcibly drawn toward and into the Church, the visible body of Christ, as is the food of the polypode, touched by its arms, drawn into its body. The new birth turns a man toward the Church as naturally as the living plant turns to the sun or the magnetized needle to the pole. If we have no drawing toward the Church we have a most conclusive evidence that, though we may claim the Spirit, the Spirit does not own or acknowledge us, and that there still remains within us a darkened mind, if not also an "evil heart of unbelief." "By one Spirit are we all baptized into one body." "Those that be planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God." "As true civil liberty is freedom in the law, but not from the law," so true religious liberty is freedom in the Church, but not from the Church. And as freedom in the law is the highest civil liberty, so freedom in the Church is the liberty in which we are free indeed.

Wm. W. Lowe

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Art. VI.—STUDIES IN RECENT FICTION.

The golden age of English fiction began with the publication of Scott's *Waverley*, in 1814, and ended with the death of George Eliot, in 1880. There had been much good work before, and there has been much since, but those were the days of giants. In addition to the great names which open and close it the period comprises all the works of Thackeray and Dickens; the remarkable Brontë novels; the powerful historical and sociological romances of Charles Kingsley; the clever and exciting stories of Captain Marryatt, Charles Reade, and Wilkie Collins; the clever but not exciting stories of Anthony Trollope; the voluminous works of Bulwer-Lytton, Lord Beaconsfield, G. P. R. James, and many lesser lights. The novels of the American Cooper and Hawthorne may also be fairly included.

The inferiority of the present age of fiction is not, however, in quantity. More novels are written now than ever before. In 1857 Professor Masson, in his lectures on the "British Novelists," estimated the number of novels published in Great Britain at two a week, or one hundred a year, and put in a pathetic plea that he should not be considered to have read them all. But now the London *Athenæum* reviews from six to ten novels a week, or about four hundred a year. These are mostly British novels, leaving untouched the most of Continental and American fiction. When we also remember that the reader of English is supplied with a large number of translations from French, German, Dutch, Spanish, Russian, and Scandinavian novels it is a very mild and moderate statement to say that the hungry novel reader can have his choice of ten new novels every week, or five hundred a year. Indeed, an alleged compilation from trade reports asserts that in 1895 there were fourteen hundred new novels published in the United States, five hundred and seventy-three of which were by American and eight hundred and twenty-seven by foreign authors.

If these last surprising figures be accepted as true it is probable that they include not merely such novels as form a part of the real literature of the age, but also that great mass of fiction found in the story papers, in the paper-covered trash sold on railroad trains, and in the voluminous juvenile literature some

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of which is adapted to Sunday schools and some of which is very decidedly not. These Sunday school and juvenile books contain, however, some very good reading, and occasionally one of them gets over the line and becomes a part of our real literature, as Miss Alcott's *Little Women* and Mrs. Prentiss's *Stepping Heavenward.*

Many writers are very near the line which divides literature from nonliterature, and opinions will differ as to their precise place. Mrs. Barr and Mrs. Phelps Ward are just within the line. So was Mrs. Stowe, but Mrs. Southworth is without; E. P. Roe was barely within, and Edgar Fawcett and Julian Hawthorne are just outside. The latter is undoubtedly his father's true son, but his novels are illegitimate—of which his recent prize story is sadly convincing. Judging by sales the most popular author in the United States is one we do not care to name, whose books are always in paper covers and are sold mostly on railroads. Such authors frequently have more readers than many of talent or even genius.

Some writers are disposed to restrict the term novel to the analytic or realistic school, in which the greatest stress is laid on character, while the incidents are subordinate, must be probable or even commonplace, and are used merely to bring out character. In the romantic school the scene is usually remote in time or place or both, and the incidents are of an unusual, thrilling, or even supernatural character, having a vivid interest in themselves entirely apart from the persons connected with them. The "short story," now so popular, may be either a novel or romance, but inclines to the latter. In common speech we use the term novel as generic, and divide it into the realistic and romantic schools. There has always been a strife between these two, and it never raged more fiercely than at present. The realists have the more books, for four fifths of present ventures in fiction are society novels, but the romanticists have the more readers.

The realists claim that all the stories have been told, and that we now need only studies of character and such characters as are about us in everyday life. But the romantic party reply that this is just what we do not want. We see the commonplace ourselves, and when we read we want to get away from it. If we are still to be reminded of ourselves the remem-

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brance should be of the noblest and best of our emotions and experiences, not of "the trivial round, the common task." There are some things we never weary of, told by either school. Every youth who reads a love scene imagines himself in a similar one, and from the proposals in the novels forms plans for a similar performance on his own part, which plans, by the way, never exactly materialize. On the other hand, books like the *Scarlet Letter* and the *Manxman* appeal to us powerfully, because they discuss familiar temptations and hold up before us lurid lights to warn us, or beacons to show us the path of penitence and atonement. No author of either school can be of the first rank unless he deals with the highest and mightiest parts of our nature, and these cannot be expressed without notes of mighty passion, either good or evil.

The realists claim to depict life as it is, but it is doubtful if they are doing this any more than their rivals are. Heroes who fight savages and pirates are about as common as unfaithful wives. The exploits of Sherlock Holmes find as many parallels in real detective work as ordinary society supplies for the tales of Ibsen, Tolstoi, and the French school. These authors are true enough as far as they go. If one may judge from an exceedingly limited reading, the worst thing in them is their ghastly, terrible truthfulness. But we protest against having the deeds of brutal, vile, and impure men and women held up to us as pictures of universal social conditions. Dr. Richard Burton has rechristened this school as "Partialists," and the name deserves hearty indorsement.

We question the fitness of some real topics for the use of art. The processes of digestion and the problems of city sewage are undoubted realities, but we relegate the discussion of them to treatises on physiology and civics. Much which a certain literary school heralds as art, and even the highest art, is really no more fitted for artistic purposes than a diagram of the alimentary canal is fitted for framing as a parlor picture.

There is another branch of the realistic school, and its god is the commonplace. Instead of unbridled passion these writers give us a deadly tameness. Instead of frantic immoralities they give us maddening puerilities. We soon grow weary of these. We turn from parlor chairs and tea tables, from grocery wagons and clothing stores, vastly preferring to stir our blood and

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awaken our laughter by the exciting adventures and the gay humor of the romantic school.

Walter Besant says there are in England fifty novelists who have an income of five thousand dollars or more from their writings. This statement probably includes the Scottish writers. America probably has as many novelists as Great Britain, but in spite of patriotism we fear their average ability and average income are both smaller than those of their transatlantic rivals. Yet, with a hundred men and women writing English fiction to-day, it is hard to select any whose work can be compared to "that large utterance of the early gods." The ablest woman novelist of to-day is undoubtedly Mrs. Humphry Ward, who is indeed superior to all of her sex except George Eliot—at least to those who have written in English. Not very long ago the preeminence among men would have lain between Stevenson, Haggard, and Kipling—a statement which in itself shows our present inferiority, for not one of these is worthy to bear the shoes of Scott, or Thackeray, or even Kingsley. Some will claim for Stevenson, whom we can hardly yet consider gone, the first rank of this age; but this honor now seems to more properly belong to Hall Caine, whose *Manxman* has placed a third dweller upon that lofty eminence where Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* and the German Auerbach's *On the Heights* have so long stood in gloomy grandeur.

Some have claimed for Howells the first rank, even setting him above the great masters of the previous age; but this claim is by the most extreme devotees of the commonplace. Howells's real rank we take to be about equal to that of Jane Austen. He has a gift of smooth and easy language, a clear understanding of human nature, and considerable facility in expressing some very good moral ideas. These alone, however, do not make a great novelist. Once and once only Howells showed a touch of power, the faculty absolutely indispensable to an artist of the first rank. In *A Modern Instance* he for once released himself and ventured to show the workings of powerful passion. The result showed what he might do if, instead of dallying with charmingly inconsistent women and everyday men, he would deal with those mighty impulses which are just as real as society calls and five o'clock teas. But, apparently, he was frightened at himself, and has never dared to do as well

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again. Some years ago some admirer predicted that he would yet give us a great sociological novel, which would be to the end of the century what *Les Misérables* was to its middle; but, thus far, his only production in this line is the dreary inanity of his *Traveler from Altruria.*

Recent fiction, like all other, falls into the two classes of stories with a purpose and stories intended to amuse. The first inclines to the realistic school, and the second to the romantic. Of course the division is not absolute. Haggard claims to be a preacher, and Besant certainly amuses us even when he is teaching the duty of the rich to the poor. We are told on high authority that Bellamy wrote *Looking Backward* purely as a literary venture, without any thought of becoming the apostle of a new social order. On the other hand, so wild and fantastic a romance as Kipling's *Nanlahka* suddenly leaps out at us with the great moral lessons that honesty is better than successful smartness and that the divinest thing a woman may be made is that she should be made a wife and a mother. At present the "purpose novel" is greatly in evidence. Novels are written to advance some moral or social reform, or even develop some scientific theory. Socialism is a great fad, both in works of real literature and those of a lower grade. Medical and psychological novels are much in vogue. Religious questions are studied, as in *Robert Elsmere*, *John Ward*, and that nightmare of a book, *The Story of an African Farm.*

Some very sharply criticise the purpose novel, saying that art should be only for art's sake. This theory, however, usually results in immoral art, and is significantly connected with some persons of immoral lives. Art cannot make the evil good or the impure pure. Addison said that dullness was the parent of indecency, but to-day some seem to think that indecency is the parent of art. As some men have tried to be great by imitating the foibles of great men, so some think they can be geniuses by emulating the indecency into which some great geniuses have unquestionably fallen. But the artist who has a purpose must be careful that this does not destroy his art. No one wants a set discourse when he reads a novel. One who finds that his book, instead of turning out a song, is turning out a sermon feels like a child who has been tricked into taking medicine in his candy. *Looking Backward* is mostly unread-

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able, except to students of social science, if Bellamy was writing a mere romance. On the other hand, such a study of social questions as we have in *Marcella* is excellent art.

It is noteworthy that some of the books which have lately had the greatest run are not books of either high purpose or high art. Years ago, in a sermon, Adam Clarke brought against most of the novelists of his day a triple indictment which applies to a good many of the present herd: (1) "Their plans are sickly abortions of paralyzed intellect." (Apparently Nordau was not the first to discover "degeneration.") (2) "Their execution is fantastic and preposterous." (3) "Their issue is dangerous, often destructive, and generally ruinous."

The "sickly abortions of paralyzed intellect" in our day are by one critic divided into three schools, "the erotic, the neurotic, and the tommy-rotic." This last adjective is apt to bewilder those unfamiliar with London slang, and a better classification is that of a sarcastic publisher who received an author with, "A new novel, eh! Which school is this, erotic or idiotic?" The last depth of woe is reached when these two schools are fused into one, as seems to be occasionally the case. We can forgive E. P. Roe for the poverty of his art, because his morals are so good; we can forgive Stevenson for the poverty of his morals, because his art is so good; but when we see a book without either art or morals the rage of a season we fall back with a certain relief upon Carlyle's famous statement that people are mostly fools.

An unpleasant sign of inferiority in recent fiction is the vulgarity of tone which disfigures some work having good qualities. The real topic of the *Yellow Aster* seems to be the divine glory of motherhood; but everybody who has unfortunately read the book will keenly appreciate a certain able critic's caustic characterization of it as "the most vulgar book I've ever been guilty of reading." The dialect craze has been carried to the point of vulgarity. The New Orleans creoles say they will never forgive Cable for his use of their dialect, and it is certain that no one else ever will. We are tired of Miss Murfree's Tennessee mountaineers. The negro, the Irishman, and of late the street boy have become almost literally an unspeakable nuisance. A similar thing is the tendency shown by some, notably by Kipling, to use a coarse slang which sometimes passes

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the bounds of decency. It is possible to be strong and vivid without using the language of the gutter and the barroom.

Recent fiction is open to serious criticism in regard to its use of incident. In the tamest realists this consists chiefly in nonuse, some of their books hardly having anything more thrilling than the boy's diary of "Got up, washed, and went to bed." Others use incidents in a very clumsy and awkward way, dragging them in because it seems necessary to have something happen. In *Ships that Pass in the Night* Miss Harraden finds it necessary to get rid of her heroine; so she sends her out into the street and has a wagon run over her, concerning which Charles Dudley Warner deliciously says, "Such a thing might happen in real life, but couldn't possibly in a novel." Some novelists offend by the use of ghastly and frightful incident, not properly relieved by skillful art. In Stevenson's *Wrecker* a whole ship's crew is slaughtered. Hardy's "Tess" commits murder and dies on the scaffold. In Crockett's *Raiders* the hero finds a gang of outlaws cutting up a human body. These specimens are amply sufficient. We do not, however, agree with the late Professor Boyesen in his sneer at the "brutal atrocities and sickening butcheries" of Haggard, Doyle, and others, so far as it is a question of fair fight. The battles in *Westward Ho!* are certainly not "sickening butcheries," and recent fiction has some almost as good. In fact, the best fight we know of in fiction is the story of "How Umslopogoas held the Stair," in Haggard's *Allan Quatermain.* Our blood is stirred by such writing, as it is by the actual histories of the Light Brigade and of the Old Guard at Waterloo.

Some of the preternatural incidents in the romantic school are not well handled. Haggard's "She" is two thousand years old, yet still young and beautiful. But her companions are two modern Englishmen, armed with rifles and revolvers, fighting Africans much as Cooper's heroes fight redskins. The two conceptions fit poorly together. The romanticists are also the chief sinners in regard to repulsive incident; but they more than get even with the realists by retorting upon them their tendency to morbid studies in character and their loathsome habit of making so many stories turn upon the matter of impurity.

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Recent fiction fails sadly in the creation of characters. Who are the successors to the wonderful creations of Scott, Thackeray, Dickens, and George Eliot? They are "Terence Mulvaney," a rough and drunken Irish soldier, and "Sherlock Holmes," the amateur detective. Haggard has given us in "Umslopogoas" an African chief who surpasses Cooper's "Chingachgook," but "Allan Quatermain" is no "Leatherstocking." The novelists of to-day are weak in men, and weaker in women. Some of Stevenson's stories have no women in them, and those who appear in others are not much better than the frames which display dresses in the shops. "Marcella" is the only live woman in recent fiction, and she is little better than Charles Reade's women, whom she resembles in some respects. Some writers of the past, Scott, for instance, were not especially happy in drawing women, but at least they gave us those we would be willing to have for sisters and wives. But now, after "Tess," and "Dodo," and "Trilby," we begin to fear our novelists are trying to deserve the sneer once aimed at Bret Harte, that with him no woman was a heroine until she had fallen. Even when our present writers portray for us historical characters they fail. Conan Doyle has lately given us the "Black Prince," and Stanley J. Weyman "Henry of Navarre." The prince is cardboard, and the Huguenot hero little better. What a pity Scott could not have left us portraits of these to match his "Richard I" and "Charles the Bald!"

Numerous as are the novels of to-day, very few of them are likely to acquire any lasting popularity or reputation. Their very numbers carry them down as the victims of a shipwreck drag each other under. Books that were a sensation and a rage a few years ago are now almost forgotten. Many are like the insects which live a lifetime in an hour. *Trilby* is less than three years old, and has had a marvelous circulation, but is already dead in the market. There is usually an inverse ratio between quantity and quality. It is simply impossible that a novelist who produces four novels a year, as Marion Crawford does, should produce any one of very high art or very great power. We cannot expect an *Ivanhoe*, a *Scarlet Letter*, *Vanity Fair*, *David Copperfield*, or *Adam Bede* very often, when we are getting five or six hundred novels a year.

The cause of this superabundant supply lies in the com-

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mercialism of the age. Literature is now a profession, and a very profitable one to a writer who can supply the popular goods. *Trilby* has brought its lucky author at least one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. Novelists are like most other people, and enjoy making money. They fritter away in magazine stories and short books material and genius which might produce a masterpiece. When a novelist has made a reputation his name will sell all he can produce, and he too often writes for revenue only. This branch of literature needs to-day men and women who do not care so much for money and immediate fame as to produce the highest art, who can take some mighty conception and work upon it until we once more have a masterpiece. For masterpieces are not made in a day nor to order. Only a man of such genius as comes but once in centuries, a Shakespeare, say, could produce high art with a printer's devil at the door shouting for copy and a ten-thousand-dollar check waiting at the publisher's.

One result of the enormous production of fiction is the repetition of the same ideas, incidents, and characters. Even titles have been used more than once. This is seldom the result of plagiarism. Sometimes it is mere accidental coincidence, and sometimes an unconscious echo of some half-forgotten author. Sometimes it is the reappearance of one of the great types of human experience and thought. The conception of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* can be traced back over two hundred years to a play of the Spanish dramatist Calderon. Once more we confess that "there is no new thing under the sun."

Since this is so, where is the mighty genius, for whom we all are longing to find a topic? It is not necessary that he should have a new story to tell. Shakespeare's stories were all old, even in his day. Originality of treatment is more needed than originality of topic. The mazes of the human heart have not yet been all explored. Hawthorne, Auerbach, and Hall Caine have told us much the same story, yet in wonderfully variant ways. But the writer in search of a comparatively fresh field will find that such epochs as the East Indian Sepoy mutiny and the American civil war are untouched by any genius, and that the age is waiting for some one who can deal with the great topic of the relations between Christianity and sociology.

A story upon this last theme would be a purpose novel of the

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very highest class. Such novels are not always the most entertaining, but are the most profitable. Those who read for pleasure will find it mostly in the romantic school. Its stories are usually short, and can often be read at a sitting. A man tired in body or in brain when he began will feel much refreshed as he rises, chuckling with delight, from such a book as Crockett's *Lilac Sunbonnet* or Davis's *Princess Aline*. But the one who reads only for pleasure will miss the mightiest works of the mightiest minds.

This paper may perhaps appear somewhat pessimistic. It is useless to deny the inferiority of recent fiction, but we must remember that fiction is but following the course of all departments of all literatures. All "golden ages" lie near the beginning. It was inevitable that fiction should descend on one side into delicate and pretty works and on the other into morbid and extravagant forms. Yet the immediate prospect is encouraging. The appearance in one year—1894—of two such novels as *Marcella* and the *Manxman*, both superior to anything else since George Eliot, and crowding very near the first rank, was a very hopeful sign. There is a healthy revulsion against the morbid and unclean forms of fiction. The popular "short story," in which Americans excel as much as the English do in the longer novel, may not be the highest art, but is nearly always bright, healthful, and pleasing. The sparkling wit of Davis, the powerful portraits from American life by Harold Frederic and Miss Wilkins, the historical works of Weyman in French fields, and of Gilbert Parker and Miss Catherwood in American, the humor and pathos of the new Scotch school—these things make up an amount of good work which gives us courage for the future.

These closing years of the century will probably not see the production of any novel of the very highest rank, but they will see much bright, helpful, and hopeful writing in both English and American fiction.

Frank L. Townsend.

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Art. VII.—CHINESE LITERATI IN PEKING UNIVERSITY.

The strange sight of a Chinaman walking demurely along one of the streets of Rome inspired Goethe to write one of his choice smaller poems, a poem as exquisitely beautiful as a piece of rare chinaware. How the soul of this great Teutonic poet and philosopher would be stirred could he behold Chinese *literati*, possessing the highest literary degrees, peacefully and patiently pursuing their studies in a Christian institution in Peking! Truly the unexpected has happened. During the past year an event has occurred to be paralleled nowhere else in the Flowery Kingdom. Chinese *literati*, representing the three regular governmental ranks of Hsiu-Tsai, Chü-Jên, and Chin-Shih, and also that pinnacle of Chinese scholarship, the Hanlin, or "Forest of Pencils," have been docile students in Peking University. Jehovah has accomplished this by using Japan as his "rod of iron." What the efficient United States Commission state in their recent report to the Secretary of State in regard to the dastardly murders at Ku-Cheng and in numerous former riots, as well as in the latest in Ssŭ-Ch'uan, applies equally to all:

> The *literati*, from whom nearly all the officials are chosen, are, almost, without exception, antiforeign. This class does not hesitate, from time to time, by the circulation of false and ridiculous rumors and by incendiary publications, to play upon the superstitions and cupidity of the rowdy element, thus inciting this rowdy class to acts of lawlessness and violence.

Now, when we consider that in nearly every riot against foreigners and Christianity in China these *literati* have been proved to be the instigators, and also the fact that the *literati* who last year entered Peking University represent all grades of Chinese governmental graduates, including the Hanlin, whose examinations are supervised by the emperor himself, we may realize to some extent how radical is their present changed attitude. By means of Japanese cannon and American money Jehovah has given Peking University the unique honor of welcoming to our Christian halls of learning these "wise men of the East." Had we to-day ten times our present resources our hands would be more than full in trying to accommodate greater

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numbers of these choice, brainy youth who are now vainly asking for admission.

It may, perhaps, not be out of place to cast a glance at this Christian educational institution, located in the capital of China, which has thus attracted these representatives of the powerful *literati*, who control the public opinion of the vast Chinese empire. Peking University was organized in 1888 as an outgrowth of Wiley Institute; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York in 1890; and graduated its first class in 1892. One fact should be especially borne in mind—that Peking University is entirely unincumbered with debt. At its inception plans were devised for raising endowments in the form of professorships, tutorships, scholarships, perpetual and annual, prize funds, and scientific supply funds, in order to relieve our already overburdened Missionary Society. With this end in view two professorships of $30,000 each have been started, four perpetual scholarships, and four prize funds for excellence in particular studies.

An admirably located property, extending over an area of thirteen acres and including in part the premises formerly belonging to the Italian legation, has been acquired. The campus was, a few years ago, tastefully planted with more than one hundred and fifty trees and shrubs—the gifts of foreign and native friends residing in Peking. Durbin Hall, a stately, substantial brick building of over two hundred feet front and two stories high, was erected four years ago as the first of a series of collegiate buildings. Now, however, the incoming rush of applicants for admission has more than crowded its utmost capacity, compelling four students to live in one room designed to accommodate only two, which is detrimental alike to health and morals. A good library in English, Chinese, and other languages, to which has been added a well-patronized reading room, has been started. To it valuable additions, including publications of the Imperial Chinese Customs and of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C., are from time to time being made. The museum, with its exhibit from various lands, is also an interesting feature of our educational work. An electric plant, valued at over $3,500 United States currency, a phonograph, a telephone, a manikin for the medical department, and various other apparatus have been collected.

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In no other foreign country has an American Christian institution of learning received such hearty support as has Peking University in China. This is evidenced by the representative character of its Board of Managers, comprising diplomats, as Colonel Charles Denby, United States Minister to China, officials, as Sir Robert Hart, G.C.M.G., merchants, and missionaries of different Protestant denominations. Of the entire number of managers one third must be members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, while the Board of Trustees in New York, who hold sole and ultimate authority, is composed exclusively of members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Viceroy Li Hung Chang has promised our medical graduates positions in his foreign-drilled army and navy, with full religious liberty. Our graduates are already doing effective work, not only in the Church, as efficient preachers and teachers, but also in business life, as in the Imperial Chinese Customs, where the Sabbath is observed as a day of rest. To their credit be it said that on Sundays they teach classes in the Sunday school and, by their gifts, support other students in Peking University.

Peking University has already proved herself to be a sanctuary of Jehovah. The remarkable revivals during the past few winters, when the usual stolidness of Chinese character was melted away, and sins were confessed, animosities healed, wrongs righted, and the joys of salvation were experienced, abundantly attest the presence of Him who is mighty to save.

An intense thirst after Western learning, which made Japan so powerful, though previously despised as an insignificant island of dwarfs, is beginning to be felt by the upper classes of China. To satisfy this thirst secular colleges and universities, where Christ and Christianity are ignored, are being, or have already been, established in Tientsin, Hangchow, and other large cities. Opposed to these stands Peking University, founded upon evangelical Christianity. The only hope for China is the renovation of both mind and heart. This can only be fully accomplished in Christian institutions. Listen to what Abel Stevens, the eminent historian of Methodism, says upon this subject:

> The project of the Peking University I do not hesitate to pronounce one of the most important phases of our whole Chinese mission scheme. We must promulgate the Gospel there, indeed, as the primary instrumen-

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tality of our work. But how promulgate it? I do not doubt, after considerable local study of the question, that the Christian school is the most effective method of its promulgation. Its promulgation in any way was what, in the apostolic age, was meant by preaching it; and I am convinced that in India, China, and Japan Christian instruction is the best preaching, and the school is the best chapel. We thus bring the young under our influence; and the young in these three lands are our chief hope. Besides this instrumentality we should have, and do have, the homiletic or pulpit mode of preaching. The two should be combined, and are, in all our missions there. It should not be a question among us which is the most desirable; both should be considered indispensable and inseparable. But I am convinced that we could never be thoroughly successful without the school.

Before adducing the recent unsolicited opinions of two distinguished visitors who have personally inspected our educational work, let me repeat that, with adequate resources, Peking University could influence for Christ ten times the present number of students, instead of being compelled, as now, to absolutely limit the number to about one hundred. The recent disaster to the famous Doshisha in Japan, when the Japanese ruthlessly severed its connection with the American Board, can never happen to Peking University, because her cable is firmly anchored in the Board of Trustees in New York, who in all affairs of the university have sole ultimate authority. What Robert College has already accomplished for Bulgaria in equipping its influential citizens—officials, merchants, and preachers—with sound Christian principles and progressive American ideas, is what Peking University is aiming to do for China.

Bishop E. R. Hendrix, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, stated, in an interview at Peking in 1895, with Minister Chang, of the Tsung-Li-Yamen:

I have spoken to hundreds of Chinese since I have been in Peking, many of them students in the Peking University. . . . Now they are being given a Christian education; and these are the men who are getting ready to build your railroads and fill your places of trust.

Hon. John W. Foster, Ex-secretary of State, stated in an address on November 15, 1895, in Carnegie Music Hall, New York:

At Peking I was called upon to address several hundred native students, male and female, crowding the large Methodist University Hall, many of them approaching mature years, representing all grades and

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departments of study, embracing the academic, collegiate, medical, and divinity schools. As I looked over those large audiences at Shanghai and Peking, composed almost exclusively of Chinese Christians, . . . my faith in the conversion of that vast empire in the not distant future was greatly strengthened.

When Bishop Fowler, in 1890, was standing upon the lofty, massive walls of Peking and looking down upon the extensive Civil Service Examination Grounds, where were gathered selected scholars from the eighteen provinces of China, he felt his soul so strangely stirred by the sight that, as he tells us, he earnestly prayed that these "Sauls might be made Pauls." Who, a few years ago would have even dreamed that any of these Sauls—our former persecutors—would ever deign to enter our Christian institution of learning? But they are coming as meekly as Saul of Tarsus to Ananias at Damascus. True it is that only a few of these *literati*, representing China's choicest scholarship, have been admitted. The dire necessity from limited accommodations compels us—let us hope only temporarily—to refuse to open the door to others whom Jehovah, in his wonder-working providence, is sending to us for Christian instruction, but who now stand outside vainly clamoring for admission. Now, while darkness is covering the earth and gross darkness the people, and while these Gentiles are coming to the light, may we gladly hear and promptly obey our Lord's command: "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."

Marcus L. Taft.

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Art. VIII.—LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF NEW TESTAMENT TIMES.

Did the apostolic Church have a liturgy? Is that primitive liturgy quoted in the New Testament, and to what extent? What parts of it were adopted from the Jewish worship, and what parts arose from the demands of a new, communing, testifying evangel? On these questions we cannot speak dogmatically, but we hope to show, by calling attention to certain sentiments and expressions, that the germs of liturgical forms and usages accompanied Christianity from the first. Should we fail to make out our case touching a liturgy of New Testament times we shall be gratified if we have, at least, called attention to a fruitful question of research.

How may we account for the many apparent quotations in the apostolic epistles, and how account for the evident ritualistic forms in the imagery of St. John's Apocalypse? Some usages of the apostolic Church may be truly said to have had Jewish antecedents. Baptism, for example, existed as a Jewish rite, and, as Dean Stanley thinks, was used in admitting to their communion Gentile proselytes. John the Baptist used it in the symbolical sense of readmitting Jews, thought of as alien and disfranchised, into a new spiritual Israel. The Jewish passover of the old dispensation corresponds with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the new, but the latter surpasses the former in symbolical and spiritual significance. Besides these instituted forms we discover certain sentiments and expressions which directed the service and molded the presentation of Gospel revelation. There are imbedded in the New Testament salutations, responses, invocations, doxologies, and parenthetical outbursts of praise which are, to say the least, adapted to liturgical usage. The task we have assigned ourselves is to examine and compare the contents of these New Testament expressions. Our aim shall be to formulate some general principles which underlie, first the traditional delivery of Gospel truth, and later the tendencies toward prescribed forms of service.

Liturgy may be defined as that part of the economy of divine worship which deals with concerted action on the part of

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the worshipers. It consists of certain formulas which have not the nature of a fixed and definite law, but of customary action. It is not confined to a mere mechanical performance, but may be constructive, and, in a measure, spontaneous, voicing the deeper spiritual participation of the worshipers. It has to do with all those acts of pastor and people which spring from and find expression in the common feelings of devotion. Liturgy includes all of ritualism and a part of homiletics; it deals with salutations, invocations, prayers, responses, songs, the reading of the word, the sacraments, doxology, and benediction. The principles which must forever underlie liturgical usage were sharply defined by our Lord when he said, "God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and truth," and, "In praying use not vain repetitions, as the Gentiles do; for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. . . . After this manner therefore pray ye."

The subject warrants some statements touching the character and organization of the primitive Church. It never can be said to have been a wholly unorganized body. From his earliest ministry Christ imposed certain commands upon at least a few of his followers. He said to Andrew, Peter, Philip, Nathanael, Levi, John, and James, "Follow me." They become a band of selected men to witness his labors and receive his teachings, and later to constitute, organize, and extend the Christian Church, evangelizing both Jews and Gentiles. One of the things which comforted Christ in the last hours of his life on earth was that this band had kept together and had believed, and that he was glorified in them. Indeed, it would appear that some of the disciples began to think it unwarrantable for anyone to labor independently. Of the company which followed Jesus, John and James had to be taught a lesson of religious tolerance; for when they told Jesus how they forbade one casting out devils in his name because, as they said, "he followed not us," Jesus rebuked them. So long as Jesus was with his disciples he not only reserved to himself the direction of the work, but he also, in sending his disciples forth, enjoined certain forms of salutation and certain directions as to the manner and character of their ministrations. When the disciples were sent on their first tour of preaching in Judea they were to give on entering any house a salutation of peace.

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When they received their final commission to go into all the world they were to preach indiscriminately to all nations, "baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

It is a significant fact that Jesus himself began his ministry with the same formal announcement which the disciples were directed to use, and which John the Baptist proclaimed: "Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." While we may not speak definitely as to the source of this call to repentance and announcement touching the coming kingdom—whether these are the definite words of Jesus himself, or whether the Gospel writers quote from apostolic tradition—we are persuaded that the repetition of the exact words favors the supposition for the existence of a liturgical form.

In the grouping of the words of the Lord by the synoptists, especially by Matthew, Jesus is represented as proclaiming a series of "blessings" comparatively early in his ministry. They appear as a formal introduction to the Sermon on the Mount. We raise the same question again as to their source. Did Jesus utter these words in the form and connection in which we now find them in Matthew, or did he use them in a restricted sense, as in Luke, pronouncing personal blessings upon his hearers because they were poor, while at the same time specifying the hard contrast of woe to others because of their being rich? Which is the purer tradition of Jesus's words? If we answer Luke's account, then may we not say that Matthew gives the same, liturgically adapted and developed? But if, on the other hand, Jesus uttered these words in the form and connection in which we now find them in Matthew, he certainly furnished one of the sublimest patterns of Gospel invitation and sounded one of the grandest keynotes of praise that ever voiced the common devotion and religious aspiration of any worshiping multitude. They are wonderfully adapted to the requirements of divine service. We know of no time when they have not enriched and found a place in the ritualistic formulas of the Church.

What we have said concerning the use of the beatitudes in divine service may also be said of the Lord's Prayer. Christianity in all ages has felt that here are words from Jesus himself. The authenticity of the Lord's Prayer has never been se-

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riously questioned; but let us reverently examine the two forms found, one in Matthew, the other in Luke. Luke has Jesus give this prayer by request of one of his disciples who had heard him praying and desired to have him instruct them "as John also taught his disciples." Matthew gives the prayer as a part of the Sermon on the Mount. It comes in connection with what Jesus said touching the outward forms of religion. It would seem, according to Matthew, that Jesus gave the prayer as a model prayer. The model prayer is a short prayer and a secret prayer. The form found in Matthew, with its doxology at the close, is certainly better suited for use in the congregation. It seems reasonable to suppose that, if Luke is true to his method of giving the historical settings of Jesus's teachings, he would be equally careful in giving Jesus's exact words and no more. On the other hand, Matthew deals with the contents, rather than the historical occasion, of Christ's teachings. We do not have the best manuscript authority for the doxology at the close of the prayer in Matthew's account; but the fact that it is found in many manuscripts, some of them ancient, favors the supposition that the Lord's Prayer had a place in the liturgical usage of the early Church and received additions and slight modification adapting it to the requirements of the service.

In the same spirit of reverence let us approach the holy of holies of Christian institutions, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. We certainly find here, if anywhere, a definitely prescribed order of service. It was to be observed at a particular time and in a particular way. It was to be repeated in remembrance of Christ's death, time after time. The circumstance of its inauguration was the celebration of the passover. All three of the synoptic gospel writers agree as to that; but there are some slight variations in the words, describing the institution of the rite, which we must notice. Matthew and Luke seek to explain the significance of the rite. The former adds that it is "for the remission of sins," while the latter specifies a personal application—"which is shed for you." Mark gives the simplest and possibly the oldest formula. St. Paul gives the same with some freedom and adds its explanation. We conclude that they are all too much alike not to have been derived from a common formula prevalent in the primitive Church. We cannot say that Jesus gave any definite ritualistic form for this memorial, but

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one soon developed and became established. Luke and Paul say Jesus took bread and "gave thanks," while Matthew and Mark say he "blessed it." These words of thanks or blessing were not thought of as affecting any consecration of the elements whatever; it was their custom to give thanks. In the closing scene of the Lord's Supper we notice that Christ and the disciples are said to have sung a hymn before retiring. This hymn was a part of the passover service, and need not claim further attention.

We must now examine a number of passages belonging to this first period which seem to be liturgical at least in form. To this class belong the salutation of the angel to Mary. "Hail, thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee;" Mary's song of rejoicing, "My soul doth magnify the Lord," etc.; the blessing of Zacharias, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel," etc.; the ascription of praise by the angels at the time of the announcement of Christ's birth to the shepherds, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men in whom he is well pleased;" the prayer of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word," etc.; and the shout of rejoicing as Jesus entered Jerusalem, "Blessed be the King that cometh in the name of the Lord; peace in heaven, and glory in the highest." All the above, with one exception, are found in the first two chapters of St. Luke's gospel. Luke claims to have been well informed by "eyewitnesses and ministers of the word" as to the doctrines and teachings of Christ. He writes to confirm Theophilus in what he has heard. If we then have in these chapters a typical form in which the Gospel was presented to the second generation after Christ we certainly can say that the glad evangel was gathering about itself not a little of poetic narrative and dramatic incident which would be well suited to oral recital. Does not St. Luke, by clothing the Gospel narrative in prophetic song, show the tendency toward form and liturgy in this early period? He was for some time a companion of St. Paul and other disciples. Does he reproduce parts of their oral addresses? More of this will be said in connection with the Acts of the Apostles.

These quotations from the gospel of St. Luke come under the head of what St. Paul means by "prophesying." They are outbursts of praise composed of passages from the Hebrew prophets,

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the Psalms, and other books of sacred Scripture modified to suit the occasion. How much of these songs was original with St. Luke we know not. St. Luke was a painter, and drew upon his canvas touching incidents and tender emotions. He was the beloved physician who gave minute details and careful diagnoses. He had a poetical instinct and a musical ear which could catch the faintest, earliest songs of praise.

Thus far we have confined our study to the period of Christ's life; thus far we have discovered little more than the germs of liturgical usages. We come now to the period of the Acts and the apostolic epistles. Gibbon, the historian, names as one of the five causes for the rapid spread of the Gospel in the early centuries their well-regulated ecclesiastical organization. A special characteristic of the Gospel from the first was its constructiveness. In the first meeting of the disciples after the Lord's ascension Matthias was chosen to fill the place of Judas. Scholars of Jesus, or *μαθηταὶ*, soon became known as *ἀδελφοὶ*, or "brethren," and the community of believers received the liturgic name of *οἱ ἅγιοι*, or "the saints." Their meeting became known as *ἐκκλησία*, or "the assembly." At first the Christians met in the synagogue, but persecution drove them to private houses. As the tide of opposition rose higher and higher the bonds of fellowship became stronger and stronger. Their meetings became more secret, while the Church became more social and lost nearly every trace of Jewish ritualism. Their ecclesiastical forms were borrowed not so much from the synagogue worship as from the rules governing civil assemblies.

While the Christian Church was a protest against Judaism, from which it sprung, it did not lose its music. There were some psalms chanted, some songs sung, some simple melodies carried over from the Jewish service, which no doubt were dear to the hearts of the Christian converts and which they sang with a new spirit and understanding. Some of these ancient chants in all probability have been handed down to us and may be found in the hymnology of the Church to-day.

Considerable freedom was exercised with this borrowed material. It was changed and amended to voice the demands imposed by the new Christian devotion. In Acts iv, 24–30, we think, is such a modification. Here the congregation, on hearing from Peter and John what the chief priests had said unto

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them, broke forth and voiced a reply in song. Of the same character are Eph. v, 14; 1 Tim. vi, 15, 16; and others. Several passages are designated as "faithful sayings," and are accepted without controversy. These "faithful sayings" are suited to responsive service. In 1 Tim. i, 15, it is said, "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners;" the response is, "Of whom I am chief." Again, 2 Tim. ii, 11–13, forms a more extended responsive service, where the four conditional statements are responded to by as many declarations of faith. "If we died with him" is answered by "we shall also live with him;" "if we endure" by "we shall also reign with him;" "if we shall deny him" fly "he also will deny us;" and "if we are faithless" by "he abideth faithful." The last clause, "for he cannot deny himself," was probably added by St. Paul in accommodating the "saying" to what the apostle is pleased to call "my gospel," which is to be committed "to faithful men" "able to teach others." There is further evidence of a formulated creed in 1 Tim. iii, 16, where it reads, "God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up in glory." Some authorities seem to think that the most of the quotations cited above are fragments of early hymns sung or chanted in the service. From 1 Cor. xiv, 23–33, it would appear that the composition and delivery of much of the service were the results of sudden emotion or inspiration. Men prophesied as they were "moved by the Holy Ghost," but the service must always conform to order and certain liturgical principles. It became everyone who had anything to say in the meeting, whether in song, prayer, thanksgiving, or prophecy, to speak in a language which the congregation could understand; for, says Paul in 1 Cor. xiv, 16, "Else if thou bless with the spirit, how shall he that filleth the place of the unlearned say the Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest?" The "Amen" was employed on every variety of occasions. It represents the participation of the congregation in the service, and as such appears a number of times in the epistles and Revelation.

We gain some knowledge of what the earlier Church services consisted from Acts ii, 42. They met for worship daily, en-

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gaged in incessant prayer, and related incidents and teachings seen and heard with Jesus. Their worship was the veneration of Jesus as God. This is the remarkable thing at which Pliny wondered. The attitude of prayer, in case of the one leading, at least, in the public service, was that of standing with outstretched hands. That this attitude prevailed in the Jewish Church appears in the figures "*orantes*," upon the early Christian monuments, and is favored by St. Paul's instructions to Timothy, "I desire therefore that the men pray in every place, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and disputing."

The rite of baptism again comes under our notice in this period. From Acts xix, 3–5, it would appear that John's baptism must be supplemented by the later baptismal formula "into the name of the Lord Jesus." The formula of John the Baptist consisted in the "confessing of sins." The Christian formula called for a confession of faith in Christ as the Son of God. There are two passages which bear on this point and give some reason for supposing that a public formula of baptism, including questions and answers, was used by the apostles. In Acts viii, 37, Philip says to the eunuch desiring to be baptized, "If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest;" and he answered and said, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." But this verse does not appear in the Revised Version, because we have not the best manuscript authority for it. The other passage is found in 1 Peter iii, 21. A paraphrase of the apostle's thought here would be like this: Water destroys and water saves. By the waters of the flood the disobedient were destroyed, but a few, "eight souls, were saved by water." The figure applies to baptism in this way: Just as the eight souls were saved by not being drowned in the waters of the flood with the disobedient, so we are not saved by the putting away of the filth of the flesh which is typified by our descent into the water. But we are saved by having that attitude of conscience toward God through which we are enabled to answer well as to our belief in a living Saviour raised from the dead. Testimony is the ark that saves. That "the answer of a good conscience toward God" is spoken of, then, in this connection is best explained by the existence and use of an interrogatory formula for baptism. The manner of baptism, as indicated by St. Paul in Rom. vi, 4, and Col. ii, 12, was by immersion. The candi-

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date was plunged beneath the water to represent the death to the life of sin, and was raised as a sign that he had risen to a life of righteousness.

In the Acts of the Apostles, as in his gospel, Luke cites many proof-texts and quotations. He also gives extracts from the addresses of Peter, Stephen, and Paul. Now, the author makes Peter and Paul use the same methods of argument and style of address! This plainly shows that Luke is either quoting from current Gospel tradition or is framing the speeches himself, Thucydides-like, for his heroes. Whatever be their source, if these are specimens of the Gospel story as preached in those times, the early meetings of the Christians were not wanting in poetic beauty and oratorical finish. The apostles verily drew from their treasures "things new and old." The whole service was a continual poem, and conformed to certain fundamental ritualistic principles. As the apostles told and retold the story of Jesus's life and teaching their message became more and more formal, their speeches tended more and more toward a stereotyped form, and even their epistles in a measure conformed in their arrangement and articulation to the order of the assembly and the progress of oral address.

It was hard, however, in the face of the fierce Jewish opposition and the boldness of Gentile ungodliness, to keep the ministrations of the Gospel up to so high a standard. Abuses were ever creeping in; and especially was this true in Gentile cities. A single instance must suffice. At Corinth they were prostituting the memorial meal, as we learn from Paul's reproof (1 Cor. xi, 17–30). What was the trouble? Somebody would swinishly drink up all the wine; another would come hungry, expecting to gorge himself, and have to wait until he was out of all patience; and still others, a select few, would bring their dainties and sit down and eat them, not waiting for the others, to the envy of the hungry and less favored. It was anything else but a love feast. Paul corrects the abuse by explaining the rite, and finally at the close of his instructions reminds the feast-loving, love-feasting Gentiles to observe the greeting of each other with a holy kiss. This rite, symbolizing fellowship and affection, was certainly very brotherly and beautiful, and, as we shall see, became early associated with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The kiss as a salutation was

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not original with the Christians; but it may be well for us to inquire how the kiss as a salutation differed from the "holy kiss" as enjoined upon Christian believers. It was with the Jews an endearing salutation. In Luke vii, 45, Jesus, at the Pharisee's table, says, "Thou gavest me no kiss;" and in the parable of the prodigal son the father "kissed him" much; and Judas also proposed to betray his Lord by this familiar sign of friendship. It would seem, from the immediate connection where the injunction is made by Paul and Peter, that the kiss came just before the benediction. It was probably called the "holy" kiss because it was accompanied with some salutation of blessing, as in Rom. xvi, 16; 1 Cor. xvi, 20; 2 Cor. xiii, 13; 1 Thess. v, 26; and 1 Peter v, 14. In the early Church the kiss was observed just before partaking of the elements in the eucharist, where it formed a very touching feature of the memorial.

There is yet a long list of salutations, ascriptions of praise, and benedictions to be examined. We hope to bring a large number of these under notice by grouping them and formulating an order of service. The first in order will be that group of passages which relates to an open salutation of grace. Just as the disciples, when entering any home, observed a salutation of peace, so the apostolic Church entered upon its services with an opening salutation of grace. The standard formula is found at the opening of no less than seven of St. Paul's epistles. It essentially runs as follows: "Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ," as in Rom. i, 7; 1 Cor. i, 3; 2 Cor. i, 2; Gal. i, 3; Eph. i, 2; Phil. i, 2; and Col. i, 2. Various modifications of this salutation are found in the other epistles; in three places "mercy" is added (1 Tim. i, 2; 2 Tim. i, 2; Titus i, 4). By a comparison of the above passages with similar ones * used by Peter, John, and Jude, we are all the more convinced that there was a standard formula. Peter says, "Peace be multiplied" in both his epistles; Jude adds "love;" John in his second epistle gives the standard formula with these words added, "the Son of the Father, in truth and love." And in Revelation John replaces "from God the Father," etc., with "from him, which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the seven Spirits which are

* 1 Peter i, 2; 2 Peter i, 2; 2 John 3; Jude 2; Rev. i, 4.

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before his throne." This, we see, is in perfect keeping with the character of the book; as one may judge why seven Spirits should be mentioned in writing to seven churches.

It would appear from quite a number of passages that following, not necessarily immediately, the opening salutation of grace was an ascription of praise to God, of blessing and glory to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The standard formula here is not so distinct. We think, however, that there was one something like this: "Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever. Amen." Paul often used only a part of it, sometimes the first part only and with additions.* As in the case of the salutations of grace, something is gained here also by comparison. In 1 Peter i, 3, the first part of the standard formula appears; in Heb. xiii, 21; 1 Peter v, 11; 2 Peter iii, 18; and Jude 25, the last. There may have been two distinct formulas suited to different times in the service, or there may have been only one with two parts —the latter part repeated by the congregation in answer to the first part spoken by the leader of the meeting. The "Amen" appearing invariably with the latter part favors such a view. And yet who knows but what it may have been a chant, sung at the beginning or closing of the service or even both, as we sometimes sing, "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow?" The ascriptions of glory to God in the epistles more properly belong to the close of the service, but in Revelation they form the most prominent feature of that ideal worship.†

We must now certainly have some singing. What kind of a song would you like? We have three kinds, "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs."‡ Who has a selection?§ We have already noticed some selections from the Psalms, and original poems and ascriptions of praise found in St. Luke's gospel, the Acts, and the epistles; and we shall also find an abundance of them when we examine the Apocalypse.

Did they have musical instruments? This question will be answered by the disposition we make of the liturgical passages of Revelation. John's description of the heavenly worship was certainly germane to existing forms with which he was familiar; and, since "harps" are mentioned three times in Revela-

* 2 Cor. i, 3; xi, 31; Eph. i, 3.
† Rev. i, 6; iv, 11; v, 12, 13; xi, 13; xiv, 7; xvi, 9; xix, 1.
‡ Eph. v, 19; Col. iii, 16. § 1 Cor. xiv, 26.

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tion,* we may infer that their use was not unknown in the services of the Church near the close of the first century.

Much alike in their nature and closely connected in the service were the songs of praise and the prayers. Both alike were of the nature of giving thanks and ascribing praise, outbursts of pure devotion. When Paul and Silas had been beaten and cast into prison, with their feet made fast in the stocks, they held a midnight prayer and praise meeting. On that occasion we would not suppose their surroundings were very favorable for following any order of service; but that meeting did follow an order with which they were familiar. A feature of the service was the familiar alternation of prayer and song.†

There are several passages in the New Testament which seem to indicate that the early Christians exercised considerable freedom in the conduct of their meetings. The preacher sometimes occupied considerable time with his address. At Troas Paul preached until midnight. Sometimes the meetings, to use a familiar expression, were "thrown open for testimony." At such times everyone was free to speak. While everyone is asked to bear testimony it will be more edifying to the Church if the speaker can speak in a language understood by all. There is no law against giving your testimony in a foreign language, however; such a one speaks to God and is profited, but all cannot understand and are not spiritually built up. "Seek that ye may excel to the edifying of the church." Let there not be too many on the floor at once, lest confusion arise. "Let all things be done decently and in order." It is very difficult to determine what may be the further progress of the meeting at this point. The elements having been prepared beforehand, they may celebrate the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In that case the "unlearned" and "unbaptized" will retire. If there were those desiring to be baptized, that was attended to before the eucharist, in order that the new candidate might remain and participate. Before the "meeting broke up" they all encouraged each other and covenanted themselves to remain faithful to their belief and obedient to the civil laws, exchanged a word of blessing, and gave the holy kiss. Finally, the leader dismissed the congregation with a benediction much like the opening salutation of

* Rev. v, 8; xiv, 2; xv, 2. † Acts xvi, 25.

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grace. The standard formula may be found in full in 2 Cor. xiii, 14: "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen."

We must not suppose that the early Church neglected to take up a collection, but it did not form a part of the order of service. That was, like their almsgiving, attended to privately by those selected to look after such work.* Some emphasis was placed upon giving.†

Upon this whole subject of ritualism St. James must be allowed to speak. As Almoni Peloni has pointed out in the *Expositor*,‡ what James has to say on this subject turns upon the translation of a single word. This word, *θρησκεία*, is translated "religion." It refers only to the outward forms of religion. A better rendering of the verse would read: "Pure *ritualism* and undefiled before our God and Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." There is a passage in St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy which also gives us opportunity for wide conjecture as to its meaning. "The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his. And, Let everyone that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." What was it? Was it a part of the ceremony connected with the dedication of a church, or the reception into the church of a new member? Was it an inscription from a medal worn by the Christians, after the manner of the present-day Epworth League badges? We should like to claim it as a part of the early liturgy, but we cannot say where it belonged.

It is not always a misfortune to be detained from church. Toward the close of the first century A. D., St. John was deprived, through persecution, of the services of the Lord's house; but he leads us within the gates of heaven to witness and participate in a divine service. Weizsacher, in his *Apostolic Age*, § speaking of the Apocalypse, says, "It presents us with pictures of a meeting and divine service in heaven, and these are conceived as typical; but the delineation without doubt followed the actual proceedings in the Church on earth. . . .

* Acts vi, 1-6.
† 1 Cor. ix, 11, 14; Gal. vi, 6; 1 Tim. v, 18.
‡ Second series, vol. v, p. 469.
§ Vol. ii, p. 247.

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What he there saw in a series of acts is therefore at any rate suggestive of what usually occurred in the actual meetings of the Church." There remains for us then simply to point out the liturgical character of what St. John affirms was said and done. This can be readily seen by an examination of a few passages.

Beneath the Hebrew imagery are the outlines of the Christian worship. The four beasts incessantly cry, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God, the Almighty, which was and which is and which is to come."* Next the four and twenty elders fall down and worship the ever-living God, and casting their crowns before the throne say: "Worthy art thou, our Lord and our God, to receive the glory and the honor and the power: for thou didst create all things, and because of thy will they were, and were created." When the Lamb had taken the book to read, the choir, consisting of four cherubs and four and twenty elders, begin to sing a new song: "Worthy art thou to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with thy blood men of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation, and madest them to be unto our God a kingdom and priests; and they reign upon the earth."† The whole congregation innumerable responds with: "Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain to receive the power, and riches, and wisdom, and might, and honor, and glory, and blessing." The great chorus reaches the earth and all creations join in it, "Unto him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb, be the blessing, and the honor, and the glory, and the dominion, for ever and ever." A great throng out of every nationality under the sun, clad in white robes, cry with a great voice: "Salvation unto our God which sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb."‡ And the angels this time fall on their faces and worship, saying: "Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honor, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen."

* Rev. iv, 8 (R. V.). † Rev. v, 9, 10. ‡ Rev. vii, 10.

John L. Reeder.

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Art. IX.—LANGUAGE AS A FINE ART.

Man is the master of many arts, because he is a being of splendid powers. His manifold life finds expression in manifold art. Language is the supreme art. In it the spiritual life of man finds completest expression. The range of expression through painting, statuary, and music is very limited; but language is the universal interpreter of the soul. That which has been so powerfully represented to us through painting and statuary was first and more adequately represented through literature. The masterpieces of art are but fragmentary reproductions of Homer, Dante, Milton, and Matthew. Superb pieces of workmanship they are; but we could spare them all better than we could spare a few pages from the immortal books which inspired them. The forms of nature and the deeds of man are susceptible of representation through art; but books are galleries in which the inmost life of the soul is set before us. The great epics, dramas, orations, histories, treatises upon science and philosophy are the masterpieces of art, in which human genius has found its most influential and inspiring embodiment.

Literature may be classified broadly as prose and poetry. If we distinguish between them with sole reference to the art of expression we observe that in prose words are used with primary, if not exclusive, regard to the clear expression of thought, while in poetry they are marshaled also with reference to their ingratiating effect upon the ear. The best prose writers succeed in giving to their composition some of the phonetic graces of poetry; but the poet utilizes the musical element in language to the fullest extent compatible with the clear expression of thought. It follows from this distinction between prose and poetry that prose is best adapted to conversation, business, and philosophy. Poetry is inconsistent with the energy which impels men and the accuracy which they require when language is used for these purposes. In mart, forum, and council the ear heeds not the mellifluous phrase, and periphrastic speech is weak and aggravating. But in the intervals of business, in the domestic or social circle, or in solitude, we have time for the play and rapture of our sensibilities.

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Then we turn to picture, song, and story. And the poet brings us picture, song, and story all in one. The words which tell the story fling at the same time their sweet vibrations on the ear. They set to their own music the story which they tell. They mingle their own phonetic enchantment with the pleasing emotions which they kindle and the golden fancies which they suggest. Poetry, therefore, sustains to prose some such relation as pictures, statues, and music sustain to the more common and useful arts.

It may be well to note, in passing, a distinction between poetry and prose, as to their contents, or subject-matter. Poetry is, in general, the language of the imagination and the sensibilities. It utters the same sentiments and addresses the same faculties as music and painting. We feel that the exquisite verbal dress which the poet gives to his conceptions is ill suited to the subject-matter whose ordinary garb is prose. We may have the form of poetry without the spirit and power of it. On the other hand, we may have poetic sentiments in coarse and awkward prose. But poetic feeling tends by a profound instinct to utter itself in flowing, rhythmical language. As the body of the singer sways in her ecstasy, as the passionate speaker tends to singsong, as the best orators become unconsciously rhythmical and sonorous in their climaxes, so the prose writer in his most exalted moods puts much of the grace and beauty of poetry into his prose.

Assuming now that the writer knows just what to say, let us observe what is necessary to make his composition excellent. He must be able first to use such words as will deliver his thought with clearness. This is the first requisite of good writing. If, furthermore, he can so order his words that sound will be fitted to sense, and utterance be made easy to the tongue and pleasing to the ear, it will be a distinct addition to the charm of his composition. The prose writer may accomplish this by skillful phrasing, by such construction and arrangement of clauses that cadences will come at regular intervals, by pleasing successions and groupings of vowels and consonants. To all the elements of grace and strength in prose composition the poet adds more perfect rhythm and rhyme. It is apparent that the difficulties of composition increase when we add to the clear expression of thought, which constitutes good prose, the

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phonetic graces essential to poetry. The writer must be a consummate artist if he do not sometimes sacrifice music to sense, or sense to music. But language which really succeeds in uttering clearly the most masterful thinking, the deepest, tenderest sensibilities, the mightiest, divinest passions of the soul, and at the same time lays the spell of music on the ear, is poetry of the highest order. In such poetry language becomes not only a fine art, but the finest of all fine arts.

Sometimes, when the verbal expression which a poet has given to his conceptions is not the most perfect, the sentiment which it embodies is so true and noble that the utterance becomes immortal. And sometimes the musician has come to the aid of the poet, and has set his words to music that has wafted them around the world. The poems "Home, Sweet Home," by John Howard Payne, and "Nearer my Home," by Phœbe Cary, are both faulty in their rhythm; but both are very tender and beautiful, while their loss, if there be any, through faulty rhythm is compensated by a delicate, charming alliteration; and the musical composers have set both of them to most ingratiating melodies.

In view of the difficulties of poetical composition we might presume that no very excellent poetry would appear in the early stages of a people's literary development. The fact is, however, that the early masterpieces of a people's literature are more likely to be poetry than prose. Homer, whose great epic is the masterpiece of Greek poetry, antedates by hundreds of years Plato, Pericles, Xenophon, Herodotus, in whose writings Greek prose came to perfection. Latin poetry reached high-water mark in Virgil, who was the contemporary of Cæsar and Cicero, the first great writers of Latin prose. Turning to Sanskrit, the literature of the ancient Hindus, we find, first and best, the Vedic hymns. Early in the classic period which followed the Vedic came the two great national epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, having about twice the bulk of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" combined. Among the writings of the Hebrews we find nothing that, as literature, can be considered so excellent and ancient as the Davidic psalms and the drama of Job. Among English writers before the close of the sixteenth century we find no prose of such merit and lasting popularity as the poetry of Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare.

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In the roll of prose writers, up to the close of the seventeenth century, there are many honored names, but Shakespeare and Milton tower above all others in literary greatness. Not only so, but we have had no poets since who are, in popular estimation, their equals. The name of Dante, who appeared in the flush of the *Renaissance*, is still the greatest name in modern Italian literature.

How shall we account for this early maturity and excellence of poetry as compared with prose? First, by the fact that we require in prose an accuracy and fullness of knowledge which we do not seek in poetry. On this account the prose of one age is likely to be superseded by that of a subsequent and wiser age. Poetry needs not to be accurate, in the narrow sense required of prose. Homer does not lose his high place in human regard because his tales are unbelieved and unbelievable. Great books on science, philosophy, history, may be laid aside because better books will be written as the world grows wiser; but Shakespeare cares not for any impeachment of the accuracy of his historical delineations. Since his time the world has altered its opinion of some of the characters that figured in his dramas, but the spell of his mighty genius lies unbroken still on every shore where the English language is spoken. We may thus explain the fading fame of the great prose writers, while their poet contemporaries lose none of their luster with passing years.

But why does poetry in the dawn of civilization advance by such rapid strides to the very highest excellence? Because it is preeminently the language of the imagination and the sensibilities, and these are more influential in the infancy of civilization than in its maturity. Men are more like children then. The fiction, the passion, and the enthusiasm of poetry appeal to them powerfully. Even its phonetic element has a charm for them that is irresistible. The nursery rhymes which we teach our children are commended to them no less by their cadence and jingle than by the appeal which the nursery tale makes to their fancy. The old rhyming chroniclers made the prosiest matter poetical enough for their readers by their cadences, alliteration, and rhyme. The farther we go back toward the beginnings of civilization the more influential do we find the element of sound in language, compared with the sense and substance of

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it. The poet is not simply a teller of stories, a delineator of passions, a painter of golden fancies; he is a musical artist. His is genius of the highest sort. He so marshals the words which express his thought as to charm the ear with the music of human speech, simply and plainly spoken. As soon, therefore, as the language of a people becomes full and rich enough for poetical uses, a very rapid development of poetry may be expected, while yet the people who speak the language have the richness of fancy, the enthusiasm, passion, wonder, and susceptibility to verbal music which characterizes the early stages of civilization. When civilization has advanced out of the dawn into the broad, clear day of knowledge, it is impossible to duplicate those great epics in which the national spirit and poetic genius of a youthful people found glorious expression. No man living in the golden time of Plato could have written in the vein and power of the "Iliad." No man in or after the Augustan age could have written the "Æneid." In order to write the "Divine Comedy" Dante must have lived when he did, in the glow of the Italian *Renaissance*, with the pulse and passion of a reviving civilization in his veins, before the people's faith in mediæval theology had been broken. The writing of such a poem as the "Paradise Lost" would not now be possible even to the genius of a Milton, for none but a man steeped in Milton's scholasticism and theology could put such intense color, such august forms, and such captivating realism into the creations of his genius. The imagination even of a great poet is less creative than is often supposed. In every age the art, music, fiction, and poetry in which man's most creative faculties find expression are, in their great outlines, but the reflection of his real thought and life. The robust faith of Milton, even in the sensuous details of Puritan theology, was requisite to guide and sustain his imagination in its flight across the awful abysses which it traversed. The skepticism which such a mind would now have to confess touching things then believed would have clipped the broad vans of his fancy and rendered impossible that "advent'rous song" that was to soar, with no middle flight, "above th' Aonian mount," while it pursued "things unattempted yet, in prose or rhyme." Nor could Homer have written the "Iliad" in those days when the intellect of the Greek was ripened at the expense of his sensibility and the people's faith in the gods and their ancestral

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traditions was broken. The "Iliad" probably reflects the religion of the ancient Greeks, as "Paradise Lost" reflects the religion of the seventeenth century Puritans. The former poem must have been produced, as to its elements at least, in those early days when the deities who feasted on Olympus and mixed with men were verities to the people's faith, and the forms of their mighty ancestors moved like demigods in the gray and misty morn of history.

We have tried to show why the great epics must be among the early products of civilization. It does not follow, however, that poetry in other forms may not become more excellent as civilization advances. In the progress of a people their language may become a more perfect medium of poetical expression. Two processes go forward simultaneously in the living language of a progressive people, one altering the significance of existing words and creating new words, the other affecting the structure of the words themselves with reference to easier pronunciation and more pleasing sounds. Those who have had a painful experience tracing Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and Sanskrit roots through the ramifications of declension and conjugation and all the metamorphoses of their history, may comfort themselves with the reflection that by these tortuous ways language comes to adequacy as a means of expression, and speech becomes easy to the tongue and melodious to the ear. We believe that the English tongue becomes constantly richer in the elements of poetic expression. If Milton were living now he could not write so grand an epic as the "Paradise Lost;" but possibly he might give to his other poetry a lyric sweetness that was not possible two hundred and fifty years ago. Shakespeare is, by common consent, our greatest poet. To him we concede a dramatic genius unparalleled, a spontaneity and wealth of expression unsurpassed. He is the "myriad-minded" and unfathomable man. We read him with the feeling that his sublime utterances are the profusions of a genius that is artless and inexhaustible. When we try to explain him we think of divine providence and inspiration. But it is to be doubted whether he had that fine instinct for verbal music which Milton had, and we suspect that the English of Milton's time was a little less perfect instrument than it was when it responded to the touch of Tennyson. An original genius disciplined by

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infinite toil gave to Tennyson a mastery of English for poetic uses seldom if ever equaled. Words come at his call like whispering fairies to chant his dainty fancies, or like thronging birds to warble his thought; or they marshal themselves in stately platoons that volley and thunder, as in his terrific description of the charge of Balaklava. No poet seems to us more skillful in fitting his words at the same time to his own thought and to the reader's ear. We think, too, that Christian philosophy and sentiment, the deep musings, the lofty aspirations, and tragic perplexities of the soul find as complete and exquisite expression in Tennyson as in any other poet. Shelley touches the chords of our English lyre with a dainty finger. The stormy soul of Byron, so sensitive to the sublimity of nature and the allusiveness and tragedy of human life, has flung the conceptions of a mighty but profligate genius into words that speak to the ear as the landscape speaks to the eye, words that fit the poet's purpose as the sea fits the shore. Wonderful are the cadences of Longfellow—poet of the heart and hearth and home, poet for the sad and weary hour, poet sweet and chaste, pensive and tender—who gives to our common household words a lutelike sweetness in his humble tales and holy psalms.

But poetry, finest of all fine arts, forever fails to realize the artist's ideal. Well does the poet, contemplating the inadequacy of his art, exclaim:

I wonder if ever a song was sung,
  But the singer's heart sang sweeter;
I wonder if ever a rhyme was rung,
  But the thought surpassed the meter;
I wonder if ever a sculptor wrought,
Till the cold stone echoed his ardent thought,
Or if ever a painter with light and shade,
The dream of his inmost heart portrayed.

. . . . . .

No real poet ever wove in numbers
  All his dream; but the diviner part,
Hidden from all the world, spoke to him only,
  In the voiceless silence of the heart.

Frank B. Cowgill.

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EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

We invite the notice of our readers to the reply made by the Utah Mission to the article on the Mormon Problem which appeared in our September number. Our desire is to give prominence to that reply, and this we do by calling attention to it. It appears in the "Arena" of this number because, being the report of a committee, it was not in such form as would fit it to appear among the contributed articles.

DIPLOMATIC STORM CENTERS.

It has not escaped attention that the "questions" disturbing the diplomacy of the great nations all relate to the countries of low civilization. The whole world is troubled by the conditions existing in the least advanced. These conditions are summed up in the words weakness and dependence.

Venezuela has a boundary dispute with Great Britain, and depends on the United States to secure what Venezuela considers a just settlement of the questions at issue. In Cuba a rebellion against Spanish rule looks to us for recognition and substantial assistance. In South Africa the Boer republic of the Transvaal is seeking German support as a defense against the British filibusters of the Chartered Company. In North Africa a powerless Egypt is the bone of contention which strains the relations of France and England. Over the Red Sea Italy is at war with an African princelet. In the far East the relations of Russia, France, and England are in danger of disturbance through the claims and ambitions of these nations over half the population of Asia living in China and India, and in adjacent smaller countries like Persia and Afghanistan.

The storm center is thus seen to be the relations of the strong to the weak. What is to be the end of these disputes and conflicts? The reader of history observes that they are not new in kind. All through the eighteenth century England, Spain, and France contended with each other for supremacy on this continent.

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That contest ended before 1820 through the rise of American nations able to resist and repel England and Spain, France having retired from the field. Will the present struggles for dominion in Africa and Asia be ended by the rise of strong powers in those lands?

The Cuban and Venezuelan questions are remnants from eighteenth century conflicts; and, distressing as they are, they cannot probably have large consequences. But in Africa or Asia some great European power may yet find a grave. In South Africa there seems a chance that a strong nation may arise; but it will have to be a composite of Boer and English blood and usage, and that appears impossible. Nowhere else is a new nation rising to greatness yet visible unless we can conceive of an extension of Japanese dominion.

To the student of history the situation is too complicated, entangled, and perplexed to justify a hope that by ordinary means, by a normal evolution, without any catastrophe, these large areas of weak humanity may cease to be fields of strife. But to a Christian philanthropist the situation suggests both a duty and a hope. A struggle to end in the survival of the fittest—blotting out, perhaps, some great nation from the map of Europe—can be averted by the combined efforts of Christian men all over the earth. A strong effort of peace societies, prefaced by careful and complete study of the facts, may bring about a settlement upon lines consistent with the welfare of the vast native populations of two great continents.

The philanthropist will find more help than he dreams of in the calculating man of business who for some time past has been suffering disasters in swift succession from Venezuelan, Cuban, Egyptian, and South African "questions." This cold and emotionless man has found out that there is such a thing as the solidarity of humanity—that when one suffers all suffer—and a wise use of his discovery by philanthropists may prevail over the temporizing instincts of shortsighted statesmen.

THE BIBLE AS A STRAIN OF MUSIC.

The masters of "Ethical Culture" are explaining to their disciples how it is possible for advanced progressives like themselves to utilize what is permanently valuable in Christianity. Ethical culture winging its way over all fields to find honey for its hive is willing to suck sweetness even from the Rose of Sharon and the

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Lily of the Valley, which, it acknowledges, still hold some drops of nectar for the bitter needs of hungry souls. The romantic picture of Christ is so amiable and gracious a figure that the aforesaid masters would fain find an excuse for continuing to give it place somewhere upon their walls; and besides there seems to be something in the great common human heart which is reluctant to part with Jesus of Nazareth; in deference to which "something" it is perhaps wise for them to retain him in some capacity, provided they can justify themselves in so doing before the august bar of enlightened reason and modern culture. It is also acknowledged that the Scriptures, popularly called holy, and hitherto supposed to have been given by inspiration of God, contain some golden grains which make them somewhat too precious to be cast as rubbish in the void; and it ought to be possible to turn them still to some good account, to make them "profitable," not, of course, as Paul imagined, "for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," much less for making men "wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus," but perhaps for some sort of stimulation or soothing, for kindling pure emotions and high imaginings, for impressing us with that sublimity which some one says is Hebrew by birth.

And so the question is under discussion in certain circles how one can get the good out of Christianity without being a Christian; what sort of salvation one who disbelieves in Christ can derive from him; and especially what use a man who rejects the Christian Scriptures or denies their authority can make of them. In pursuance of this inquiry the ethical culturists suggest that the clearest, widest, and wisest usefulness of the Bible in the future will be considerably like that of music. Concerning a piece of music, whether a sonata or a fugue, a dirge, a waltz, or a march, no one thinks of asking, Is it true? Its function is not to convey truth or impart knowledge. To report facts is all aside from its purpose. It neither affirms nor denies anything. Its effect is to play upon the nervous sensibilities, arouse the sense of harmony and rhythm, send little thrills up and down the spine, flush the lachrymal ducts, induce moods, and excite emotions pleasurable or pathetic, tender or sublime, conveying to the mind nothing more definite than vague suggestions, presenting nothing more real than visions of the imagination. The proposition is to utilize the Bible in much the same fashion and for similar effects. This liberating, labor-saving, and sybaritic scheme seems dear to its clever originators and has fascinations for the æsthetic tempera-

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ment. Their idea is that the best way to make the Bible serviceable for moral elevation and spiritual purification is to refrain from asking anything about actual events, supernatural manifestations, divine revelations, or Christian evidences.

It is evident that if we can agree, as is proposed, to regard all scriptures, the sacred books of all peoples, including our Bible, as we regard a musical composition, an instrumental potpourri, or vocal medley, using them accordingly for sentimental and emotional effects, we will be relieved of the necessity of inquiring as to the truth or falseness of anything therein contained, and no one will be at liberty to press upon our attention troublesome questions of historicity, authenticity, integrity, authority. From such a standpoint such questions will seem so irrelevant and unnecessary that we cannot be expected to spend time and labor in trying to settle them; nor will we need, in reading the Scriptures, to feel bound to accept, believe, conform, or obey as in the presence of something didactic, dogmatic, obligatory, imperative.

The proposition of our ethical friends seems born of a humane and commendable desire to save our Bible from impending noxious desuetude, and to furnish us with a prudent provision against the time when we shall perceive, as their superior intelligence already does, that divine revelation must take its place in the category of refined and admirable human productions along with poetry, painting, romance, sculpture, and music, descending to a utility like theirs. This attempt, which on their side is a well-meant endeavor to prolong the usefulness of the documents of a discredited faith, is to the evangelical thinker almost superfluous and absurd enough to have for the alienist a mild pathologic interest. In it thoughtful men are gravely pointing out how the indestructible may be preserved.

In order to give some impression of the intellectual quality of the pages which set forth the feasibility of treating the Scriptures as a piece of music empty of categorical truth and definite reality —in order that the degree of logical solidity and philosophic coherence, the amount of clear seeing and straight thinking in those pages may be fairly estimated—we quote from a current "ethical" authority. He says in substance and almost *verbatim:*

When reading the story of Christ's life and the accounts of his wonderful teachings I do not feel that I must try to believe it all. Whether the life was real or unreal, whether the Christian records are trustworthy or untrustworthy—all this is of minor importance and quite aside from the main point. As I turn the leaves of those Scriptures an Image rises before me of an ideal which men have admired and

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revered and which they have wanted to reproduce in their own lives. The stories of the saints and martyrs no longer come before me as mere creations of fancy or superstition. What took place on the outside may be disputed. But the efforts which such men have made to be like their Master and obey his precepts are tremendously significant. *There we have unquestioned reality.*

Will some "ethical" person kindly tell us how the written records which give us "the stories of the saints and martyrs" are known to be any more trustworthy than those which give us the history of the personal Jesus, and how "the stories of the saints and martyrs" are saved from appearing "as mere creations of fancy or superstition," when, over the fire-tested pages of the New Testament wherein evangelists and apostles witness in downright and explicit terms to absolutely matter-of-fact events, the Master, whom the saints and martyrs worshiped, imitated, and obeyed, is regarded as only the "Image of an ideal" like Hamlet, or Jean Valjean, or Sir Galahad of the Arthurian legend? If criticism, literary or historic, lower or higher, were turned loose upon "the stories of the saints and martyrs" is there any reason to suppose they could abide any such searching tests as those which, though applied often by hostile hands, have resulted in establishing the trustworthiness of the Christian gospels and epistles? Few of them would fare as well as did the history of Napoleon Bonaparte under the historic doubts of Archbishop Whately. A most peculiar statement indeed it seems for a man who declines to accept the reality of the recorded life of Jesus to say that in the efforts of saints and martyrs "to be like their Master and obey his precepts" we "*have unquestioned reality.*" In the next sentence he refers undoubtingly to St. Francis of Assisi, and says, "We are fascinated in seeing how he tried to make the Jesus he believed in an example for his own life." We would really like to know what ground anyone can see for thinking Sabatier's *Life of Francis of Assisi* more reliably historic than is the life of Jesus Christ as given in fourfold narration by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. It is implied in the passage quoted that we have more certain knowledge of the agonizings of "the saints and martyrs" after Christlikeness than we have of the agony in Gethsemane and the crucifixion on Calvary. It is confidently asserted that, in the aspirings and spiritual strivings of saints and martyrs, "we have *unquestioned* reality." Were we in debate we would, just for the sake of putting this "ethical" gentleman to his proofs, challenge the reality of his "saints and martyrs" and their alleged efforts, in order that we might see by what evi-

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dential methods a man who rejects the historicity of the New Testament would proceed to convince us of the actual existence and soul struggles of a personal St. Francis in any fixed time or place. We have been to Assisi, but never saw Francis; no one there can remember him; and we have vastly less faith in the stories told about him than in the invulnerable history of the man of Nazareth, Son of God and Saviour of the world, enacted in that small, world-influencing country which his footprints have caused men to name the Holy Land.

Ethical culture eliminates the historic Christ, the actual personal divine Jesus, because it finds the four gospels incredible as history; yet, being thriftily and laudably bent on saving something out of the wreck of Christianity, searches among the ruins and reports for our consolation that there is still left "the Ethical Christ," which, we are told, is very valuable, notwithstanding it must be regarded as an ideal largely of our own creation; the fact being, so "Ethical Culture" says, that struggling humanity has formed for itself the picture of a type of character and a form of life by imitation of which the conquest over evil may be most fully assured. [This is the view of naturalistic scientists, the only one permitted by the all-engulfing theories of rationalistic evolution, which dogmatically declare that no life or knowledge has come down from heaven; all things have come up from the ground—monad, mollusk, mammal, man, and even the Christ ideal—all evolved by instinctive and aspiring struggle from primeval germ or germs concerning the origin of which it is impertinent, uncivil, and vexing for us to insist on inquiring.] We hear the "ethical" teacher, who feels no need of believing anything as to objective facts when he reads the New Testament, saying that this ideal "Ethical Christ" appeals to him, moves and inspires him far more than when he viewed the subject in the conventional way. Having dropped the facts of history and revelation's distinctly declared truths and the supernatural in the Bible and the concrete flesh-and-blood God-man, he exults in his disencumbered freedom and testifies to the blessedness of his fellowship with that airy ideal, "the Ethical Christ," as follows:

> It gives me greater pleasure now to read the Scriptures which tell the story of that life. I enjoy listening to the music of Handel's "Messiah" more than ever before. The paintings of the great masters which illustrate that life stir me more profoundly; the splendor of the cathedral architecture, which speaks for the new spiritual view of life, has an even greater hold upon me. I can even read the "devotional literature" of Christianity and be more helped and inspired by it. I take

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even larger satisfaction, and am more than ever kindled in my aspirations when reading some of the writings of such men as Jeremy Taylor or John Henry Newman. Formerly I was constantly led to think how much I disagreed with such writings; but now it is the other way, and I keep thinking how much I am in sympathy with them. As long as we have to dispute about points of philosophy or the facts of history the disagreement will have no end. But when we come down to the issue, what our hearts hunger and crave for, then we draw close together. We who may be dubious about historic records . . . will nevertheless be equally anxious to see this ideal type of character more and more reproduced in ourselves.

The ethical culturist, though a rationalist, is unwilling to be called an agnostic, and is certainly no scoffer. To the bottom of his depth he is an earnest man, cherishing the ideals and ethics of religion, measurably reverent toward Christ, and unwilling to dispense with Christianity in bulk and altogether, apparently feeling toward it much as Matthew Arnold did toward the Christian Scriptures when he wrote in *Literature and Dogma:*

To the Bible men will return because they cannot do without it; because happiness is our being's end and aim, and happiness belongs to righteousness, and righteousness is revealed in the Bible. For this simple reason men will return to the Bible, just as a man who tried to give up food, thinking it was a vain thing and that he could do without it, would return to food; or a man who tried to give up sleep, thinking it was a vain thing and he could do without it, would return to sleep.

It is commendable in our "ethical" friends that they do not entirely discard Jesus Christ; they are endeavoring to find what good use they can consistently make of him. Their writings seem confusedly to assume him sometimes to be an actual character, a real person, and sometimes only an ideal; but in either view they say he was incomplete. The ethical ideal, which "was only vaguely or dimly outlined in the Christ picture," is now, they promise us, to be completed and clothed "in more realistic form;" and this well-dressed, new, and perfect ideal is the consummate "offspring of the universal human heart," now offered to us as a superior substitute for the Word made flesh, the everlasting Son of the Father. For one thing they regret that the Christ portrayed in the New Testament was not aggressive enough, lacked "the determined will and venturesome mind." His purity of spirit, his meekness and lowliness of heart were very lovely, but there was not in him, they think, "the bold, resolute, energetic will, pushing ahead to change the course of events and to alter the trend of history." And this they say of Him whom Schelling calls "the turning point in the world's history," who in three little centuries, without swords or ships, allies or armies, subdued the Roman empire to his sway, making

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the emperor Julian cry, "O Galilean, thou hast conquered!" this they say of Him who was "holiest among the mighty, and mightiest among the holy, who lifted with his pierced hands empires off their hinges, turned the stream of centuries out of its channel, and still governs the ages."

John Stuart Mill thought the most valuable part of Christianity's salutary effect on character to be available even to the absolute unbeliever; and it is now being definitely explained from "ethical" platforms how the unbeliever may obtain that salutary effect. The plan is to use Christ as an (incomplete) ethical ideal, and to listen to the Scriptures as to a strain of music, which may move us, influence us, induce certain moods in us, without our entertaining intrusive and pestering questions about truth, reality, or historicity. It is recommended that each of us make a Bible for himself, beginning by going through the Christian Scriptures and selecting the passages that suit us best, judging from the way any passage affects us whether it is advisable to include it in our compilation. One "will seldom know positively at the first reading whether anything should belong to his sacred scriptures. He has to wait and see how it affects him on second or third perusal, what moods it awakens." "I do not see, for instance," says our ethical instructor, "how any human being, no matter what his religion or philosophy, can help being inspired by parts of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. Say over to yourself the words:

"'He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have wandered each in his own way and on him was laid the iniquity of us all. He was despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief. As one from whom men hide their faces, he was despised, and we esteemed him not. He was oppressed and afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth. As a lamb that is led to the slaughter, or as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth. Truly he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed.'

"One can repeat that every few days all his life," says the "ethical" teacher, "and never tire of it. We can see why. It puts one into a certain mood. It starts the soul into life. One begins to think of all the vicarious suffering in the world, how men have to bear each other's burdens and one man endure the penalty for the sins of another. We think of the whole past of the human race and what had to be undergone in order that we might be where we are at the present day. There is something unutterably sad and yet sublime about it. We see all mankind under

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this law of vicarious suffering and draw nearer than ever before to our great human brotherhood." Such, it seems, are the benefits obtainable from Isaiah's wonderful chapter, apart from all belief or disbelief: no thought of the Messiah, no asking who he is of whom such things are written, no concern as to whether they are true or false, or whether it was the Son of God who did and suffered these things, or whether there was any virtue in his doing and enduring, or any benefit flowing therefrom. Plain statements of fact are dodged by meandering off into vague sentimentalities, dissipating definite meaning into dim generalities, and dispersing God's Messiah-Christ into "all mankind!" It is the opinion of the sapient thinkers whose suggestions we are considering that the Bible contains quite a goodly number of powerful and impressive passages which, "if read as we listen to certain kinds of music, will linger in the consciousness as a mood, and leave a sort of afterglow." Take for another example the fifty-first Psalm; it is a work of art; its unity, its perfect harmony of tone makes it a penitential symphony; it would be a fitting prayer indeed for a sinner (if there were such a thing as sin) to offer to an insulted and grieved God (if "ethical culture" permitted definite recognition of such a Being). As matters stand, this psalm is well adapted to produce in the "ethical" mind those subdued regrets and better aspirations which make for moral dignity and must surely tend toward nobleness. Or take the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians: how sweet and beautiful and grand! Let a man just steep his mind in its fine sentiments, and see how lovely, loving, and lovable he will become—in his moods; at least for a time and on eupeptic days when the barometer is high and the wind sits in the favorable quarter.

It is conceded by our "ethical" friends that the Bible, in parts, takes a high rank in mood-making, yet they say it is palpably insufficient. For example, in order to construct a moral symphony perfectly adapted to play us up into a superior ethical mood it is necessary to balance the sayings of Christ with the wisdom of the Stoics. Furthermore, your orchestra of players for mood-producing music must not exclude Buddha, who, going to Benares, said: "I go to beat the drum of the immortal in the darkness of this world." Alongside of "David's harp of solemn sound" put Gotama Buddha's drum. And for complete spiritual self-culture one should gather choice passages from many sources—whatever impresses him as excellent—from the opening chapters of the Buddhist canon, from the

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Greek tragedies, from Plato, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, from Shakespeare and Marian Evans Cross and Emerson; including also the passage about the "Sanctuary of Sorrows" from *Sartor Resartus*, Wordsworth's lines about Tintern Abbey, some lines from Shelley's "Adonais," some from Browning's "Saul," one or two of Clough's poems, and possibly something great from Walt Whitman. What a liturgy might be compiled from these sources! If our "ethical" brethren would print such a service some nominally Christian Churches which reject the deity of our Saviour, or belittle sin and atonement, regeneration and sanctification, or think it desirable to garnish the Gospel with flowers from pagan gardens, might like to adopt it in their worship. If you will make up thus by a cosmopolitan eclecticism a composite Bible, you will have a variously inspired volume, and if you read it as you would listen to a strain of music, the ethical culturist tells how it will affect you: "Its thoughts, its sayings, will move you, thrill you, strengthen you, nerve you to tread the pathway of your life; because it will seem much of the time as if you were the being through which (*sic*) they were being spoken, as if at that instant you were half divine." Thus ethical ecstasy may be excited as patriotism is kindled in the Frenchman by the "Marseillaise," and in the German by the "Watch on the Rhine." It is added that for some temperaments the best possible Bible would be made up, not of literary extracts—words and sentences—but exclusively of musical selections.

We envy no man his ability to enjoy the twenty-third Psalm without reference to whether there is any shepherd or any house of the Lord, and we count it a singular mind that can write: "A book like *The Imitation of Christ* is a perfect gold mine of inspiration, and can be read with enthusiasm even by those who do not share the beliefs of Christianity." Such enjoyment and enthusiasm are the same as one experiences in reading a romance. Real moral fiber cannot be so made. Indeed, the effect must be distinctly demoralizing. The scheme for getting the good out of Christianity without believing in it is a plan to better one's ethical condition by playing tricks on oneself. If we should admit it to be possible for a man to cherish the Image of beautiful character, which is seen in the New Testament Christ, and which corresponds to a deep ethical ideal in the human soul, while disregarding the historic basis of Christianity and ignoring the question whether such a Christ is or ever was; yet, with this question put aside, another equally serious question stands stubbornly in

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the foreground: How much good can a moral being hope to attain by conscious self-fooling and make-believe?

Was it the fault of a certain man who mused over a volume of "ethical culture" before an open Adirondack fire that it occurred to him while gazing into the flickering flames and bursting sparks and crumbling coals that one form of possible usefulness for the Scripture has not been included by our "ethical" neighbors in their scheme? At all events, the man, musing while the fire burned, found himself wondering why they had not gone a little farther and suggested that on a cold night one might get some comfort out of Bibles by making a bonfire of them and sitting in the light and warmth of their brief blaze. Surely, listening to the Bible as to mood-producing music is little above watching the blaze of logs and indulging in the pensive reveries which its mysterious mesmeric influence induces. To ask the fireside dreamer whether the lambent tongues of flame in the fireplace tell the truth would not be much more absurd and idiotic than to trouble the "ethical" reader of the Bible with a similar question about its pages.

The proposition to use the sacred Scriptures for merely inspirational purposes like music, excites in us emotions which contrast strongly with those we derive from the Bible. We cannot help wondering that a platform which claims to stand for a superior degree of culture should show so little philosophic seriousness and mental penetration, so little of the hungry appetite, keen scent, and patient pursuit of the cultivated intellect after exact and ultimate knowledge. As spectators of its intellectual action on the field we see much fumbling, little sharp tackling and playing straight for a goal. We miss in this culture the keen discernment of the skilled thinker, neatly dissecting off and tossing aside the irrelevant and unnecessary, cutting straight down to the core and marrow of the matter. There is lack of intellectual virility, seizing the subject with the firm grip of an energetic and determined mind, and an easy-going mental indifference which seems to assume that to know is not a prime necessity for man's happiness or welfare. It is surprising that persons assuming the function of public instructors in this day evince so little of the scientific temper and make so little use of the scientific method. In this respect Christian lectureships and the Christian pulpit are far in advance. The Christian student wants to know, demands to know, and investigates by experiment to find and prove facts. Christianity insists on facts, and has them; it is the patron of the

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scientific method, the chief promoter of science, a few of whose votaries sometimes vaunt themselves against it. Christianity studies things above in the spirit of the astronomer who uses his telescope not so much for exciting in himself a passing emotion of wonder and awe, as for finding out all ascertainable facts about the heavenly bodies; and studies things below, including the human state and the heart of man, as geologist and mineralogist study the earth to learn what it is made of and how it is constructed. Christianity maintains laboratories of many kinds, and the characteristic style of the Christian instructor to his students is: "You are here to obtain by experimental, scientific methods exact knowledge of the nature, effects, and uses of whatever substances you study;" while it is hardly caricature to say that the consistent style of the professors whose teachings have provoked this essay would be: "Students in this laboratory, do not insist on knowledge. The most practical and certain use of these chemicals will be to excite in you by their colors and odors feelings of pleasure or disgust." As to the relentless search of science, so also to philosophy Christianity gives its approval, urging on its tireless pursuit of reality out and up to the supreme and ultimate Somewhat, bidding the philosopher sail all seas of thought throughout the wide universe, and make soundings everywhere until he touches deepest bottom and finds the *Welt-Grund*.

Again, we cannot help wondering that the proposition to make a vague and vapory use of the Bible comes from an "ethical" source, since it seems to us deficient in moral earnestness and unworthy of persons professing to make a specialty of ethics. It is the business of ethical teaching to discriminate primarily between right and wrong and coordinately between truth and falsehood. It is immoral to make light of the importance of this distinction. A live conscience pushes the question of truth and reality ever to the front, and never consents to make believe something is true. To put to the uses of fiction a book which claims to contain eternal truth, and which as centuries roll is so accepted by ever-increasing millions of the highly charactered and intelligent, is ethically frivolous. In the presence of the most austere and lofty standard of morals, commanding action and prescribing duty, to content oneself with passive moods and indolent day dreams is ethical lotus-eating; and a moral life so fed is flabby and unsound—it is virtue in delirium. The conviction grows in us that deep moral earnestness is not found apart from religion, and that ethical culture cannot have real fighting force unless it

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stands on a positively religious basis. The moral revolutions of history have been brought to pass by men who had in their veins the warm red blood of religious faith and the throb of strong convictions; history, as we read it, says that the best moral brawn and sinew need not be looked for except in such men.

Furthermore the Bible is by its very nature unsusceptible of such treatment. It is too solid and inflexible for such soft, feathery uses. First of all it is largely a book of downright assertions, direct declarations of fact about many things past and future, in earth and in heaven—declarations in the presence of which the instinctively natural and forever necessary question which every sound mind must ask is, "Are these things so?" It is a matter-of-fact book, reporting events and giving explicit accounts, affirming that thus and thus real persons spoke, so and so real actors did, with names and places, times and circumstances given, as literal and exact as a mercantile inventory, and in a style as careful and responsible as an affidavit or a deathbed deposition. To hold off from it the question of true or false is impracticable. The proposal to read such a book as one would listen to the inexplicit, unaffirming song of a bird, or instrumentation of an orchestra, is inane if not insane. As well instruct a jury in court to listen to the testimony, not in order to obtain a clear conviction as to the facts of the case and to render a true verdict, but with the idea of inducing in themselves certain sentimental moods and tones of feeling. The Bible purports to be a record of real happenings, and the intelligence of the world no more thinks the Christian history a fiction, nor the life of Christ a fable, than it believes the physical universe to be a mirage. The same is true of all the moral and spiritual realities which the inspired volume reveals or refers to. Emotions and moods are inevitable, and may be highly useful, but religion has more important uses than to produce them. The Bible is sure to stimulate the imagination, but the supreme function of that splendid faculty is not to beguile us with unsubstantial visions, but to make vivid to us divinely revealed and certified realities. Of the imagination it has been as truly as reverently said, that "its first and noblest use is to enable us to bring sensibly to our sight the things which are recorded as belonging to our future state or invisibly surrounding us in this. It is given us that we may imagine the cloud of witnesses in heaven and earth as if they were present—the souls of the righteous waiting for us; that we may conceive the great army of the inhabitants of heaven and discover among them those

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whom we most desire to be with forever; that we may be able to vision forth the ministry of our God beside us, and see the chariots of fire on the mountains that gird us round; but, above all, *to call up the scenes and facts in which we are commanded to believe, and be present, as if in the body, at every recorded event of the history of the Redeemer.*" Because the Bible is a declaration of facts and a revelation of realities it cannot be reduced to the uses of fiction nor listened to with the same indifference to truth as if it were a strain of music.

In the next place such use is at variance with the avowed purpose and obvious stress of the Scriptures, which are bent not so much on imparting fine sentiments and certainly cannot be conceived as stopping there; the heaviest emphasis is on conduct and service, endurances, obediences, activities, fruits. Toward such concrete and positive results they push urgently on; and "Ye did it" or "Ye did it not" is the explanation and justification of the final irreversible moral verdict.

Again the contents of the Bible are too solemn and august to be so lightly dealt with. To treat the tremendous as if it were trivial is grossly incongruous and improper. It shows an utter lack of mental perspective, an absence of the sense of proportion. Take, for example, such passages as these: "The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life;" "There is one God, one mediator also between God and men, himself man, Christ Jesus;" "Jesus Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man;" "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world;" "I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me." How is it possible to listen to declarations so transcendently significant, sacred, and momentous as to an inarticulate and comparatively meaningless strain of music? Can a prisoner listen to his death warrant or his reprieve without asking, "Is it true, that I am to die?" or, "Is it so, that I am to live?" The proposition thus to treat the Holy Scriptures is a piece of solemn trifling fit to go with Mirabeau's enormous and irreverent frivolity when he said, "Let me die to the sound of delicious music."

Once more, such an attitude of mind toward a book so awful and majestic as the Bible is reckless audacity little short of defiance; it is folly approaching madness. This commanding book speaks with the most authoritative tone ever heard by man.

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Probably Wellington knew the sound of command when he heard it, and holding his ear against the Bible he said he heard the sharp ring of marching orders, such as a man must obey or suffer punishment. There are orders in it as peremptory and relentless as Grant's "By the left flank forward!" under which his army went forward through seven days' slaughter in the bloody Wilderness. The most imperative sentences ever framed are in its pages. It claims to be the voice of the almighty Maker and Judge of all. Its commands are backed by threats of penalty which blaze and thunder against disbelief and disobedience. A moral law able to enforce itself says, "Do this and live; refuse and die." If there is any ground for this authoritativeness, any power behind these commands, he who listens to them as to the rumble of stage thunder does so at his peril. The moral pungency, incisiveness, and grapple of many parts of Scripture make them as little like a strain of music as can be imagined. To attempt, for example, to put the Decalogue or the Sermon on the Mount to such a use is as preposterous and hazardous as for a man to lie under the rattling thunder, with heaven's live lightning stabbing the ground, and expect to be tickled into a mood of tears or of laughter by the prongs of its fiery pitchfork.

In the moralizings which this editorial criticises we see only iridescent film stretched over vacancy. The mind hath bubbles as the water hath, and these are of them. As we watch them float away one impression left upon us is that, if obliged to choose between the pundits of a pagan faith and the promulgators of a shallow antichristian unfaith, we would find it difficult to prefer the latter; that we might have more patience with Swami Saradananda, and Jehanghier Dossabhoy Cola, and Kwancho Shaku Soyen, and Swami Vivekananda, than with certain utterances of our "ethical" professors.

Why then spend so many words on a foolish proposition? For one reason if no other, because it warns us to watch lest we ourselves inadvertently appear as practical disciples of such shallow teachings and show no deeper earnestness; lest we read the Holy Scriptures with no more lasting result than a momentary solemnization and wistfulness; or lest, worst of all, we permit congregations to go out from under our preaching to the conflicts and temptations of life and the final exigencies of death, no more impressed, instructed, strengthened, or established than if they had been listening to the "song of one that hath a pleasant voice and can play well on an instrument."

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THE ARENA.

THE MORMON PROBLEM: A REPLY FROM THE UTAH MISSION.

[THE Utah Mission at its annual session held at Ogden, Utah, September 10–14, 1896, Bishop Vincent presiding, appointed a committee to consider and make reply to the article by Rev. F. S. Beggs, in the September number of this *Review*, entitled, "The Mormon Problem in the West." We print the report as unanimously adopted by the Mission. An article from Dr. T. C. Iliff on the general subject is promised for a later date, and will be awaited with interest.—ED.]

In the article committed to our consideration the following statements occur:

1. "The Churches are not reaching the Mormons."

2. "So far as converting the Mormons is concerned, money has been largely wasted." "If two hundred real Mormons have been changed and made into earnest evangelical Christians during that time [twenty-five years, in which two millions of dollars have been poured into Utah] we have not been able to discover them."

3. "A Presbyterian pastor who has labored for the past five years in Utah is of opinion that not one hundred Mormons have been converted into actual Christians."

4. "Why waste time, money, and labor in carrying on what many regard as a religious crusade against a quiet, sober, religious, and industrious people?"

5. "The time has come for the authorities of all evangelical Churches to change their plans of missionary operation in Utah."

6. "Had the missionary money spent during the past twenty-five years in supporting missionaries in uncongenial, unfruitful, and barren fields, where very few Gentiles live, been put by the Methodist Episcopal Church into a commanding college much greater results would now appear."

In correction of these statements the committee would call attention to the following facts:

The Churches are here to reach all classes, and have never failed in their mission to the masses. Thousands of souls have been converted, many of whom are now centers of Christian influence and power in many States and Territories of the republic and other parts of the world. The value of this can never be fully estimated on earth. It must be remembered that there has always been a large floating population in Utah, and that large numbers that have been reached and saved through the instrumentality of the Christian Churches and schools have gone from us and make no showing for the work on the ground.

Again, the statement that Mormons are not reached is misleading. It

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is true great numbers are not brought into Christian Churches, and yet a goodly number have been. A member of this committee received into the church in one community forty persons, about thirty-five of whom had been Mormons; and a number of these who were converted and who united with our Church were afterward excommunicated from the Mormon Church. Our minutes show that in one year there were one hundred and sixty-seven accessions to our Church from Mormon ranks. We have a letter from a brother of another denomination stating that hundreds of souls have been gathered by them into their Church, over four hundred of whom have been Mormons, and that over twenty of their workers and teachers have in some way been connected with Mormonism. The Christian schools have wrought a marvelous reformation throughout the length and breadth of Utah. The high standard of the public schools is one result of this part of the work.

There have been mighty influences at work in Utah for the last twenty-five years, and a history of this work would be one of thrilling interest. The field is acknowledged to be the hardest in the world, but mighty victories for God and truth and education have been achieved; but for these Christian influences Utah would not be as far advanced as she is to-day. Great changes have taken place under the heroic toil and sacrifice of devoted men and women of God.

As the committee can but briefly refer to these matters we recommend that Dr. T. C. Iliff be requested to answer the article in full in the November *Review*.*

GEO. E. JAYNE,
J. D. GILLILAN, } *Committee.*

"KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING IN SPIRITUALITY."

THE contributed article on this subject, in the July–August number of the *Review*, contains some valuable psychological and spiritual suggestions. At the same time there are half-truths which do not deal out full measure, "pressed down, and shaken together, and running over." There is evidently a strenuous effort to push spirituality too far over toward the intellect, and hence a danger of unbelting the machinery.

This old question, fought over by philosophers, gains new interest as the modern progress of knowledge inspires intellectual pride and ambition. These two angels in strange apparel criticise crystal tear drops, using peculiar adjectives, and actually propose to stand guard at the gate of Gethsemane to critically see that all proceeds according to their rules of cognition and logic.

The contributor says: "In the first place, in ordinary psychical processes, the thought about anything antedates the feeling about it." A

* Dr. Iliff writes: "The time is too short for me to comply with the request of the Annual Meeting of the Utah Mission, to supplement the above report by making full answer in the November number of the *Methodist Review* to statements in the article, 'The Mormon Problem in the West,' by the Rev. F. S. Beggs. Besides, it seems to me that the report of the committee is sufficient reply to that part of the article to which the Mission takes exceptions."

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fuller view will show that the conscious self always acts as a unit. One faculty does not sleep while others toil. Feeling never consents to go off on a vacation while intellect and will stay at home and trudge on at their tasks. One might as well say that the arrival of the light in a solar ray antedates the arrival of the heat; or, that the bulk of a cannon ball strikes the target before the breadth or thickness of the ball arrives. Knowledge affects feeling, and to this extent feeling is dependent on knowledge. But feeling also influences thought and will, and they are in turn so far dependent on feeling. When God comes into a human soul he does not set up his headquarters in the intellect, putting feeling and will under lock and key. He comes into our poor wasted life as a baptismal flood of Spirit. This new life flows into, and quickens, ennobles, and beautifies the whole of human life. One function is not fed into a giant while another is starved into a dwarf. There are three roads into consciousness: (1) The physical senses; (2) Intellectual cognition; (3) Spiritual intuition. In the second one can mark the logical processes. In the case of the senses we only apprehend the stimuli, while in spiritual intuition we know nothing but the conclusion or result as it comes into consciousness. We are told, "Our religious emotions are determined by our religious thoughts." This is a half-truth. The other half is that religious feelings determine religious thoughts. A man feels as he thinks. But this is not all. One also thinks as one feels. A little child is by its mother put to bed in a room alone. She retires with the light. The child, in the darkness, feels afraid and thinks some one is in the room. Did the thought produce the feeling, or the feeling the thought? Evidently the feeling produced the thought. Spirituality is not "purely emotional;" no more is it purely intellectual. Thought is not the only thing that determines feeling. Motive or purpose gives shape to both logic and feeling. This is true in business, politics, and religion. Below the purpose is character; hence volition, thought, and feeling all come from character conditions. Hence the bedrock of Christ's philosophy is that there must be a new nature. Nor is it fair to say that feeling is "mere emotion." Emotion is a movement or excitement of feeling. Feeling is larger and more permanent in its nature.

Our correspondent claims that knowledge is determinative of spirituality. It is truly an important element in it, yet knowledge may exist without spirituality. Human cognition is not the germ that produces the Christ life. Satan may have all the knowledge of an angel, yet he has no such thing as spirituality. His feelings may correspond with his knowledge; still the feelings are those of a fiend. It is not cognition that gives them shape and quality. Intellect alone does not make feeling. We are told of one dying who cried out, "Give me a great thought, that I may feed upon it." This is quoted to prove that thought satisfies the soul's longing. But the dying man wanted a thought, not as an end, but as a means. Besides this, his feeling of need prompted the demand for a thought. A deeper view shows that what satisfies the soul is not thought, but the real life-giving Christ himself. This satisfaction must come, not

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by intellect mainly, but in the fellowship, the personal communion and consciousness of the Holy Spirit. The "witness of the Spirit" is deeply and truly psychological and philosophical. Thoughts of God, Christ, sin, heaven, and hell may all be had without the feeling of penitence for sin, without which there can be no regeneration or uplift to the life or character. Our contributor writes: "It is the revelation of God's anger and mercy to the mind that stirs the corresponding emotions of fear and love." This is true so far, but a half-truth; for such knowledge may be given and only harden the soul in sin.

But which has the larger place in religion, thought or feeling? It is clear that thought and feeling cannot be separated. Every thought has feeling, and every feeling has thought, and both have volition, and volition both. But we may ask, Does religion vary as thought varies, or as feeling varies? Which is the law—the more thought the more religion, or the more feeling the more religion? We note that religion may be low when thought is high, and *vice versâ*. The best theologians are not necessarily the best Christians. The most illiterate may be most pious. The profoundest thinker in the pulpit may have some ignorant member in the pew who is more religious and saintly than himself. Then we are forced to the conclusion that feeling has a larger place in true religion than thought. Spirituality varies according to feeling more than according to thought. When the heart is brought to the front religion takes a fresh start. This is true in the cases of Christ, Schleiermacher, and Wesley. Intellect brings us into relation with our environment. Feeling is the response we make to this environment. Feeling more nearly represents the whole man, and he responds to his environment as a unit. Thought is by nature analytical. It takes to pieces and examines; but admiration, as a whole and undivided, leaps to its object. Intellect analyzes, heart synthesizes. One is the man thinking, the other the man loving. Kant says, "Feeling is deeper than all thought." Intellect is the handmaid of feeling. Even in science feeling is the beginning, middle, and end. One must study science, or practice art, for the love of it. Love is the inspiration. If dislike prevail, failure is inevitable. One begins with curiosity and is kept at it by enjoyment or anticipation. Some are unstable in religion. This is because feeling is superficial—not because of feeling, but for lack of it. This may come from narrowness of interest, or because absorbed in self. A hawk hovering over the water responds to but one thing, its prey. So of a selfish, narrow man. The unselfish soul responds to this whole world and the unseen world also. A profound religious feeling relates to all conditions of life, as a deep honesty to all acts and dealings. It is called "mere feeling," as if unimportant, but this is from a superficial view. We say the "moved" man in court is one of strong feeling; but the judge who is unmoved may have stronger feeling. He considers the law, the State, and justice; the other only feels pity. We too often confound feeling with emotion or excitability. The firmer man may have greater feeling. The scientist has a vastly larger environment than another. But which has larger

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environment, the scientist without God, or the ignorant man with God? Evidently the latter, if he has any conception of God at all.

Both intellect and feeling should be developed together. Sometimes one is cultivated exclusively, while the growth should be in equal proportion. Feelings are most prized by all, because most expressive of character. A gift is appreciated, not for its value, but for the feeling back of it. It is the kindness we prize. One is more grateful for sympathy than for all gifts. This is because self is given in the sympathy. Lifting the soul Godward, we feel his sympathy and prize it most of all, because in it he gives his infinite self. This begets the feeling of gratitude without which the soul has an eternal sinking in depravity. The sum of all commandments is not "Thou shalt think or know," but "Thou shalt love." This is philosophical, because the feeling of love expresses the whole being as no intellectual process can possibly do. Cognition is egoistic, while love is altruistic, which includes both *ego* and *alter*, plus the *relatio*. The feeling commanded must come out of all the heart, intellect, and will, which are man's totality and finality.

Syracuse, N. Y. J. WALLACE WEBB.

A REPLY TO DRS. WHEELER AND STEELE.

LIMITED space necessitates condensation in our reply to the notes of Drs. Wheeler and Steele in the July–August *Review*, and forbids even brief notice of many of the details.

Dr. Wheeler errs in his suggestion that "the theory which assumes that society imparts all the value to land . . . proves too much." The "same kind of application" may not "be made to wages or any other earnings," for the reason that these are the products of personal toil, while, as Dr. Steele says, "land has no such" human "energy or personal agency in it, nor behind it." This is also a sufficient reply to Dr. Steele's argument concerning "land," and "leather, or cloth." Leather and cloth are the fruits of human brain and brawn. Land represents neither. Hence, it is sheer folly to maintain that both should belong to the same party.

The writer repudiates the doctrine of "governmental ownership" imputed to him by Dr. Steele. We have tried this scheme and find that as fast as $1.25 per acre is offered for the land the government transfers its title thereto to individuals; whence arises "private ownership." Let there be "common ownership" of land and "private ownership" of the fruits of industry, and the bans of felicitous union between socialism and individualism will be wisely solemnized and a perplexing problem righteously solved.

After inculpating the writer because he "offers no scrap of proof," but "adopts" the theory because it "suits his purpose," he unblushingly "out-herods Herod" in "the thing he condemns." Note the *ex cathedrâ* manner in which he settles the entire question of land ownership as set forth in the Old Testament. Neither proof, reason, nor reference is given. The theory suits his purpose; therefore he adopts "it." Now I

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unhesitatingly deny that the "Old Testament regulation of landed possession in the Israelitish commonwealth" provides for the "ownership of land by individuals," and refer to Lev. xxv, 23, and context. The Lord held the title; hence, the occupant could not transfer it. Acts v, 4, recognizes a code then in force, but expresses no approval thereof. The ease with which Dr. Steele disposes of Eccles. v, 9, is delightful; but I fearlessly challenge him to present accepted canons of interpretation according to which this passage may be made to signify less, or other than that "the profit of the earth is for all."

Dr. Steele says, "The assumption that either God or nature has given the land to the race is a pure gratuity." I appeal to Gen. i, 28, 29; commenting on which Dr. Whitelaw says, "The primitive charter of man's common property in the earth . . . is the present section of this ancient document."* Will my critic deny that in the transaction here recorded God treated with Adam as the representative of the race? If not, will he define and locate the "gratuity?" If he holds that God treated with him as a private individual, will he tell us whether or not Adam ever transferred his title? If he did not, we are living on land that belongs to no living man; if he did, to whom? Has it legally descended to the present landowners? If not, they are piratically exacting rent that justly belongs to others. In short, will he give us a complete abstract of the title to the land?

Dr. Steele draws a conclusion from what he labels "Mr. George's theory," and says, "This may be illustrated by a great number of concrete cases." He then proceeds to illustrate by a draft on fancy that would ravish the risibilities of the wildest dreamer of phantasmagorial perceptions. Its "concrete" parallel I have never seen nor heard of. The "two parcels of land" are equally well located. Apart from the value "effected by labor" thereon they are equally worthless. He asks, "How would Mr. George's theory work in such an instance?" We reply that, were economic conditions so chaotic as to produce such a "concrete" case, the theory would exact tax (rent) from neither; for neither parcel as land has any value; hence society, having nothing invested, can expect no returns. On the other hand, the first owner expends nothing, loses nothing, and may not rightfully expect more. The second owner has produced a value equal to $50 per acre of the land; hence, he alone has just claim to the whole or any part thereof.

Durango, Colo. J. L. VALLOW.

A REPLY TO MY CRITIC.

THE July-August number of the *Review* contains in its "Arena" department a brief critique of my article on Sociology, by W. M. Balch. In the third paragraph of his he takes exception to my statement that "the cardinal doctrine of Christian sociology is that the reformation of society and the perfecting of the social order can only be effected by the moral

* See *Pulpit Commentary*, *in loco*.

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regeneration of the individual," in the following words: "This may or may not be true. If it means simply that there can be no real social reform that does not make individual men and women happier and better, the statement is obviously true and amounts to little more than saying that social reform must be social and reformatory." To this I reply that my critic makes the glaring mistake of using reformation as though it were synonymous with regeneration, whereas the words are widely diverse in meaning and signification. Reformation is an act wrought by the individual in reference to himself; regeneration is a work wrought in the individual by the agency of the Holy Spirit, producing a radical moral change in man's spiritual nature, and this is done, as stated in my article, "not by a slow evolutionary process, but by the immediate impartation of the divine life—the perfect life—to the human soul," thus making it a new creature which creates for itself new environments. To say that the reformation of society can only be brought about by the regeneration of the individuals of which society is composed is to predicate the fact that it cannot be accomplished by merely reformatory processes which are altogether human in their origin and scope, but must be effected by a divine agency operating upon and through the individual for the perfecting of the social order by the perfecting of the individual.

My critic then proceeds to say: "But, if the proposition means that the moral regeneration of society is to be promoted solely by direct efforts for the personal conversion of individuals, it misses the mark entirely." To which I make the counter statement, which no one can gainsay, that all schemes and systems devised for the improvement and perfecting of the social order which have ignored the regeneration of the individual have proved utterly abortive, and have ended in total failure —a fact that conclusively shows that the regeneration of the individual must be the cardinal doctrine of any and all systems that will result in any permanent betterment of the social condition of mankind.

Referring to the motto of Christian sociology enforcing this point, "Make the tree good, and the fruit will be good also," my critic says: "This is far from warranting the conclusion at which he seems to hint, that character is not immediately and largely a problem of environment." To which I reply that, if character is necessarily "immediately and largely a problem of environment," then man's free agency is a fiction, and he must cease to be accounted as a morally accountable and responsible being. Such a statement is in direct antagonism with the teaching of Christianity which represents man as endowed with an imperial, self-determining will, and on this fact predicates both his moral responsibility and accountability. The weakness of will in the presence of evil environments, to which my critic refers, is largely the result of either wickedness of heart or an entire absence of any effort on the part of such individuals to cultivate their will power. The will can be cultivated and strengthened just as any other faculty can be cultured and strengthened, and those who fail to cultivate and strengthen their will

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power are just as culpable as those who fail to cultivate and strengthen their conscience or any other moral faculty. There is large truth in the old saying that "weakness is akin to wickedness."

Stockton, Cal. E. D. McCreary.

"DID PAUL PREACH ON MARS' HILL?"

That was a very interesting article which Professor Parsons contributed to the July–August number of the *Review*. But is not the argument a trifle too positive? Overconfidence is not always conclusive.

For illustration, note the author's remarks on the preposition ἐπὶ, perhaps the vital point of the discussion. "This word," the professor assures us, "is very common, in both Luke's gospel and in the Acts, in the sense of 'unto' or 'before;' but nowhere does it mean 'up' or into.'" Several passages are cited in support of the statement that Luke would have chosen "εἰς," had he been speaking of "ascending or descending any eminence." From which "discriminating nicety" Professor Parsons would have us conclude that Luke, in Acts xvii, 19, is "speaking of a tribunal and not of an elevation, and that the correct translation is, 'They brought him before the Areopagus.'"

But what of Luke xxiii, 33, "And when they were come to the place which is called Calvary?" The Greek reads, ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Κρανίον, or, as St. Mark has it, ἐπὶ τὸν Γολγοθᾶν τόπον. In this case is tradition evidently unreliable and Professor Parsons as evidently correct? Is Mount Calvary an apparition, and Monticulus Golgotha only a ghastly illusion? So long as tradition is supported by the researches of scholars like Krafft and Hengstenberg, Schultz and Tischendorf, we are justified, it would seem, in hesitating to accept the verdict which Professor Parsons so complacently pronounces upon the limitations of St. Luke's ἐπὶ.

It is true, however, that men as eminent as Robinson and Schaff differ with those we have named concerning the location of the scene of the crucifixion; but this does not materially affect the point at issue, which is whether or not Professor Parsons is right in affirming that he has "shown that Luke implies nothing about any ascent of the hill Areopagus," and that the correct translation of Acts xvii, 19, is, "They brought him before the Areopagus." Says Professor Thayer, of Harvard, in his incomparable work, the Greek-English lexicon: "The court was called Areopagus, from the place where it sat, also *Areum Judicium* and *Curia Martis*. To that hill the apostle Paul was led, not to defend himself before the judges, but that he might set forth his opinions on divine subjects to a greater multitude of people, flocking together there and eager to hear something new." Evidently the doctors disagree.

Our contention is simply this, that Professor Parsons errs in the claims he makes for the force of his argument, because he is in error concerning the restricted interpretation which he exacts of the preposition ἐπὶ. A single citation must suffice to conclude an utterance which we hope will appear to the reader more interrogatory than dogmatical. In Rev. xxi, 10, we read, "And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and

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high mountain, and showed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem." The preposition in this case is not εἰς or πρὸς, but ἐπὶ.

Perry, N. Y. BENJAMIN COPELAND.

SUBJECTIVE THEOLOGY.

THE "Arena" article on "Entire Sanctification" in the September–October *Review* is but another manifestation of the common tendency to spin theology out of one's own feelings and thoughts. The true theology is always based upon objective facts, and its authoritative exposition is found in the word of God. Moreover, many of the truths of the word are recondite and involved, so that to cite a text or two is not to declare them. There are texts that bear against them, and these are part of the word. They are a part of the context, too, and all must be submitted to broad principles of interpretation to be read aright. Hence they are questions for the experts, and the testimony of the experts cannot be ignored.

We say, then, that the ideas expressed in the article cited are those of a small minority of Christian believers, and are practically unknown to the great masters of exegesis. We may set up a system of our own, and thereby make an appeal from rational interpretation. But, if we do not, we must acknowledge that the Bible does not teach that it is our privilege through definite prayer and faith to be delivered instantaneously from a sinward tendency or bias to evil, inherited from Adam and other ancestors according to the laws of heredity. Even those who preach this doctrine seem to concede that it exceeds the oracles of God, for they make most of their argument from "experience." But this is illegitimate. It is monstrous to appeal from reason to the emotions, and to add a fancied experience to "the words of the book of this prophecy." Whenever a man ceases to explain his experience by the book, and essays to explain the book by his experience, he becomes a fanatic. Can any man claim that he knows his "original sin" by consciousness? How then can he know of its removal by consciousness? The origin and nature of depravity are matters of pure theology, and we are dependent upon the Bible alone for our knowledge of their issue. We may see men grossly sinning every day without a conscious sense of bias to evil. Experience may richly illustrate the word, and it may rabidly destroy it.

If any are inclined to urge that this "experience" is the witness of the Spirit, and hence must be true, let them go slowly. How do they know that it is the witness of the Spirit? Which of their emotions bear the Spirit's label? Here again we must appeal to the word. Mere joy is not the witness of the Spirit. Is there any authority for claiming the direct witness of the Spirit for anything else than the adoption of sonship? Where does all this talk about the "witness to cleansing" come from?

"The scars of sin" need a word. Truly they will remain during this life. But will they ever be obliterated? Does the Scripture warrant us in the hope that the sinner will ever be as if he had never sinned? The atonement of Jesus is not a proper subject for emotional treatment.

Cleveland, O. E. S. LEWIS.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE MINISTRY AS A CONSERVATIVE FORCE.

THE bugle blast of the present age is aggressiveness. Everybody seems to be pushing forward. Quietness, receptivity, allowing things to work out their legitimate results is almost unknown. This condition of things is alike a good and an evil. The history of the world is that of progress; but a progress which does not have its foundation in fact and in truth is no true progress. There is danger of rushing on with unchecked violence until one is dashed over a cataract and destruction follows. The world needs the aggressive people. It would be stagnant without them. But it equally needs those who will stand and ask where is the good way, and will endeavor to walk therein and to lead others to do the same. This is the conservative force which keeps the overaggressive spirit from dominating the world. Such a force, we believe, is the Christian ministry of to-day. It conserves regularity. It maintains decorousness in human life by preserving forms of worship. Few people are aware of the conservative influence of forms. There are those who would dismiss all form as an excess of dignity, whereas a banishment of forms would be an evil of great magnitude. We must recognize the idea of the too much and the too little. With all the contempt that is cast upon it the *media via* is in general the safe road.

By conserving forms of service and order in the exercise of public worship the minister has much to do with maintaining decorous methods of procedure in all departments of life. Manners and customs are maintained, the destruction of which would revolutionize society. The ministry, too, conserve the orderly progress of humanity. They realize that the world is not to be saved by leaps and bounds, but by sowing the seeds of truth, by the conversion of individual souls, and by the constant edification of the people. They are well aware that movements, however good, which have not their basis in sound principles and which do not proceed by regular laws are evanescent and destined to failure. Humanity is a growth, the root being the divine life in the soul of man. By thus promoting growth and orderly development in all departments of life the minister becomes a conservative force. It is wise for us to recognize the Church in this connection. The ministry are such because of their relation to the Church of God, which in all ages has stood alike for order and progress. At least, this is the case when it has not been dominated by those out of harmony with its higher ideals.

In this matter justice ought to be done to the Protestant Episcopal Church. Although not equal in numbers to some of the denominations of Christendom, we must recognize its wide and beneficent influence. Although it is not a Church of aggressiveness on some lines of Christian activity, there are, nevertheless, conditions of life which this Church

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meets, and a work which it accomplishes, that the Church historian must not fail to consider. Its quietness in the midst of the occasional sensational movements of other denominations must not be overlooked. As a rule, if not invariably, the pulpit of the Episcopal Church is not employed for sensational purposes. The topics of the preacher are mainly Christian topics. The ecclesiastical adventurer has less scope there than in some other Churches, because of the rigidity, and perhaps, in our view, the narrowness, of their regulations. While it seems exceedingly uncharitable and lacking in the spirit of Christian tolerance for the Protestant Episcopalians to exclude other ministers from their pulpits, their insistence on Church order is not an evil. Their methods, further, preserve a strict recognition of the sacredness of church edifices. It is true that in the early Church God's people worshiped in private houses, and every place was to them a sacred place. It is also true that in after years church buildings were invested with a sacred awe entirely out of harmony with our conception of the freedom of the Gospel; but here also is a middle place which the Episcopal Church seems to have found. Their larger churches are kept open during the day for sacred worship, and they encourage among their people the feeling that these are holy places. As a partial result the inquiry is being made whether it would not be better for all Protestants to open their churches more frequently to those who would come to speak with God, rather than to the tumultuous gatherings for popular entertainment. It is also true of this Church that she does not appeal by unusual methods for large congregations. Her prayers are read with equal care in the presence of one or of thousands.

A prosperous church does not necessarily depend upon large congregations, but it must be a center of sacred truth. It should be a sacred place, where anyone who enters should be brought in contact with Christ. It is to be feared that the call of the people for large congregations is leading to a demand for sensational effects which even those who are most given to it will soon be unable to satisfy. Such things grow upon what they feed, and the morbid tendency for new and startling facts and peculiar forms of expression becomes so overpowering that at length it reaches limits which the most reckless vender of this kind of teaching dare not venture to present in his pulpit. The very persons who are allured by it soon become dissatisfied with this limited sensationalism, and they go away and seek entertainment in places where amusement is the recognized and only feature.

Will not the Church grow more, and have a surer future, if her ministry reserve for the pulpit the great teachings of Christian faith? They should clothe the Gospel in the choicest language; they should enforce it with the most apt illustrations; they should do their best by personal visitation to win men to Christ; but when that is done they should not waste time in sighing for large congregations. When the people feel that the house of the Lord is a resting place for the weary, and that the preacher's words are consolation for the sorrowing, they will find reasons for going to church which they do not always find now.

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EXEGESIS—HEB. VI, 4–6.

"For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance."

This passage has been a very vexed one among scholars of the New Testament, and has formed the basis of extended theological discussion. It has been a proof-text of both Calvinistic and Arminian theologians. It is of course difficult to add anything to the discussion of a passage which has been a battle ground of exegetes, but a fresh putting of the points involved may be helpful to some of our younger ministers. This chapter begins with a statement of the apostle—that his readers should leave, that is, go beyond, the doctrine of the beginning of Christ, and be borne forward unto perfection, that is, to maturity of knowledge concerning Christ and his religion, and also to maturity of Christian character. It will not be wise, in the judgment of the sacred writer, to spend more time on the elementary subjects of the Gospel, as these had already been sufficiently insisted on. There is nothing to be gained by his readers in their repetition. He proceeds, however, to a statement of the elementary principles of Christian teaching on which he had insisted, and then adds, by inference, the passage of which we are treating.

The first point to be noted is the word "impossible." It primarily means the absence of power. Wesley's explanation of "difficult" will not answer, and we must accept the ordinary "impossible" as the meaning which the sacred writer intended to convey. The passage does not say that it is impossible for God to renew anyone to repentance, for the subject "God" does not inhere in the sentence. The writer has been treating of the effects of the Gospel, and claims that it is impossible, by further discussion of truth, to renew those to repentance who "were once enlightened" and "made partakers of the Holy Ghost." If they fall away, after having received such tokens of God's approval, it is impossible in the nature of things that further discussion would reclaim them.

The next clause demanding attention is "to renew them again unto repentance." Here commentaries very properly emphasize the present tense. The present implies continued action, and may be translated "to keep renewing." Continued rejection of Christ, crucifying "the Son of God afresh," sears the conscience so that there seems to be no probability, or indeed possibility, of divine truth continuing to impress them. Even the Holy Spirit is hindered in its operation by the continuous hardening of the individual heart and the unbelief consequent thereupon.

Another word needing consideration is "crucify." This word is in the present tense, and may be rendered, "while they keep crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh." A continuance in this sin involves a rejection of Jesus as their spiritual ruler, and while they are in this condition it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance. Their hearts and minds are closed.

We need further to note the purpose of the renewal of which the

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sacred writer speaks. It is a renewal unto repentance. There is nothing said here of the impossibility of a return to God on the part of anyone who seriously repents of his sins. The penitent soul who turns to God through Jesus Christ will ever find access to the throne of the heavenly grace. God never refuses to hear the cries of his penitent children.

The thought then of the passage seems to be this—the apostle could not longer linger on these fundamental discussions with which they were entirely familiar. Hence he must proceed to the higher and more important principles. They must allow themselves to be borne onward to the maturity of the Christian life and to the more elaborate Christian doctrine. Then he proceeds to assign the reason, namely, the impossibility to keep renewing unto repentance while they by continuing to crucify the Son of God reject the very fundamental truths of Christianity. This interpretation is true to all the conditions of the passage. It gives to the word "impossible" its recognized meaning, and does not charge God with either an unwillingness or inability to save a penitent soul. It further assures us that the soul, stupefied by sin, may reach such a state that truth no longer impresses him, and that it can no longer be renewed to a condition of repentance which is essential to its salvation. It also affirms that while the soul continues its rejection of Christ and puts him to an open shame there is no probability of a renewal unto repentance and acceptance of the soul with God.

This view makes it unnecessary to enter into discussion of the meaning of the phrase "once enlightened," etc. Calvinistic theologians have attempted to show that this passage does not mean those who have been actually converted, but rather those who have found the truth but who have not received it fully in their hearts. It also relieves the Arminian of his embarrassment as to the meaning of "impossible," insisting that the soul, once having been enlightened and having fallen away, could not under any circumstances return to God.

As a study in exegesis this passage is interesting as an illustration of the value of the exact interpretation of the tenses of the New Testament, which is so strongly insisted on by modern grammarians. "While they crucify," as in the margin of our late revision, is preferable to "seeing they crucify;" and "are crucifying" is more vivid and gives a clearer view than merely "crucify."

The general teaching of this passage is thus relieved of features which have been exceedingly embarrassing to interpreters, by keeping closely to the literal rendering and not allowing anything to be imported into the passage growing out of our preconceived opinions as to its meaning.

HOW TO STUDY THE BIBLE.—(*Continued.*)

THE nature of the book we call the Bible has already been considered, and is a matter on which there is a general agreement. Assuming its divine origin, we must, of course, study it with profound reverence. This is not to regard the book as an object of superstitious veneration,

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but to regard it with that reverence due to a book which is to us the expression of divine wisdom toward mankind. It must not be studied with carelessness or indifference, but with painstaking fidelity.

We will at once agree that it should be treated from a literary standpoint with critical exactness of method. We are now speaking of the way in which the reader may make the Bible most useful for practical life and for spiritual growth. Bishop Ellicott, in *Foundations of Sacred Study*, page 87, sets forth a threefold method of reading: "First, a simple and attentive reading in the original language of the whole book (if short) which we have chosen for our study, or of a connected portion of it if the whole could not be carefully read through at a single sitting of moderate length; second, a closer reading of it by paragraph, in which all the difficulties and disputable passages which may have been noted and felt in the first reading are fully investigated and, as far as possible, cleared up; third, a more meditative reading, in which the whole attention is turned to the spiritual truth conveyed and to the spiritual deductions that may be made from the paragraph, and, further, any distinctive teaching that may seem to be peculiar to the passage." The first, he declares, will "catch, not only the general mind of the writer, but those shades of thought . . . which an attentive and consecutive reading of the original is always found most distinctly to supply." "The object of the second, or interpretative, reading is to realize the meaning of every portion of what is read; while the object of the third, the reflective, reading of the passage is to enable the soul and spirit to draw forth the spiritual teaching of every part."

This threefold reading will impress the passage upon the mind and heart with such force that, when we have need to approach it again, there will be a reminiscence of past studies and an incentive to further investigation. When a miner has found a vein of gold or silver which has already yielded him rich rewards for his efforts he will be the more ready to dig deeper in the hope of finding more where he has already obtained so much. It is not an unusual experience among students of the Scriptures to find themselves giving most of their time to those parts with which by their previous studies they have become best acquainted. They do this almost unconsciously, showing thereby not only the inexhaustible character of divine truth, but also the value of study as inciting to further study. Surface reading leaves the mind without stimulus for further investigation, but a reading which has brought to view the finer and more obscure points will arouse the mind and heart, and will stimulate a desire for a complete mastery of the book or passage under consideration.

It will be seen that such a reading as indicated by Bishop Ellicott presupposes an acquaintance with the original languages of Scripture. This condition addresses itself particularly to preachers, as they are supposed to have this preparation for sacred study. The method, however, applies to lay students of the English Bible. If the whole Bible were gone over in this way, instead of in the cursory manner now so common, the results would be manifest in spiritual life as well as in biblical knowledge.

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ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

ISRAEL AND THE EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS.

It has always been a source of astonishment as well as of disappointment that the Egyptian monuments are, as far as discovered, almost as silent as the sphinxes of that ancient land upon the relation of Israel to Egypt. It is true that some archæologists have seen some references more or less definite to the Hebrews or Israelites in Egypt, and that there are records of Egyptian campaigns in and through Palestine. But, according to Professor Petrie, an eminent authority, "until this spring there has been no evidence in Egypt to show that any descendants of Jacob ever existed."

Finally, however, this indefatigable excavator has brought to light an inscription on which, beyond contradiction, the name Israel occurs. The slab on which it is written is one of the largest of its kind ever discovered. It measures ten feet three inches by five feet four inches, and has a thickness of a little more than a foot. This monument was first set up by Amenhotep III to record his glories and triumphs. It seems, however, that most of the original inscription had been erased and that it was again partially restored. Meneptah (also written Merenptah) had a mania for destroying the monuments of his predecessors in order to erect ones to himself; but in building his own temple this solid slab of Amenhotep III was not broken up, but placed with its inscribed face in the wall, in such a way that the back, which had no inscriptions, appeared on the outside. It was on this smooth surface that Meneptah had caused a record of his deeds to be carved. As the discoverer says, "The amount of writing upon it is without precedent." In fact, there are more than six thousand signs upon its surface, which, when translated into English, make about fifteen hundred words, or enough to fill three pages of this department of the *Review*.

Mr. Griffith, an eminent Egyptologist, has given a translation of the inscription. The most of it has no bearing whatever upon the Israelites, and for that reason need not be discussed in this article. The portion to which we would call attention, and which is of positive interest, is the following:

"For the sun of Egypt has wrought this change; he was born as the fated means of revenging it, the king Meneptah. Chiefs bend down saying, 'Peace be to thee.' Not one of the nine bows (that is, foreigners) raised his head. Vanquished are the Tahennu (North Africans); the Khitta (Hittites) are quieted; ravaged is Pa-kananna with all violence; taken is Askadni (Askelon?); seized is Kasmel; Yenu (Yanoh) of the Syrians is made as though it had not existed; the people of Ysiraal is spoiled, it hath no seed; Syria has become as widows of the lands of Egypt; all lands together are in peace. Everyone that was a marauder

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hath been subdued by the king Meneptah, who gives life like the sun every day."

Professor Petrie thinks that the monarch here mentioned is the Pharaoh of the exodus. As the male children of the Israelites had been killed in large numbers by a decree of his father, the phrase, "it hath no seed," is quite intelligible. There is, however, one difficulty about this inscription which, with our present light, is hard to solve, namely: If Meneptah was the Pharaoh who reigned when Israel left Egypt, how is it that he could have triumphed over Israel in the land of Palestine? The fact that Israel is spoken of in immediate connection with Syria, and indeed the whole geographical arrangement of the places and peoples that are mentioned on this slab, point to an Israel which was outside of Egypt. If, however, we suppose that the order in which the various countries are given is not intended to be exact or scientific all difficulty disappears and the report agrees remarkably well with the account given in the Bible.

We should, however, say that the discoverer of this inscription is inclined to the belief that though the king whose triumphs are recorded on this slab must be the Pharaoh of the exodus, yet the Ysiraal of the inscription cannot refer to the Israelites who left Egypt under the guidance of Moses, but another branch of the children of Israel, who had returned to Palestine shortly after the expiration of the famine which had driven them to the land of Goshen. That some of the descendants of Jacob had returned to Canaan before the death of the patriarch explains, the professor thinks, why he was taken for burial to Machpelah. And the fact that the Bible is utterly silent concerning such a return is, as Professor Petrie asserts, no positive evidence against his supposition.

This article, up to this point, was written last April. Since that time archæologists and biblical scholars have been busily engaged in studying the writing on the stela which is above described. Though the original stone is now preserved in the Gizeh Museum, and is thus inaccessible to most European and American scholars, it is a fortunate thing that the photographer has come to the aid of these investigators, has produced excellent photographs of the stela with its many mysterious hieroglyphics, and thus has made it possible for all those scholars who are interested and qualified to study this most important document without the worry or expense of a trip to the Egyptian museum on the bank of the Nile.

Notwithstanding that this venerable piece of granite bears the longest inscription of any similar ancient slab so far discovered, there is, strange to say, but one short clause—and just one word in that clause—which has attracted universal attention, namely, that in which reference is made to the Israelites. Fortunately, however, this clause, though translated by several distinguished authorities, has been rendered in almost the same phraseology as at first given by Mr. Griffith, and, if not in the exact words of the first translator, yet in such a way as to convey the same meaning. It is true that Professor Sayce, who translates the

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clause, "The Israelites are minished," etc., places an interrogation point after "minished," and remarks that the "determinative of smallness or badness is added to it, so that it seems to signify minished or something of the same nature." Professor Hommel, the distinguished Munich orientalist, in an article published in a recent number of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschift*, does not attempt to give any translation of the sign *fekt*, but by way of explanation adds in brackets the following note: "With the determinative for evil things; translation uncertain, as the word does not occur elsewhere; but possibly related to *fk*, meaning to overrun by an enemy."

It is indeed a source of great satisfaction that as far as scholars have translated the passage under discussion there is a virtual agreement among them all, especially in regard to the word "Ysiraal." No one has expressed the least doubt as to the sign so rendered, for all, without a dissenting voice, refer this to the people of Israel, and not to a country of that or similar name. That a place cannot be meant is the more evident from the fact that the determinative used is that which is employed with a tribe or people. This is not accidental, because the "name Israelite alone is without a determinative of land or city." Then, again, the characters used show clearly that it cannot mean Jezreel. So it has come to pass, as Professor Sayce has remarked, that another critical objection has been overthrown, namely, that there was no such people as the Israelites or Hebrews at the time Moses is supposed to have lived. Let this recent discovery serve as a warning to those who base their theories upon the silence of the Egyptian monuments concerning the records or Genesis and the Pentateuch in general that they should not be too free in their conclusions regarding the early history of Israel; but rather let them follow one of their great leaders, Wellhausen, who now admits that, after all, the children of Israel, during the early part of their history, might have lived in the land of Egypt, as recorded in the Old Testament.

Important, however, as this new discovery has been, it must be admitted that it has caused no little confusion, since it will require the recasting of several theories supposed to have been perfectly established. Though the inscription has an undoubted reference to Israel, it is very difficult to say to what period of their history reference is made. Was it before or after the exodus? Were the Israelites in Egypt, wandering in the wilderness, or in Palestine, at the time Meneptah claims to have subdued or spoiled them? As our readers know, Professor Petrie has suggested five possible answers to the above questions, which may be briefly stated as follows:

1. The reference is to the oppression of the children of Israel in Egypt, as recorded in the Book of Exodus. This, indeed, agrees well with the accepted view that Meneptah was the ruler of Egypt at the time of the exodus. But, if this view be the correct one, why is Israel mentioned between two places which were situated outside the land of Egypt?

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2. The reference is to a time after the Israelites had settled in Palestine. But how, on this supposition, is it possible to account for the absolute silence of the Hebrew Scriptures regarding such an Egyptian campaign?

3. Though the fact is not recorded in the Bible it is possible that only a portion of the Israelites went down to Egypt with their ancestor Jacob.

4. Or, granting that they all went down at the time of the famine, it is not necessary to hold that the entire family remained any length of time in the land of the Pharaohs; but they soon returned to the land of promise. The fact that Jacob was buried in Machpelah seems to favor some such a view.

5. A portion of the Israelites reached Canaan in a very short time after leaving Egypt and crossing the Red Sea, though the bulk of them wandered in the wilderness for more than a generation. The reference, therefore, on the slab is to the small portion which had thus gained an early entrance into Canaan, and which were subdued by the armies of Meneptah.

It will be difficult for most of our readers to see the possibility of reconciling any of these five propositions, except the first, with our ideas of Hebrew history. Though Professor Petrie is inclined to the view that the inscription speaks of a branch of the Israelites which in some way had become detached from the main body of the nation, it must be confessed that the difficulties inseparably connected with such a theory are very great.

Both Hommel and Sayce agree that the Meneptah in question was the Pharaoh of the exodus. The former says: "However dark the reference of Meneptah may be to Israel, the fact, nevertheless, that mention is made of them, and that too in the connection to which I have referred, is in itself a matter of great importance, in so far as it confirms what has been surmised before, namely, that Meneptah is the Pharaoh of the exodus."* This utterance of the celebrated Munich professor virtually agrees with that of Professor Sayce, who, among other things, says: "At any rate, the theory which saw in Meneptah the Pharaoh of the exodus has received a confirmation." And, from what has been said, it is evident that the Oxford professor believes that "the Israelites were still in Egypt when the inscription was engraved."†

It would be an easy matter to multiply citations from other learned articles written on this subject. But, as no other writer has said anything more definite or positive regarding the bearing of the inscription upon Hebrew history than what we have above quoted from Petrie, Hommel, and Sayce, the best we can do is to wait patiently for additional light, with the hope that Egypt, which has surprised us so often and so unexpectedly, will yet some day furnish us with documents dug from its ancient ruins that will fully confirm the story of Moses and the Jewish exodus.

* *The Independent*, September 24, 1896.
† *Sunday School Times*, July 11, 1896.

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MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY.

WHAT can be done to make Protestant the continent of South America—or, less offensively speaking, to spiritualize its existing religious communities, to reach the unevangelized sections of the continent, and to help its incoming European populations? When Bishop Newman organized our Conference in South America, Methodism practically served notice on the world that she had a commission coextensive with this western hemisphere. The six presiding elders' districts then formed each covered a nation—or, rather, the whole covered eight of the ten nations of the vast continent. The last General Conference, anticipating the further development of this work, provided by an enabling act for the erection within the next four years of a Mission Conference out of this vast Conference. All this looks to advance, and appeals to the Church for a closer study of the details involved in meeting our obligations to the populations continuously south to Tierra del Fuego. If, acting under the Monroe doctrine, we demand that Europe shall not exercise political control over Mexico and South America, the question arises as to the increased religious obligations devolving on us. We do not think that the whole responsibility necessarily falls to our share; but, as a matter of fact, except as the European immigration into South America shall serve to extend the missionary labors of European Christians in that direction, the bulk of the work will probably be left to us.

The new commercial impulse in the United States, aiming to cultivate a freer exchange between South America and ourselves, will, if successful, impose on us new duties. How far this impulse will reach is not predicable at present. Certainly the bulk of the South American trade is still with Europe; but the Church can at least keep step with the attempts to bring our nation and those of South America into closer fellowship. Our attention is attracted to this subject afresh by the movements of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States, an organization said to be made up of fifteen thousand manufacturers in North America, with a capital of a half million dollars for use in advancing the manufacturing interests of America in other lands.

It may not be generally known that the interest of this association centers largely in South America, and that an important commission from the body visited Buenos Ayres in August last with the purpose of establishing sample warerooms on a large scale in the capitals of the several South American republics. It may also be not generally known that at the close of the World's Fair the entire Argentine exhibit was turned over to the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia, and that Philadelphia has probably spent fifteen thousand dollars for permanent preservation of grains, dye stuffs, tanning materials, and other products of Argentine. The raw

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products from the several South American republics in that museum number over sixty thousand objects, and are supposed to constitute the largest permanent exhibit of raw materials in the world.

The object of traversing these purely secular matters in this connection is that the Churches of this country may be incited to keep step with every advance which serves to increase the sympathy between South America and ourselves. The single State of Brazil has sixteen millions of people, of whom at least fourteen millions are estimated as entirely unevangelized, and among whom Protestant America has not more than one missionary to possibly a hundred thousand souls. What is sought to be emphasized is the eminent obligation on the Christians of the United States. The Church of England, the British Baptists, the Congregationalists of Great Britain, the Presbyterians of England, the Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland, the Methodists of Great Britain and Ireland, and the United Presbyterian Church of England do not any of them contribute to the spiritual elevation of the thirty-seven millions in this, as it is coming to be called, "neglected continent." We are not saying that they ought to take up this work. That is a question outside the present discussion. But we are contending that the natural agency in spiritualizing the South American republics must be the evangelical Churches of the United States.

DEBTS OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

THE American Baptist Home Missionary Society finds itself in a crisis. The panic of 1893 struck the society with such force as to leave it a debt of one hundred thousand dollars. It has struggled manfully for three years, but unless improvement soon comes will be obliged to begin retrenchment because the debt has already increased to one hundred and thirty thousand dollars. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in May last directed the General Committee of our Missionary Society to restrict its aggregate appropriations, hitherto made on an estimated income, to the sum of its receipts the year preceding its annual session. This would result in preventing any new indebtedness of the society hereafter. There is at this writing, however, an indebtedness of something like a quarter of a million dollars, except as it may be lessened in response to an appeal for special contributions to cancel it. The American Board closed its financial year the last day of August. It had paid its debt of one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars, and had a balance on hand, notwithstanding a decrease in its receipts from legacies. Unfortunately, this balance was in part created by the severest curtailment of its appropriations. The board is to be congratulated, however, that it has canceled its debt without reducing its appropriations more than seventy thousand dollars, discouraging as this is, especially in view of increasing success in China from the fact that the China-Japan war is opening the eyes of some of the Chinese.

The Church of England Missionary Society somewhat recently found

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itself with a debt of a hundred thousand dollars, and resolved in the face of it to send to the foreign field all suitable applicants for service, with the result that it paid off its debt and sent a large number of recruits to the field. The next year it continued the same policy, the result being a debt of eighty-five thousand dollars, but a net increase of forty-six in its missionary staff. Including this debt the society sanctioned the expenditure for the next year of two hundred and twenty thousand dollars more than the amount of its income, and inaugurated new enterprises which would demand a great increase of men and means in the succeeding three years. It has seventy-three new missionaries preparing to sail this year, and evidently hopes to find special support for them, since of its existing missionaries no less than one hundred and fifty-two are thus supported, and nine of the seventy new appointees are also thus provided for. Of this total of one hundred and sixty-one, fifty-one and a half are supported by individuals; forty-two and a half by associations; twenty-six by associations in the colonies; twelve by the Gleaners' Union; eleven by other missionary societies; and five by friends. Besides these the society has already on its roll sixty-three honorary and fifteen partly honorary missionaries in the field; by which term it designates missionaries who support themselves without drawing any salary, but who volunteer to serve under the society precisely as if they received their salaries from it.

THE CONGO FREE STATE.

It is desirable to have the fullest information on all topics relating to a portion of the world where missions are projected. We obtain a great deal of this from missionaries when once they are on the field and have opportunity to become acquainted with its conditions. The information communicated by them concerning the languages, as well as the sociological and other features of the communities where they live and labor, is very highly esteemed by all learned societies. But, on the other hand, it is the privilege of the Church to learn much from purely secular sources which is of great value to its special work. In illustration of this the report of the United States Consular Agent, Mr. R. Dorsey Mohun, of his investigations in the Congo Free State may be named as affording much valuable knowledge. Mr. Mohun was designated Consular Agent in 1892, and his report is in the form of an itinerary diary, covering his observations while associated with the Belgian forces from Boma to the Upper Congo between April, 1892, and August, 1894, and presented to the United States government somewhat over a year ago.

In the matter of the climate Mr. Mohun concedes that it is not favorable for foreigners, including the American negro colonist, but maintains that it will not suffer by a comparison with that of other tropical countries similarly situated as to degrees of latitude. He makes, on the authority of Dr. Ryepondt, a comparative statement of the death rate perthous and in the different hot countries of the world. Before the British had acquired the knowledge and the conditions of health in India, from 1800 to

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1880, the mortality among the troops was 84.6; while in the Dutch East Indies between 1819 and 1828 it reached 170, and in Jamaica from 1820 to 1830 was 121. For the eleven years ended with 1848 it was 77. In Tunis during 1881 it was 61, and in the Antilles, 91. Guiana is situated similarly to the Congo, and in 1885 the death rate was 237. In Senegal for 1832–37 it was 140. These countries have been taken because they were at those different dates in the same progressive state as the Congo is today. The average mortality in the Congo Free State for ten years has been seventy per thousand. Mr. Mohun's conclusion is that the Congo offers the best advantages to negro emigrants from the United States, being "far and away healthier than Sierra Leone or Liberia."

As to the religious state of the natives on the Lower Congo, he says fetichism is largely followed, and there is much quiet poisoning going on in the village communities by the fetich doctors, though this has been somewhat checked from the hanging of several of these doctors by the government. Practically, they are without any religion beyond this fetich superstition. They worship no idols, no fire, nor the sun, moon, or stars. They propitiate a wooden fetich, when they wish to accomplish anything special, by hanging gin bottles and beads about his neck, murmuring some jargon at the same time. In case of theft a nail is driven into the fetich for the purpose of thereby superinducing the death of the unknown thief. There is a native school of medicine located at Boma, the students of which are obliged while attending it to be painted or whitewashed from head to foot.

In the matter of government among the tribes of the Lower Congo there is absolutely no king or chief. Some call themselves so, but their only title to it seems to be that they have a few more brass rods, bales of cloth, or boxes of gin than their neighbors. Each village is independent of every other, having its own headman. The standard of value is a piece of handkerchief twenty-four feet long and a yard wide, reckoned at sixty cents. A card is given which is good for one piece of handkerchief, and when the caravan has done trading they gather these cards and select what they want in return. As a rule they will not touch money, regarding it as worthless; and the trader likes this, because he makes large profits in exchange for handkerchiefs, paying his own drafts in handkerchiefs at sixty cents each which cost him twenty cents delivered in his warehouse.

The government which Mr. Stanley organized has now been ten years in operation, and has been recognized as independent by all the European powers and the United States. Its flag has a blue field and a golden star in the center. The King of Belgium continues to be the sovereign and administers the Congo region through the "Bureau Centrale," composed of the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, of Finance, and of the Interior, through whom all orders pass to the Congo Free State. The local government in Africa consists of a governor general with various state departments. Mr. Mohun thinks, however, that it will be necessary for Belgium to annex the Congo, to insure its "salvation."

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FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

F. Godet. Long known in this country by his commentaries, he now turns to the duties of a New Testament critic. His age and scholarship, recognized by all, have given him a warm place in the affections of continental European investigators. The traditionalists will heartily welcome, and the radicals will be bound to respect, this champion of the old-time views of the origin of the New Testament books. While Godet defends every book in the New Testament, yet he is not afraid of criticism. He believes that the Church should allow criticism to go its own way, in sure faith in an invisible Judge who watches over it and unceasingly, though without demonstration, chastens it. He who willfully and lightly robs others of one of those sources of life which God has caused to spring forth from the words of the apostles condemns himself to a lessening of the degree of that life which the Spirit pours out into the hearts of men through these words. This Godet regards as a more effectual check than any which can come from the excommunications hurled from the Vatican or the sufferings inflicted by the Inquisition. In other words, God watches over his word, and the erroneous conclusions of the critics carry with them their own corrective; hence the Church need not fear. We think he might safely have omitted the qualifying terms, "willfully and lightly." For if these words indicate any evil in the critics the consequence he speaks of would result rather from that evil than from anything else. If one robs himself of the water of life the effect is the same whether he does it "willfully and lightly" or not. It looks as though Godet was afraid to make the assertion without qualification; he really felt that there were willful and light-minded critics, and meant to say so. Had he openly said so it would have been better, and the majority of his readers would have agreed with him. For, although there is no doubt that the majority of the critics are actuated by worthy motives, it is equally sure that some of the greatest names in the critical world have treated lightly the most important themes. Godet's classification of the New Testament critics is as follows: Those of the left, whose representatives start from the monistic standpoint in their rejection of the supernatural; a left center, who follow Kant; and a right center and a right, who are true theists.

P. Tiefenthal. A Romanist of the Romanists, he cannot so much guide thought as hold it in the old channels. In his *Daniel Explicatus* (Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1895) he not only maintains the authenticity of the Book of Daniel, but also the authenticity and trustworthiness of the apocryphal additions thereto. Furthermore, he places these additions within the Book of Daniel in accordance with his views of the period

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in the history of Daniel to which they belong. His explanations of the historical difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the book by certain critics are those which are generally given. But he merits the distinction of originality, at least, in a couple of particulars. Nebuchadnezzar's mental affliction he places parallel with that of Louis II of Bavaria, who thought himself to be the Lohengrin of German legend; and Daniel, who is an example of the fact that God always has the means at hand for the necessities of his kingdom, he compares with Windhorst, whom "God sent for the defense of the Church in the so-called Kulturkampf." But his dependence upon Keil is carried to such an extent that he even dares to allow the superiority of the Masoretic text to the Vulgate. His preference for Keil is founded on the supposition that he is among the few non-Catholic commentators who interpret the Book of Daniel in accordance with Catholic principles. Consequently he pays almost no attention to the more recent literature of his subject. What references he makes thereto are mostly at second hand. That much of the supposed advance in biblical science is purely literary adventure must be admitted. Men wholly unqualified for the difficult task of weighing the evidence, and filled only with the idea that the old cannot be true, undertake to correct the ideas which have hitherto prevailed. That they make sorry work of it is no wonder. But progress in every department of learning has had the same follies to contend with, and no one thinks on that account progress ought to be checked. A conservatism, however, which springs, not from conviction, but from restrictions placed upon the investigator from without, is far worse than all the follies of freedom. If there is any unpardonable sin in the handling of divine things it consists in voluntarily putting on spectacles which will compel us to reach certain prearranged conclusions in the interest of the institution which provides the spectacles. We have mentioned Tiefenthal here simply because he is a type of Roman Catholic prejudice under the pretense of the utmost freedom.

Carl Boetticher. If anyone in studying the great thinkers among the German theologians should receive the impression that they are overfond of criticism he would seriously mistake them, at least as a class. With them criticism is not, as a rule, an end, but a means. Could the uses to which the results of criticism are put be looked at from their standpoint the impression now prevalent concerning German theology would be greatly modified. We may admit and even assert the error of their ways, but we cannot deny the profound earnestness of their purpose through it all to discover the true faith of Jesus Christ. They have a notion that the Gospel has been covered over by vast accumulations of error during the progress of the history of the Church. These they would remove that they may ascertain the real teachings of Jesus, with the purpose that when found they may accept them. The purpose is unquestionably commendable, whatever may be thought of the methods employed. Nor are the results, so far as the practical outcome

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is concerned, so far away from orthodoxy in most cases as many suppose. For instance, Boetticher defines faith, in the New Testament sense, as consisting of three things: first, unconditional trust in God, such a disposition of the heart or will as produces humble self-renunciation and the ascription of all honor to God alone as the source of help and salvation; second, perfect consecration to God, a disposition of the heart and will which finds its expression in the following of Christ and in obedience to his will; and, third, conquering power, finding expression in miraculous deeds, in mighty words, in patient endurance under suffering and temptation, etc. The man who, after a critical search of the New Testament, finds that to be the nature of the faith of the New Testament Church is not far astray. As to the real nature of the Christian faith, Boetticher represents the essential views of the majority. There would be differences of opinion as to whether all this is well founded, and especially as to how we are to be assured of the reasonableness of such a faith and the relation of it to justification. We think Boetticher has given, on the whole, a very exact description, in general terms, of Christian faith, though there is little suggestion as to the character of justifying faith in particular in his delineation. It is interesting to note, as we have before done in these pages, that though the New Testament may be a subject of varying criticism those critics are generally orthodox when it comes to interpretation.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"**Der Glaube und seine Bedeutung für Erkenntniss, Leben, und Kirche, mit Rücksicht auf die Hauptfragen der Gegenwart**" (Faith and its Relation to Knowledge, Life, and the Church, with Special Reference to the Principal Problems of the Present Day). By Julius Köstlin. Berlin, Reuther & Reichard, 1895. One turns with almost breathless interest to such a work from such an author. We can give but a brief outline of the fundamental portion: The believer must hold fast to the objectivity and actuality of the objects of his faith. The scientific consideration of nature, while it cannot establish our religious faith, need not conflict with it. On the one hand, the Christian faith solves certain problems which otherwise must remain unexplained. On the other hand, the Christian need not appeal to the Scriptures for the explanation of those facts and operations of nature which we can see with our natural mental faculties; for example, we need not try to correct the Copernican theory by an appeal to the biblical account of creation. The true way to a knowledge of God is not to start with the thought of God as absolute, but rather from the idea of God as Father, the personality whose character is love; in other words, from the standpoint of faith. That this is a limited idea of God must be admitted, but Köstlin thinks, and doubtless all of us will agree, that for the purposes of religion we can have no more adequate idea of God than this by adherence to the idea of God as

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the absolute. One of the most interesting phases of the work is that which treats of the Christian revelation as final. While freely admitting that the utterances of the New Testament writers are not in all respects to be taken as absolutely trustworthy, but rather in some cases as their opinions as to matters of fact, yet he maintains that in Jesus Christ the way to God and his salvation is opened once for all. We do not regard the argument which our author gives in support of this proposition as exhibiting the strength of the Christian position on the subject. His main dependence is upon the freshness and originality of the record and its contents as compared with the later products of the Christian faith, and upon the fact that the books of the New Testament were selected from all the then existing literature, not so much on account of a critical insight as because of the impression they made upon the Christian thinkers of the early Church.

"Die Nachfolge Christi und die Predigt der Gegenwart" (Christian Discipleship and the Preaching for the Times). By Johannes Weiss. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895. The purpose of the work is to show those who fill our pulpits what they ought to preach—how they should represent Christ and the relation of the believer to him in our age and in our state of intelligence. He rejects the Ritschlian idea, according to which Christian life depends indeed upon the impression which the portrait of the historical Christ makes upon the individual, but mediately through the Church and the work of education; also Hermann's idea that the normal way of attaining to faith is by means of the overpowering influence of the historical Christ, thereby making the gate of life too narrow. So also he rejects Kaftan's notion that the fundamental condition of a true Christian life is communion with the risen Christ. Weiss seeks a formula which shall approach as near as possible toward those who are strangers to Christ and which shall at the same time make a minimum of demand upon those who would become Christians. This is not found in faith in the risen Christ, who is supposed to be, nevertheless, really with his people, leading them and giving them victory. Nor can this formula be found in the notion of Christ as a great historical reality of the past whom we may follow according to Franciscan fashion with self-denial and obedience. The Johannean idea of obedience to the commands of Christ is insufficient because the ethics of Jesus breathe a spirit which is strange to the ideals of life prevalent since the Reformation. We are shut up, therefore, to the thought of a purely intellectual relationship to Christ, such as we have with other absent personalities which, when vividly recalled to mind, exercise a powerful influence upon us. This intellectual conception of Christ is adapted to all changes in circumstance in the history of the world. If he intended to make matters just as easy as possible for intellectual unbelievers Weiss has certainly succeeded. All that is required is to believe that at one time a good man by the name of Jesus lived, and to presuppose some slight admiration for goodness in said unbelievers, and Jesus Christ can

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be followed by them. But Weiss has traveled so far from the path of common observation that he does not know that religious earnestness does not ask an easy way, but covets difficulties.

"**Der Stoiker Epiktet und sein Verhältnis zum Christenthum**" (Epictetus the Stoic and his Relation to Christianity). By Theodor Zahn. Leipzig, A. Deichart Nachf, 1895. The old question, as to whether the resemblances to Christian principles found in heathen writers who lived subsequent to the ministry of Christ indicate dependence upon Christian writings or contact with Christian teachings, directly or indirectly, is here once more brought to the front. Zahn thinks that when Epictetus speaks of the Galileans as looking with lofty contempt upon the evils which surround them it is proved that he has reference to the Christians, and hence that he must have read New Testament writings and gotten the name Galileans from them. As a critic of Zahn says, however: "It did not probably often happen in the earlier period of the history of Christianity that heathen read Christian writings before they came into close relations with the followers of Christ and were about to become converts." Zahn himself holds that it is not safe to assume an influence of Christianity upon heathen writers wherever we find thoughts or expressions in them similar to those in Christian writings. In fact, this jealousy for the Christian revelation which causes so many to fear lest a thought which is found in the New Testament might have developed without Christian influence is itself unchristian. God has never at any time in any place left himself without a witness. That the heathen had some light none ought to deny. If that light came from God it must resemble, in part, at least, the light of the Gospel. Besides, those resemblances lie upon the periphery of Christianity, and may easily be accounted for on the ground that as men of different nations thought on the highest themes it was most natural for them sometimes to hit upon the same truth and to express it in essentially the same form, just as discoveries are sometimes made in the realms of science by men who work entirely independent of each other. The real revelation of Christ was not in these things, but in the profound mystery of the plan of salvation. This we do not find portrayed anywhere else but in the New Testament or in the writings of Christian authors. Let Christians cease to dishonor God by denying that he allowed the heathen the least light, even upon questions of practical morality.

"**Huldreich Zwingli. Sein Leben und Wirken nach den Quellen dargestellt**" (Ulrich Zwingli, his Life and Work, as Gathered from Original Sources). By Rudolph Stähelin. Basel, Schwabe, 1895. It is to be regretted that the study of Zwingli has not called forth greater self-sacrifice and enthusiasm. Much has indeed been done to make possible a thorough understanding of the great Zurich reformer; but much that ought to have been done has remained undone. There is not even a complete and available edition of his works, nor any immediate prospect

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of one. His correspondence needs editing. The Swiss have the money, but apparently not the disposition, to provide for these works. This is partly owing, no doubt, to the feeling that Zwingli's place in history is by no means equal to that of his great contemporary, Luther. But it is also partly due to the fact that the purely Zwinglian type of theology has few earnest supporters. He was overshadowed by Calvin. How would it have been had he lived to know and combat that great theologian, as combat him he surely would have done? But still the study of the Zwinglian reformation is progressing, however slowly, and Stähelin was able to employ collections of material which had not been made when the works of Mörikofer were written, nearly thirty years ago. We have referred to the smaller historical stature of Zwingli as compared with Luther. One cannot say how much of this is due to the more limited field of his operations. But certain it is that Zwingli met the conditions which surrounded him with as much skill and success as did Luther those of Germany. Zwingli had as much will power as Luther, but this did not have so many opportunities of displaying itself in dramatic scenes, nor did Zwingli depend so much on mere force of will as did Luther, but rather upon the employment of reason. This corresponded with the fact that the sensibilities were not, relative to other mental faculties, so prominent in Zwingli as in Luther. Hence he does not appeal so powerfully to the popular mind as his contemporary. But while he was as firm in his faith as Luther he was also more clear-sighted as to what a true reformation demanded; although, if Luther stopped short out of regard for the consciences of weak brethren, Zwingli went too far in practical protest against the usages of Romanism. These reflections are not so much contained in as suggested by Stähelin's work, which should be read by all who are masters of the German.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Professor Harnack in the Role of an Apologist. The great Church historian has been so roundly and persistently denounced as a rationalist or worse that it is interesting to find him defending Christianity in the presence of the local branch of the Evangelical Alliance of Berlin. Being an historian, he naturally takes up his task in the light of the principles of historical research. Nor do we miss any of the scientific exactness of the historian when he turns apologist, which fact accounts for the caution with which he proceeds, and the limitations of his arguments to those points which he regards scientifically unassailable. In other words, one cannot make out how much more he believes than he defends. We shall give the outline of his argument as an item of news, for it is no insignificant event when such a man proclaims the reasons for his faith. The first objection which he attempts to meet is that since the Christian religion belongs in the realm of history, and all history is development, Christianity is purely a link in this development, and hence no special or peculiar place in history can be attributed to its Founder.

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Fully agreeing with the view, that all history is development, and that it cannot be understood except on this theory, he denies that all history can be regarded as merely the result of a natural process. In the history of ideas the environment is not an adequate cause. No progress has ever been made in religion without the intervention of a person. Humanity honors all its great men, but it reveres only its prophets and religious founders; for in them only it sees a power which frees us from the world and lifts us above ordinary life. And of all the religious founders and prophets, so vivid in character and gifts, there is One only of whom we know that he united with the profoundest humility and the purest purposes the claim that he was greater than all others before him, even the Son of God. Only of him it is true that those who ate and drank with him honored him as Prophet, Teacher, and King, and above all as the Prince of their lives, their Redeemer, the Judge of the world, the living Power of their being, and that soon with them there were many Jews and heathen, wise and fools, and that all received grace from the fullness that dwelt in him. This unquestionable fact stands alone in history, and it demands that the fact of the personality which lies behind it all should be respected as peculiar and unprecedented also. So the objection to giving Christ any special place in history because all history is development is set aside. Development and personalities must unite in the explanation of history. The second objection he meets admits that Jesus was an incomparable man, but asserts that since he lived centuries ago he cannot be the rock upon which we shall build, but only his doctrine or his principles. Or, to put it more sharply, in religion the relation of the soul to God is everything, and everything which intervenes between the soul and God disturbs the depth and freedom of the religious life. Taking up this second form of the objection, which in reality denies the necessity for Christ as a mediator in any form, Harnack admits the definition of religion as correct. But he says it is one thing to see the peace and beauty of a pious life and another thing to possess it. God speaks to men in various ways. But it is the rule that God uses one Christian to help another, and so men have been helping one another to become believers from the time of Christ to the present day. At the farther end of this series of messengers of God stands Christ as the Founder. The life of each came, even though mediately, from him. All live by him and through him. But the Christian faith does not think of Christ as in the past, but rather as being present with us. Christianity deals with the question of deciding for God and against the world, of eternal life, of the recognition of the fact that above nature there is a kingdom of holiness and love, a city not built with hands, whose citizens we ought to be. In connection with this message comes to us the demand for a change of life purpose, for self-denial, and we feel that we must choose. Is victory possible in the struggle? Is there here any higher reality in comparison with which the world is valueless? Do we deceive ourselves concerning our feelings and aspirations? Are we perhaps completely bound within the circle of predetermined laws of our earthly being? These are the great ques-

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tions and doubts which come to us. They are resolved by looking to Christ. When we sink into doubt and despair the person of Christ is able to save us. Here is a life wholly in the fear of God, firm, unselfish, and pure; here shines a loftiness and a love which draws us to itself. Here all was a continuous struggle with the world; little by little every earthly good vanished. At last even his life itself went shamefully down; yet no one can escape the impression that he who dies so does not die, but lives. In this life and death humanity for the first time acquires the certainty of an eternal life and a divine love which overcomes, not only all evil, but sin itself. Here we first see the relative valuelessness of the world and all its good. Eighteen hundred years separate us from him. But when we earnestly address ourselves to the question, What gives us courage to believe that God rules in history, and that there is eternal life? we answer, We build only upon Christ; Jesus lives, and with him we live also. He is the firstborn among many brethren. Hence it is his person, not merely his teaching, that has the principal place in the life of the Christian. The third objection says, You can say what you will concerning Jesus, but you have no certainty that it is as you say; for historical criticism has partly dissolved the portrait and partly made it uncertain, and even were everything more sure than it is individual historical facts can never be so well ascertained as to become the foundation of religious faith. Harnack admits that criticism has destroyed the credibility of much of what the Gospel affords us relative to the external facts of Christ's life. But he does not find that the fundamental facts in the life and words of Christ are affected by criticism. And the same is true of his witness to himself. Had historical investigation been able to prove that he was an apocalyptic fanatic or a dreamer it would be different. But it has not been, and cannot be, proved. His influence upon his followers no historical criticism contests. And by the side of this fact all others are but trifles. To the demand for external facts Harnack insists that while they do much for many people, yet faith and piety can have their final security only in the contents of faith in God the Lord and confidence in Jesus Christ, whose word and Spirit still prove themselves to human hearts as the power of God. Sad would it be if our faith rested upon a number of external facts to be demonstrated by the historian. The spiritual content of a life, of a person, is an historical fact also, and one which has its assurance in its effects. Nevertheless, while the individual external facts of the life of Christ have not a fundamental significance, they have significance. It is first of all to be investigated whether they are not true and real. Much which was once rejected has come to acceptance by more thorough investigation and more comprehensive experiences. For example, who can reject the miraculous healings so easily as former scholars did? Then they have also a significance for doctrine. We defend them not for themselves, but for the teaching they contain. Then they have a symbolic value. They are figures and parables, even when historically verifiable. In closing, Christianity need not fear the closest scrutiny.

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SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

Is church attendance on the decline? Eight prizes were lately offered by the *British Weekly* for letters on this question from the clergy and laity of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. The editorial comment of the *Weekly* on these letters, as republished in *Christian Literature* for October, forms one of the noticeable articles of the current month. The conditions which obtain in the British Isles do not seem largely different from those prevailing in the United States, and may be summed up in a semi-indifference to the Church on the part of the multitudes, and a general ground for anxiety among Christian leaders. "In England," says the editorial, "allowance being made for the shifting of population, matters do not seem to have greatly altered. In Scotland there is evidently a decided decline; but when it is remembered how strictly the Lord's day used to be observed in Scotland, and what a strong force of public opinion compelled regular attendance on the sanctuary, this is not surprising, and we may well hope that the tide will soon begin to turn. In Ireland and in Wales there is evidently no decrease, while in some places there is even an increase. All over the kingdom the practice of attending once a day is growing, and this reduces the congregation." But the depressing feature of the replies, says the *Weekly*, is that very few of its correspondents "can speak of growing interest in the things of God. In a certain way the Churches were never so active and never so liberal, and yet it seems that they barely hold their own, so far, at least, as attendance is concerned. . . . Very little progress is being made among the masses outside the Church, and even those within show a tendency, not as yet pronounced, to become indifferent. This is true of all the Churches. . . . We are in presence of a general tendency affecting the whole field, a tendency from which some suffer more than others, but from which all are suffering." Among remedies for the existing condition the editorial suggests, in quotation from Bishop Butler, "the importance of maintaining the externals of religion," and also that the Church "needs to be revived in nonconformity." "Let us remember," it furthermore adds, "when we come into the sanctuary Who is there and what are the blessings which he has promised to those who meet in his name." The concluding stricture on pulpit methods, also, may possibly have an appropriateness this side of the Atlantic: "Many of the letters we have received condemn in the strongest manner the preaching of the higher criticism and the ignoring of the great themes of the Gospel as responsible for much indifference toward church services."

WHAT may have been the method of ancient baptism is ably discussed by Dr. B. B. Warfield in the October number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, under the title of "The Archæology of the Mode of Baptism." We

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might wish that the author had arrived at a more definite result than the one he reaches. "Our archæological inquiry as to the mode of Christian baptism," he concludes, "leaves us hanging, then, in the middle of the second century. What Christian baptism was like at that point of time we can form a tolerably clear notion of. It was a cleansing bath, usually performed by a form of triune immersion. . . . Such being the case, we appear to be forbidden to assume that second-century baptism any more certainly reproduces for us Christian baptism than the second-century eucharist reproduces for us the primitive Lord's Supper, or the second-century church organization the primitive bishop-presbyter. Where, then, it may be asked, are we to go for knowledge of really primitive baptism? If the archæology of the rite supplies ground for no very safe inference where can we obtain satisfactory guidance? Apparently only from the New Testament itself. We are seemingly shut up to the hints and implications of the sacred pages for trustworthy information here." In the following three articles the Rev. Henry Hayman, D.D., shows "The Great Pentateuchal Difficulty Met;" the Rev. E. S. Carr writes of "Schleiermacher and the Christian Consciousness;" and the Rev. W. S. Watson contributes "The Final Chapters of Deuteronomy." Under the title of "A Question of Interpretation" the Rev. J. M. Stifler, D.D., asks and answers the inquiry as to whether Christianity displaces and takes the place of Judaism. To what lengths the clamorous campaign discussions of the autumn have invaded all departments of literature is shown by the publication in this conservative quarterly of three distinctively political articles, with which its table of contents concludes. They are, "Silver Money," by Professor W. E. C. Wright, D.D.; "What Government Cannot Do," by Z. Swift Holbrook; and "The Question of the Free Coinage of Silver," by Professor E. W. Bemis, Ph.D.

THE sweet songs of Christina G. Rossetti are recalled by the *London Quarterly Review* for October, in its article entitled "The Rossettis." The paper also includes some attractive reminiscences of Christina's brother poet, Dante Gabriel Rossetti. In "The Confidences of a Society Poet" is reviewed the autobiographical sketch of Frederick Locker-Lampson. His father, John Locker, was Civil Commissioner of Greenwich Hospital at his birth, in 1821. "He was a very pretty and precocious, but an exceedingly delicate, boy; and remained all through life physically fragile and sensitive." In 1842 he became a junior clerk in the Admiralty. His wife was Lady Charlotte Bruce, sister of Lady Augusta Stanley. Among the celebrities whom Mr. Locker sketches are Anthony Trollope, "hirsute and taurine of aspect, glaring at you from behind fierce spectacles;" Leigh Hunt "in his old age, discursive and amiable, fantastically arrayed in a sacerdotal-looking garment;" Carlyle, who, when presented to the queen, sat himself in a chair with the remark, "I am an old man, and, with your Majesty's leave, I will sit down;" George Eliot, whose "soaring genius" nature had disguised in "a homely and insig-

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nificant form;" and Dean Stanley, with his "small alert figure," his "sensitive refined face," and his "eager sweetness" of address. Two years after the death of his wife in 1872 Mr. Locker married the daughter of Sir Curtis Lampson, and added their name to his own patronymic. Charming are the instances of his verse which are quoted, illustrating "the gifts of insight and expression that make the poet." But he was, besides, magnetic as a man. "It is no small power to have been able to attach to yourself a character so pure as Arthur Stanley's, or personalities so marked in diverse ways as those of Marian Evans, Robert Browning, Alfred Tennyson. . . . Surely we owe a debt of no small gratitude to this charming writer and kindly-spirited gentleman, for that, before he passed forever from the stage of this life, he left this legacy of pleasant and helpful memories for his descendants and for us." The third article of the *Quarterly* is a lengthy historical review of "The Growth of British Policy," the volume itself which it notices being lately issued by Sir J. R. Seeley. The value of a life nobly lived is suggested by the fourth article, on "Dr. Hort and the Cambridge School." In "Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes" the reviewer ranks this poet "higher than any of his American contemporaries except Lowell, perhaps." The sixth paper traces the history of the "English Chartered Companies;" the seventh, having the title of "Woman Under Monasticism," notices four books that during the present year have been issued on some phase of the subject; the concluding article reviews "Democracy and Liberty," by W. E. H. Lecky.

THE contents of the *Presbyterian Quarterly* for October are: 1. "The Constitution of the Seminary Curriculum," by B. B. Warfield, LL.D.; 2. "The Old Testament in its Relation to Social Reform," by Louis Voss; 3. "The Church of the Living God," by H. M. White, D.D.; 4. "The Authority of the Catechisms and Confessions of the Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System," by H. C. Minton, D.D.; 5. "Christian Giving in the Sanctuary Service," by R. E. Prime; 6. "The Testing System for Ministerial Students in the Presbyterian Church of Ireland," by T. C. Johnson, D.D. The first article was read by Dr. Warfield before the association of Presbyterian theological professors of the United States, in June, 1896, and is an exhaustive consideration of the curricula of the various theological seminaries of their denomination. To his conclusion he gives the following practical turn: "Let us foster in our students the idea that they constitute a church, and are to live as becomes those who are, in their corporate union, a church of God. Shall I go further? Shall I say that, constituting a church, they ought to have a pastor? . . . Amid the multitude of agencies gathered together to further the intellectual advancement of our students, may it not be worth considering whether there may not be work enough to be done in the advancement specifically of their religious life to occupy all the energies and time and thought of one man?" The author of the second article states the purpose of his paper as follows: "In the revealed word of God alone are to

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be found the ways which lead to a reconciliation of the contending parties [among men] and to the amelioration of the social relations. Not until men return to God will peace be established. To prove all this, with the aid of the Old Testament, is the object of this paper." In the third article Dr. White exalts the value of Presbyterian government and doctrine. The following statement from his pen will, incidentally, come with the force of a new revelation to the learned historians of Methodism, if allusion is made to our denominational headquarters in New York: "An agent of the American Tract Society, Rev. Jonathan Lyon, attended a meeting of the Methodist Conference of North Carolina when they were debating the proposition to establish a publication house for their use as a denomination. One of the speakers objected, urging the fact that they then had excellent religious literature, suitable for devotional purposes, published and sold on good terms by the American Tract Society, and that it would be a misappropriation of money to spend it in building a house they did not need. The argument was answered by saying that, while the literature of the Tract Society was good, yet it contained Calvinism in dangerous quantities. . . . His argument prevailed, and the Conference cast its vote in favor of what is now known as the 'Methodist Book Concern.'" Inasmuch as the American Tract Society as such was not formed till 1825, while the Book Concern was established in 1789, the anachronism is one to which we would respectfully invite the attention of Dr. White. The next article was read at the sixth General Council of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system, in June, 1896. In the fifth article the writer affirms that giving is a natural act of worship. It should be a thanksgiving and a cheerful freewill offering; and it should include the best one has. As to the form of giving, "there is no model in the Scripture for the order of church services." The writer of the last article, after describing the examination of ministerial students in Irish Presbyterianism, expresses his belief that the standard of education in the Southern Presbyterian Church is "far too low."

A GREAT and growing evil is powerfully pictured by Frederick J. Masters in the *Chautauquan* for October, under the title, "The Opium Traffic in California." The vice, he declares, "has spread with such alarming rapidity during the last fifty years that in China it is estimated that one adult male in five is now addicted to its use. Among the twenty thousand Chinese swarming in the six blocks of that portion of San Francisco called Chinatown the proportion is even higher." Nor is this the worst aspect of the case. "The most serious phase of the opium evil is the increasing number of white people who are learning to smoke. It is no uncommon thing to see young men and even women of our race stealing into Chinatown at night for 'dope.' . . . Frequent arrests are made by the police of youths found in opium resorts. Scores of dens are to be found outside of Chinatown where the drug is regularly sold and smoked, and it is even finding its way into the fash-

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ionable homes of the western suburbs." The legalization of the traffic by Congress is one of the crying shames in American legislation. From the San Francisco customs statistics the writer quotes, to show that during the past sixteen years there has annually been imported through the customhouse in that city an average of over eighty-three thousand pounds of the drug, while there has been collected "an average yearly revenue of over $700,000." The importation and sale of opium for smoking purposes should be prohibited, says Mr. Masters; the officers of internal revenue should be empowered to destroy it, when found, as contraband goods; and the treasury of the nation should be forever shut "against a revenue derived from human misery, vice, and shame." This can now be done. "But if we wait until the traffic has taken hold of American capital and enthralled our people in its chains it may be too late."

THE memory of a gifted and good man is perpetuated in the life sketch of "The Reverend Talbot Wilson Chambers, S.T.D., LL.D.," which opens the October number of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*. "He was," writes Professor J. Preston Searle, D.D., "a precocious, an indefatigable, a lifelong student. . . . His plan for daily work included the reading of Hebrew before breakfast and Greek before dinner. In later life the Greek Testament found its place, in the daily routine, alongside the Hebrew in the earlier hour, on account of the greater quiet he could then secure. That this was no abbreviated hour is seen from the fact that he always rose as early as six o'clock, and frequently at half-past four. As to the outcome of this life of study we know in part that he possessed a critical knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, and Dutch, and a wide acquaintance with the literature of these languages. He also read Arabic, Syriac, Italian, and Spanish." As one of the pastors of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church of New York city; a member of the company of Old Testament revisers; acting professor of New Testament Exegesis at Princeton, Union, Hartford, and New Brunswick, and of dogmatic theology at the latter place; the Chairman of the Committee on Versions of the American Bible Society; and an author and denominational leader, his life was busy and useful. "The ninety-first of the Psalms he loved," says the writer, "describes Talbot Wilson Chambers's career and its end." In the second article Professor E. D. Morris, LL.D., comprehensively describes "The Jerusalem Chamber," and recalls that "Catholic and Protestant, Episcopalian and Presbyterian and Independent" each has "some share in the remarkable memories that are clustered there." A fascinating, and by no means a flippant or unprofitable, inquiry is raised by W. A. Holliday, D.D., in "The Effect of the Fall of Man upon Nature." The Rev. H. A. Johnston, D.D., contributes "Wanted—A Definition of Conscience;" the Rev. W. R. Notman considers "The Early Bermuda Church;" and D. R. Breed, D.D., in his "Christian Endeavor and the General Assembly," inquires into the meaning of the recent action of the last-named body

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regarding young people's societies. The editorial departments of this issue of the *Review* are most ably sustained. Among noticeable papers are outlines of the doings of the recent Presbyterian General Assembly at Saratoga and of the Glasgow Council, and two charming sketches by Drs. Eldridge Mix and W. M. Paxton of the late A. D. F. Randolph.

UNDER the title of "After Fifty Years" Bishop E. R. Hendrix, D.D., LL.D., writes in the September *Methodist Review* of the Church South of the division of the Church in 1844, and the organization of the new body in 1845. His article was first delivered at the semicentennial jubilee of the Church South in Louisville, Ky., May 1, 1895. It is clear in historical outline, pacific in spirit, and able in construction.——In the *North American* for October Bishop S. M. Merrill writes on "Our Electoral System," showing how the method of the fathers may be improved upon. The gist of his argument seems to be in these words: "How can equality be secured? It cannot be till voters throughout the country vote for the same number of electors. This requires the election of presidential electors by districts instead of by States."——The *New World* for September opens with an article by Josiah Royce on "Browning's Theism." The poet's faith, he holds, was "never a philosophy, always an intuition, but freely illustrated from experience, and insistently pondered through long and manifold arguments." The second article, by C. F. Dole, on "The Christocentric Theology," dethrones our Lord. "The Raising of the Dead in the Synoptic Gospels," by E. A. Abbott, learnedly scrutinizes some of the Gospel narratives, and concludes that such a miracle as that at Nain "is not history, but metaphor misunderstood."——The first article in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, by Sir Wemyss Reid, is entitled, "Why Russia Distrusts England." Taking for his text Cardinal Newman's "reference to omissions in great histories" E. S. Purcell writes "On the Ethics of Suppression in Biography," and justifies the contrary course which he followed in his life of Cardinal Manning.——The *New Church Review* for October opens with "Balzac and Swedenborg," by T. F. Wright. Other papers are, "The End of the Jewish Church," by L. G. Hoeck; "The Divorce Question," by W. H. Mayhew; "The Church of To-day," by James Reed; and "Some Glimpses of the Unity of Truth, in Dante," by S. W. Paine.——Among the articles in the *Methodist Magazine and Review* for October are "The Greater Britain of the Southern Seas," Australia being the land which is pictured; "In Search of His [Christ's] Grave," by Bishop Vincent; "Memories of the Bay of Naples," by E. A. R. Bell and W. H. Withrow; "James Russell Lowell and the Bigelow Papers," by C. A. Chant; "John Nelson—the Yorkshire Mason," by Dr. W. H. Withrow; "An Inspiring Chapter in Methodist History," by James Mudge, D.D. —a study of the beginnings of Primitive Methodism, reprinted from the *Methodist Review;* "The Far Distances of Our Universe," by Agnes Giberne; and a chapter from "Hiram Golf's Religion."

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BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Christian Democracy. A History of its Suppression and Revival. By JOHN MCDOWELL LEAVITT, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 391. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The learned author of this book has spent a long life in the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with which he is still connected: a clergyman of distinction, formerly Editor of the *American Quarterly Church Review* and President of Lehigh University. His book was not made; it grew. It contains the conclusions forced upon the author by a lifetime of scholarly research, and the convictions of a man who is master of his theme. It is in its way one of the ablest books on its vitally important subject. It discusses a question overlooked by ecclesiastical writers, yet one fundamental in the constitution of the Church. Where does sovereignty reside? Is the Christian Church an autocracy in the pope, an oligarchy in bishops, or a democracy of believers, lay and clerical? The latter theory is proved in this work by arguments that seem irrefutable. Always in the Old Testament and in the New the Church is considered under three aspects. Its *priestly* power centers in the forgiveness of sins; its *prophetical* power in declaring the terms of remission; and its *kingly* power in legislation. By unanswerable reasoning our author shows from the gospels and Acts that in the Christian Church each species of power was in the whole body of believers. Sovereignty was not in popes and bishops. It was in the people. On this foundation the book is built. Ecclesiastical polity and history appear in a new and true light. All the old issues between episcopacy and presbytery are included and avoided. Pope and bishop lose themselves in the sovereignty of a Christian democracy. Our author paints in glowing words the preparations and the obstacles of the young ecclesiastical commonwealth. Persecution was the trial and the triumph of the faith. The Christian anvil wore out the pagan hammer. When martyr fires were fiercest war between presbyter and bishop burst forth. Both at Carthage and Rome strife raged among Christians while heathen tyrants forged fetters and kindled flames. Cyprian asserted his episcopal authority to settle controversies. His order was supreme and immaculate. In the bishops were the unity and sovereignty of the Church. The Roman pontiff confirmed the Carthaginian hierarch. Martyrdom glorified the authority of a Cyprian, a Fabianus, and a Cornelius. Soon the Apostolical Constitutions made their view the universal law. East and West were revolutionized. Emperors assisted popes and patriarchs. The laity were eliminated from the life and work and legislation of the Church. Constantine and Justinian and Charlemagne obliterated every vestige of the primitive Christian Democracy. Now we approach the second part of the historical inquiry. The writer remarks: "Decay in the outer or-

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ganism presumes corruption in the inner life. Henceforth we are to consider those living truths which can alone preserve ecclesiastical freedom. But the power of the Church is not a human inspiration. It is the breath of the Holy Ghost. We cannot, however, separate the Spirit of God from the doctrine of God. Liberty of soul implies knowledge of Scripture." Faith in the blood of the divine Christ is the root of spiritual freedom. In the Bible is found one uniform sequence—Godhead, creatorship, incarnation, atonement. "About the feebleness of the humanity of the Redeemer are the miracles of his divinity. On his cross he shakes the earth he called out of chaos. He rends the rocks he laid in his world's foundations. He parts the veil of the temple he filled with his glory as Jehovah. He darkens the sun he hung in the heavens. He opens graves and promises paradise. Remission through faith in the blood of our incarnate God begins our liberty. But bondage to my evil self must be broken. This is the work of the Holy Ghost, represented by birth which translates from darkness to the light of the illimitable universe that serves the infant. Our Saviour employs, too, the sublime image of the atmosphere. It enfolds a world. In its vast circumference, how mighty its invisible movements! Home of the lightning, the clouds, and the tempest, this free, quick, powerful, irresistible, universal air is the symbol of the Holy Ghost brooding over humanity in that regenerating energy of God which completes the liberty of man." Our author then proceeds to show how the spiritual freedom of the Christian Democracy, through remission and regeneration, was assailed by heresies, confused by Fathers, petrified in creeds, fettered in liturgies, overwhelmed by councils, corrupted by saint-worship, strangled by sacerdotalism, under encroachments of bishops and conspiracies of papacy and empire, until morals were polluted and mediæval gloom and bondage became universal. This involves in a new view the whole cause of ecclesiastical history. In this inquiry we commend to notice the chapters on the "Clementines" and "Pelagianism." Always it is insisted that the subversion of the inner liberty is the cause of the outer revolution in which perished the Original Scriptural Christian Democracy. Out of this universal gloom and slavery arose the Reformation. "Luther revised the doctrine of remission and regeneration, taught by Christ and expounded by Paul, which can alone give true liberty to men and nations. He so powerfully enforced Scripture against tradition and papacy that its supremacy will never be dislodged from the human mind. He restored the laity to the councils of the Church. He opened a new era of religious and political liberty, which gave impulse to art, to literature, to science, to government, and which is emancipating every department of society and every region of the world. The work of Martin Luther will be most fully acknowledged when over earth has become universal the primitive Christian Democracy." Trent and Jesuitism opposed the Reformation, and two chapters are devoted to a history and analysis of these powerful forces; and are followed by sketches of those pontiffs who did most to establish and to corrupt the papacy and thus impair spiritual liberty. Anglicanism is

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impartially but unsparingly dissected. Of Protestantism the type and epitome is Wesley: "To him high Anglicanism had brought no peace. Like Paul and Luther, he was slain by the law. He was a slave with no power to rend his fetters. Salvation did not come to him in the cathedral. He went to a meeting in Aldersgate Street, London. The Preface to the Epistle to the Romans, by the great German reformer, is read. As salvation had shone over Germany it was now kindled in England. The light of faith burst on the soul of Wesley. What had occurred two centuries before at Erfurth was repeated at London. Reformation and revival had beginning in the same truth. As Wesley hears he believes in the blood of Christ for the remission of his sins. He experiences the witness of his forgiveness. He knows that his load of guilt is gone. Reconciled through the cross, he calls God Father and receives the Holy Ghost. Here was a new life for himself and millions. Out of that moment sprang our regenerated Christianity. To this conversion of Wesley we trace a new birth of Protestantism to liberty, diffusiveness, and victory."

But after all the progress since the Reformation we see Christendom yet divided. "If the leaves of the tree are diseased we should examine its roots. Does the fruit wither? The blight is from within. Not in the bark, but in the sap, is the lingering death. Is Christianity an original Scriptural Democracy, which, first losing its interior liberty of faith, passed into the bondage of oligarchy and autocracy? Then the cure must be from within, and not from without. Paul was its typical preacher and expounder. When he converted Asian and European Gentiles what did he proclaim? Paul preached remission of sins through faith in the blood of our incarnate God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, followed by the gift of the Holy Ghost in regeneration, in adoption, in assurance, in comfort, in enlightenment, in sanctification, in power. Paul aimed to bring Christ into the man and cast out that pride which seeks oligarchy and autocracy. Paul sought to establish in the heart the love and purity and liberty which alone can maintain in the world the beauty and brotherhood of a Christian Democracy. Nations were born again. The seeds of life were planted for an immortal harvest. Only by spiritual revolution can you restore and extend Christian Democracy." "But we must remember that ecclesiastical sovereignty in the people does not necessitate uniformity in organization and worship. As in State, so in Church, it may choose either a monarchic or a republican form. It only insists that the power of election be in itself. The primitive Catholic unity developed into a natural and generous variety. Indeed, the greater the inner liberty the greater may be the outer difference. This condition is the life of freedom, and thus becomes its law. Millennial unity in faith and love may exhibit itself in innumerable forms, as the same life in the universe animates insect and archangel, and the same light shines over creation in colors of beauty and glory more delicate and more dazzling because broken into an infinitude of hues and splendors." Here is the author's statement, in the chapter on

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the popes, of the great events which followed close after Pio Nono's decree of papal infallibility in 1870: "How marvelous the effect on Pio Nono! His humiliation in three months was as deep as that of Hildebrand or Boniface. On his knees, like a vulgar pilgrim, he climbed Pilate's staircase, bade farewell to his Lateran cathedral, and retired for life, self-imprisoned within his Vatican boundaries. After his pontifical abasement what a rush of events! We are bewildered at the vastness and rapidity of the revolution: Sedan; Metz; in Paris conquering Germans; the Emperor of France a captive; Napoleonic imperialism, that lifeguard of papacy, shivered into fragments; on the steps of the palace of Louis the Grand the Prussian William proclaimed emperor; Victor Emmanuel in the pontifical palace of the Quirinal; the papal territory, procured by forgery, vanished like a cloud; a French republic; a united Italy; a Protestant German empire; political Romanism shattered forever; a way opened for the triumph of the future universal Christian Democracy." The heaviest blows of this striking book are dealt against sacerdotalism and Anglicanism, which is just now being sorely smitten from before and behind and on either side. Dr. Leavitt's volume, the clear and concise work of a born teacher and experienced instructor, is admirably fitted for use as a text-book in all Protestant and non-Anglican seminaries. We invite the attention of ecclesiastical educators to it for this purpose. In chapter xxiii we see the work of Wesley brilliantly set forth by one who has had no connection with Wesleyanism. Dr. Leavitt is also the author of *Visions of Solyma, and Other Poems*, published by A. D. F. Randolph in 1895.

The Student's Life of Jesus. By GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, Ph.D., D.D. 8vo, pp. 412. Chicago: Press of Chicago Theological Seminary. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The title of this newest life of Jesus indicates its purpose and spirit. It is written, not for the cursory reader, but for those "who take the life of Jesus so seriously that they wish to get at the very facts." While the author, as a theological professor, has naturally had the needs of theological students and young ministers prominently in mind, he has studiously avoided classroom technicalities. Although constantly teaching the Greek Testament and reading deeply in German theology, he has not put into his book a letter of Greek nor a quotation in German. He believes that there is a large and growing number of intelligent laymen who are eager to know what new light has been shed upon the character and life of Jesus by the researches of modern scholars. The title intimates correctly, also, that the work is undertaken from an historical rather than a theological standpoint. With an unflinching faith in the supernatural, with a joyful confidence in "the risen and reigning Lord who is actually conquering the world," Professor Gilbert holds "that a believer in Christianity may investigate the life of Jesus as scientifically as an unbeliever." These quotations give the keynote and spirit of the book. It is written by an historical scholar who, in his effort to "get at the very facts," is not hindered by a preconceived theory concerning the nature of the Gospel records. He says of the living Christ: "The power of

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Christianity is his spiritual presence, and not the inspiration or infallibility of the story of his earthly life. Our faith does not stand or fall with these things. The essential claims of the Gospel are daily established by the deepest experiences of millions of souls. So the Christian, whose life rests, not upon any alleged quality of the Gospel, nor even on the written Gospel itself, but whose life consists rather in a personal relation to the living Lord, is, to say the least, as well able to investigate the documents of Christianity impartially as is the unbeliever." It seems proper to dwell thus upon the spirit and standpoint of the writer because precisely these matters give to his book its especial interest and value. Nothing is so certain or so significant in the tendencies of the younger theological scholars of most evangelical Churches as a movement in the direction indicated in Professor Gilbert's book. With wide differences in detail and in degree, the trend is toward a profounder reliance upon the reality of religious experience. Professor Gilbert's method is simple, practical, and attractive. The sources of the life of Jesus are first treated under these three heads: the Synoptic Gospels, the Fourth Gospel, and the Gospel Outside the Gospels. Contrary to the prevailing view, the author holds that the synoptic gospels are mutually independent. For this position he produces much evidence, some of which is new. He holds, further, that the writers of these gospels used, to some extent, written sources. It is worthy of note that the author infers from his views that "the differences, sometimes amounting to contradiction, cannot be regarded as intentional changes made by the writers of these gospels." They are to be "set down largely to the fact that there were several or many eyewitnesses of the life of Jesus, and partly to unconscious or even designed alterations by those who repeated the story over and over in the early years of the Church." Professor Gilbert regards this position as favorable to the essentially historical character of the synoptic gospels. He defends, also, the Johannine authorship and historical trustworthiness of the fourth gospel, while admitting "at the outset that the teaching of Jesus is not given with the same historical accuracy, as regards its *form*, that characterizes the synoptic version." Proceeding with the life of Jesus, the writer follows in the main the chronological order, discussing point after point with admirable clearness, conciseness, and vigor. He accepts the supernatural conception, while holding that it would "be a wide misrepresentation of the New Testament teaching to say that it esteems the supernatural conception of Christ as being no less necessary than the miracle of his resurrection." From a multitude of matters, all of them interesting to the student of this immortal theme, and many of them of great importance, it is possible here to name only a few. In regard to the temptation in the wilderness, the dove and voice at the baptism, and the transfiguration, the author inclines to the theory of spiritual vision rather than that of objective reality. He holds, however, that the "demonized ones were, according to the synoptists, and according to Jesus himself, actually possessed by an evil spirit." This is intrinsically no more

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difficult to understand than how the Holy Spirit can enter into a human being. "But centuries of Christian experience prove that the Holy Spirit does thus enter into men and control them." All the miracles of Jesus were wrought, he thinks, "not by virtue of inherent omnipotence, but through faith" by the Spirit of God. The objective reality of the resurrection is the only view reconcilable with the narratives. In referring to authorities outside the Bible, Professor Gilbert gives the decided preference to Weiss and Beyschlag. Possibly the book bears too strongly the character of a review of the works of these two men on the same subject. In the second rank are noticed the positions of Edersheim and Keim. Yet it is one of the excellencies of this work that it is not burdened with a mass of references. Dr. Gilbert has given to students a stimulating, suggestive, and instructive life of Jesus, such a one as did not exist before. He would be the last person to claim that his book is perfect or that all his positions are final and unassailable. With all his keen discrimination and impartial temper he seems occasionally to slip into dogmatism. He appears also to struggle at times in his efforts to work the events and teachings of the fourth gospel smoothly into the synoptic narrative. But he has undoubtedly made a contribution to this theme of themes for which earnest students may well be profoundly grateful.

The Crisis of This World; or, The Dominion and Doom of the Devil. By S. M. MERRILL, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 16mo, pp. 190. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

In their solidity the three discourses included in this volume are like blocks of granite cut from the mountain side. They constitute Bishop Merrill's latest published excursion into the field of theological controversy, and are impressive in their massive strength. In no better way can their contents be put before the reader than by a running quotation from their pages. The first discourse—and the whole booklet, the author tells us, is but "a sermon enlarged"—gives the title to the volume, and is based upon the utterance of Jesus in John xii, 31, "Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out." The period meant is held by the bishop to be the "crisis" in human history involved in the crucifixion. "The great event, which was the turning point in human history and in the history of divine government over men, was the death of Jesus Christ. For this purpose and for this hour he came. His birth and life were preparatory; his death was the climax. It was the culmination of his mission. In that event centered all human interest and human hope. It was the turning point of destiny, the crisis of this world, the decisive hour for rulership in the spiritual realm." But, intimately connected with the fact of this crisis is another tremendous fact which is inseparably related to man's temporal and eternal interests—the personal existence of the devil and his struggle for human mastery. If one is looking for a volume which wavers on the subject of the Satanic personality this is not the book. With sturdy and refreshing words the bishop advocates the belief—and is it not the belief of the orthodox Church?—in the diabolism of the New Testament. The

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mere "personification of evil," in his judgment, falls far short of meeting the conditions of the case. Evil, as a mere quality, has "no existence apart from its substance." A personification cannot "seduce." "Who stands in awe of a metaphor?" Devils exist. A chief devil exists—"Beelzebub, 'the prince of devils,' 'the prince of darkness,' 'the prince of this world.'" The tempter of Job and of Christ, he is contending with the Son of God for the ownership of the earth. "This world is now the battlefield. Wherever the war began, it is to be fought out here. Here Satan has his seat; here he has obtained dominion; . . . and here all the forces of his kingdom are gathered, 'the rulers of the darkness of this world,' making their final struggle for the mastery. The prize is the control of the human race. For this prize every energy of the kingdom of darkness is enlisted." But, adds the author, in conclusion, Satan is to be dethroned and cast into the "outer darkness." The two sermons which follow are logical corollaries of the discourse on the crisis of the world. The second sermon considers "The Unpardonable Sin," holds that the text applies to the present dispensation, and shows that "in the blinding and hardening process" involved in a course of willful sin Satan is "an active agent." The final sermon is on "The Duration of Punishment," and is in part a judicial examination of such crucial words as "aiōnios," "aphtharsia," "athanasia," "amarantos," "akatalutos," and "diēnekes." The conclusion from which is that "the final decree of judgment consigns the devil and his angels, and all the ungodly of our race, to a perdition out of which there is no redemption. . . . Where the Judge Eternal places them we must leave them." Such is an outline of a strong book, and if we have considered it only after a cursory method it is because orthodoxy will have no disposition to assail its conclusions.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

An Ethical Movement: A Volume of Lectures. By W. L. SHELDON, Lecturer of the Ethical Society of St. Louis. Crown 8vo, pp. 349. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Mr. Sheldon has been the minister of the "ethical" church in St. Louis for ten years. For two years he served an apprenticeship under Felix Adler, whom he regards as the true leader of the ethical movement, which first took organized form in New York city about twenty years ago. Nobody is responsible for the views expressed in this volume but the author, and it is intimated that Mr. Adler would probably disagree with them in many particulars. We incline to the opinion that Mr. Sheldon is less out of sympathy with the Christian position and plan than Mr. Adler. His lectures seem to us to be suffused with more of the essentially religious. Probably these lectures contain as correct, intelligible, and complete a presentation as can be found anywhere of the spirit, basis, purpose, and plans of "the ethical movement." The ethical culture societies of America have as a part of the constitution of their union the following clause: "The general aim of the ethical movement

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as represented by this union is to elevate the moral life of its members and that of the community; and it cordially welcomes to its fellowship all persons who sympathize with this aim, whatever may be their theological or philosophical opinions." Mr. Sheldon attributes "the New Emphasis on Ethics" in part to "the combined influence of Kant in Germany, of Darwin in England, and, in this country, of Ralph Waldo Emerson. The teaching of Immanuel Kant reconsecrated the idea of Duty, and the halo survives in spite of any changes of attitude which may have taken place toward other features of his great system. Charles Darwin, with his discovery of the method by which organic life has gone through its processes of transition on this planet, threw a great new light upon the groping philosophy of evolution, opening out the whole province of the social sciences as well, so that now when we desire to help our fellows we know how to go about it without necessarily injuring the very purpose we are striving for." (The author does not explain what he means by this; but he proceeds to tell us what Emerson contributed to the impulse from which the ethical movement was born.) "Emerson added the prophetic fire, speaking as with a 'Thus saith the Lord,' without system or method, straight from his moral consciousness. His 'Sovereignty of Ethics' ranks with Kant's 'Apostrophe to Duty,' and belongs to the 'inspired literature' of modern times." With his eye on the Churches the author says: "For ages the debate has gone on as to the true idea of the Deity, the historic value of the Scriptures, the relative worth of the various sects or religions. But amid all these discussions the old, old query has been ever pressing—why something more cannot be done to influence human conduct. To lead one individual to become a better man, to inspire him with higher ideals and more exalted purposes—may not this be worth for the future of the world as much as to prove or disprove the historic value of a 'Bible,' or to present convincing evidences of the existence of a Deity? May it not be more important to awaken and foster in the characters of men those high ethical attributes we have been accustomed to attribute to a Deity than to instill into the *minds* of men certain beliefs about such a Being? Should it not be our consideration to care more to live the kind of life followed by Jesus than to throw the stress of feeling and enthusiasm on the worship of Jesus? Religious teaching has not been exerting its true influence on the public mind, because it could not adequately apply itself to the actual daily affairs of human life. Whether, by throwing the stress on moral issues, we may be able to restore the right hold for religion, is the problem to be solved by a true ethical movement." (Religious teachers are bound to consider whether these criticisms are just. If the ethical culture societies *are* taking up an important religious work which has been neglected by the Churches, the Churches ought to know it at once, and rise to the level, and move out into the field of their duty.) The St. Louis lecturer summarizes as follows his conceptions of the mission of the ethical societies: "An ethical society exists for the purpose of inducing people to think more about conscience, duty, justice, the cultivation of the higher nature,

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working for others, about high conduct in all its phases, morality in all its aspects. It exists for the purpose of persuading people to *do* more than they are doing toward making themselves better men and women and toward improving the rest of the world. It exists for the purpose of keeping public attention on the moral aspects of the questions of the day, and not allowing people to judge on such matters from their own personal interests or from purely material considerations. An ethical society exists for the purpose of organizing practical educational work in social reform on a basis which shall be strictly neutral on all matters pertaining to religion. It exists in order to serve as a meeting ground for people who are unable to agree in their religious beliefs and yet are warmly interested in working together for their own moral improvement and that of the whole human race. It exists for the sake of cultivating the sense of reverence and fostering the moral and spiritual nature of each person, while allowing every man to think as he pleases or as his judgment may compel him to think. It exists for the purpose of awakening and fostering high scruples in one's conduct in the home, personal affairs, public life, commercial affairs, and in all one's relations to the city, the State, or the nation to which one may belong. An ethical society, amid the changes now going on in religious beliefs, exists for the purpose of persuading men to hold tenaciously to the great moral principles established by the experience of past ages and approved by the voice of conscience, while at the same time seeking light wherever it may be found. It exists in order to accomplish these various purposes by means of lecture courses, educational clubs, classes for children, organized efforts for social reform, courses of reading or study, all concentrated on the one aim." We are glad to let the ethical culturist thus state on these pages the mission and aim of his society; but is there anything of any importance in his purposes and plans that is not more than covered by the program of the Churches? And does not his statement seem like a pale and imperfect reduplication of the moral work of Christianity? The contents of the book may be inferred from the titles of the chapters: "Being Religious—What It Means to an Ethical Idealist;" "Duty—to One who Makes a Religion of It;" "The Attitude We Should Take toward the Religious Beliefs of Others;" "How People of Many Minds can Use the Word 'God;'" "The Message of the Stoics to the People of To-day;" "Does High Conduct in the Long Run Bring the Greatest Amount of Happiness?" "The Value of Poetry to Those who Wish to Live in the Spirit;" "Marriage—in the Light of the New Idealism;" "The Family—Can Ethics Improve on It, or Offer a Substitute for It?" "Law and Government, and Why We Should Revere Them;" "Social Ideals, and What They Signify to an Ethical Idealist;" "The Difficulty for the Idealist in Taking Sides on the Questions of the Day;" "On What Basis Can Ethics Justify Private Property?" Whatever we may think of the scheme of our "ethical" friends, it is right and necessary to give them a respectful and studious hearing; and if they can teach us anything good we are under ethical obligation to learn it. Therefore let

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us read and listen and think, with our New Testament open at our right hand for comparison; and let us examine ourselves in the light of "ethical culture" and of the Gospel lest by any possibility "ethical culture" be found to manifest more of the mind of Christ in its dealing with questions of the day and problems of human life than our Christian Churches exhibit. We must surpass "ethical culture" or bow to it and concede its claims.

The Whence and the Whither of Man: A Brief History of His Origin and Development Through Conformity to Environments. By JOHN M. TYLER, Professor of Biology, Amherst College. 12mo, pp. 312. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.75.

These chapters are the Morse Lectures delivered at Union Theological Seminary in 1895. For this lectureship Professor S. F. B. Morse, famed for his relation to telegraphy, gave ten thousand dollars, in memory of his father, Rev. Dr. Jedediah Morse. Professor Tyler, a Christian evolutionist, sets forth in this book the present scientific view of the development of man from the simple living substance. He begins by saying: "We take for granted the probable truth of the theory of evolution as stated by Mr. Darwin, and that it applies to man as really as to any lower animal." And from the history of the past, as biology reads it, he thinks, something of man's future development may be foretold. Chapter I states the problem and deals with the mode of its solution. Chapter II is on "From Protozoa to Worms: Cells, Tissues, and Organs." Chapter III is "From Worms to Vertebrates: Skeleton and Head;" Chapter IV, "Vertebrates: Backbone and Brain;" Chapter V, "The History of Mental Development and its Sequence of Functions;" Chapter VI, "Natural Selection and Environment;" Chapter VII, "Conformity to Environment;" Chapter VIII, "Man;" Chapter IX, "The Teachings of the Bible;" Chapter X, "Present Aspects of the Theory of Evolution." Then follow a chart showing sequence of attainments and of dominant functions, a phylogenetic chart of the animal kingdom, and a good index. Man is considered as composed of atoms and molecules, and hence subject to chemical and physical laws; as a living being; as an animal; as a vertebrate; as a mammal; as a social being; as a personal and moral being, with a conflict in him between the higher and the lower; as a religious being; as a hero; a being who has not yet attained, but who in the future will utilize all his powers, duly subordinating the higher to the lower. One must look far to find a nobler chapter in any book than that on "The Teachings of the Bible," the contents of which are as follows: "Subject of the Bible. *Man:* Body, Intellect, Heart. *God:* Law, Sin, and Penalty. God Manifest in Christ. Salvation, the Divine Life Permeating Man. Faith. Prayer. Hope. The Church. The Battle. The Victory. The Crown." From this part of the book we would like to quote many things did space permit. Whoever wishes a clear and comprehensive statement of the present form and condition of scientific theory as to the whence and the whither of man can perhaps find nowhere else a better book than this. Also whoever has had difficulty in understanding how any true Christian can be an evolutionist will have his compre-

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hension assisted by reading Professor Tyler's views. At least two chapters are really grand sermons—those on man and the Bible. The Scribners also publish the Morse Lectures for 1894, by William Elliot Griffis, on *The Religions of Japan;* for 1893, by Principal A. M. Fairbairn, on *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology;* as well as the Ely Lectures for 1891, by Dr. F. F. Ellinwood, on *Oriental Religions and Christianity;* and for 1890, by Professor L. F. Stearns, of Bangor Theological Seminary, on *The Evidence of Christian Experience.*

The Pith of Astronomy, without Mathematics. The Latest Facts and Figures as Developed by the Giant Telescopes. By SAMUEL G. BAYNE. With Illustrations. 16mo, pp. xii, 122. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

As the title indicates, this is not an exhaustive treatise on astronomical science, but a valuable compendium for ready reference and for those general readers who wish at a glance simply the established results of research. Its style is direct, pithy, and compressed. We can exhibit its method of treatment no better than by quoting connectedly the beginning of its section on Mars: "The planet Mars is 141,000,000 miles from the sun. Its diameter is 4,200 miles. Its year contains 687 days. Its mean distance from the earth is 48,000,000 miles. The day on Mars is half an hour longer than ours, or about 24 hours and 37 minutes. It has two moons. It moves at the rate of 15 miles a second. Mars is the fourth planet from the sun, and is called the red planet, from its well-known color." The description goes on in this manner, each statement forming a separate paragraph. While not taking the place of more elaborate works, this little manual has an obvious use and value.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Way of Faith Illustrated. Autobiography of Hū Yong Mi, of the China Mission Conference. 12mo, pp. 259. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.

This variously interesting book "records the life of an intelligent, well-born Chinese gentleman, who was converted to Christianity and gave nearly thirty years of faithful service as an evangelist and preacher of the Gospel. In straightforward, simple style he tells of his childhood and youth, of his adherence to the faith of his fathers, of his first contact with Gospel truth, of the struggle through which his darkened mind came into the marvelous light, and of the heroic years spent in preaching Christ to his benighted fellow-countrymen." Yong Mi, who was one of the most remarkable Chinese Christians the Church has yet had among its members, died in 1893, leaving this story of his life to the care and judgment of Dr. S. L. Baldwin, by whom, as well as by Dr. John F. Goucher and others, he had been urged to write it. Yong Mi's father was a military officer of comfortable fortune, who because of the humble garb he chose to wear was called "Officer Plain-clothes;" while his mother was known as "Mother Plain-clothes." He records his conviction that the grace of God was with him before his conversion to Christ,

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and even from the beginning of his life, saving him out of many temptations, guiding him, helping him, and assisting him out of pitfalls. "Had it not been so I should have gone to perdition ere ever I heard the Gospel preached. I know truly that from before my entrance into the world the grace of God has protected me. Praise to Jehovah for the evidence that, from ancient times, he has cared tenderly for our China." Yong Mi's father heard something of the teachings of Christian missionaries, and said to his family and friends: "Christianity is good. I myself am so pressed by business affairs that I have not time to investigate the doctrine, and fear I should practice imperfectly. I advise you all, friends, to begin before me to be Christians." That sort of man is numerous in America—knows Christianity is a good thing, but is too busy to attend to religion now, and fears he could not live up to the standard he himself has set for Christians; wants his family, however, to attend church and be religious. But the Spirit of God worked in the father's heart so that Yong Mi writes: "I, with my parents and others, were baptized by Rev. R. S. Maclay and Rev. Otis Gibson at the Church of the True God, in 1858." The father died in 1860, saying, "The Saviour has come. Now, immediately, he will receive my soul into heaven." Yong Mi was ordained to deacon's and elder's orders by Bishop Kingsley. When he first went to a Christian church he found fault with two things: hymns of praise to the Lord of heaven and earth were sung to common popular song tunes, and the people stood to pray—not assuming a humble and reverential attitude. His feeling toward the Bible and the Sabbath at the very beginning of his Christian life is thus described: "I hungered and thirsted for the reading of the Holy Scriptures, but I did not know how to bring out the meaning. If very little only was plain to me it gave me added joy. I often went to Chong Seng Sang to ask Rev. Mr. Maclay to explain a passage to me. He told me that he read the Bible frequently in the evening, kneeling; and if the meaning were not clear he prayed the Holy Spirit to reveal it. In the same manner, accordingly, I studied the Bible each night, kneeling. By day, as I worked at painting, a portion of the Bible lay at my left hand to read as I mixed paints with the right. Sometimes two or three others who were seekers after truth came together with me, and we conferred upon our mutual experience and the knowledge we had attained. Often on Sabbath the missionary preacher used for his text the very passage of Scripture which I at the time most wished explained. So, gradually, I profited in the things of the Gospel. I revered the Sabbath of the Lord as most precious—so great regard, so great affection, so great gladness in the day, that too slowly it came, and all too quickly passed away." Here is what he thinks was one of the faults of his early preaching: "Although I early had ardor to exhort men, my words were mostly declamatory against the wickedness of the world. I regarded men's faults as a controversialist, pleased when, in debate, my opponents were humbled and silenced. Notwithstanding this was somewhat in accord with the necessity of the time, truly I was deficient in tenderness and affection."

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At first he was afraid to leave his trade and go about preaching, lest people should say, "This young man wishes not to work, but has a very ambitious spirit." Friends, when they first heard him talk, said: "This man, when young, never wished to speak a word. If he spoke it was in a very soft voice. Now, suddenly, he has great courage, and speaks in a loud voice, without ceasing." Strangers also marveled and asked: "How came this man to be so? Why hangs always the name of Jesus upon his lips? Reviled by men with many evil words, why does he not become angry and retort? He does not appear stupid or crazy. Ah, probably he has taken some foreign drug which has bewitched him." When assaulted by a crowd with missiles he praised God aloud for having committed to him the charge of suffering for Jesus. In China, as in America, some poor specimens are among the converts; there was one "whose nature was like a reed. He was fond of eating, disinclined to work. It was difficult to improve him. Gradually he disconnected himself from the Church." Some in China, as in America, are after loaves and fishes. Twenty gamblers who had lost all in a lottery came to the missionary and asked: "How much money shall we receive a month for all becoming Christians?" In one village Yong Mi found several hundred men who declared they were willing to worship God if they were paid cash for it. But in China, as in all lands, are found some noble, heroic, and shining converts. Here is one, Ngoi Cheng Ting: "He tells any man he sees of the joy he experiences—the joy of salvation. He is not eloquent, but his heart is full and it beams in his countenance. He was formerly a mason, but has given up his business to preach Christ, although not a licensed preacher. He has a banner on which are inscribed characters signifying God's power and love, the crucifixion of Christ for the sin of mankind, the Ten Commandments, and his own experiences. This banner he bears on his back as he travels hundreds of miles, everywhere letting men read the inscriptions. . . . He tells his experiences to all, and earnestly prays for those who are not converted. He greatly longs for the Saviour's Gospel to spread quickly over all the earth." Here is another valuable specimen. A wretched vagabond who was seen many times standing outside the chapel listening to Yong Mi's preaching was asked by him why he did not come inside the chapel. He replied, "You are so clean and so grand, how could I enter?" Being asked what he had heard, he said, "Not one sentence which was not exceedingly good." Being exhorted to become a disciple, he shook his head and sighed, as if to say, "That happiness is not for me." Soon he came again, and said, "I wish to ask if the Saviour is willing to receive the most wicked, most unworthy of men?" Being asked if he knew himself to be a sinner, he replied, "Ah, my sins are more than I can tell. All wickedness have I committed." The bystanders confirmed his words, saying: "We all know him, his bad name, his wicked deeds. He has opened gambling places, opium shops. He himself eats opium. All fear him. He has been employed to recover bad debts, because none dare refuse him. Every wickedness has he done. Formerly his father bound him with an iron chain. He loosed it and ran

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away." And the poor sinner himself went on: "My heart perceives that it has offended against the law of God and broken all commands. Now, how is salvation possible?" Yong Mi explained the Gospel and prayed with him. The man gave up the opium business and gambling, destroyed his utensils, ceased from all bad practices. The effort to do without opium made him very sick. "One day he lay on the roadside as if dying. All men knew it was a case of opium illness. They tried to draw him into an opium den, telling him that two pipefuls would make him well. He answered, 'Men who have not the opium habit also take sick and die.' He would not touch the drug, and he recovered." He became a fish peddler, and manifested in his business that he was honest, just, and sincere; sold only what was good, and charged only a fair price, not cheating in any way. Everybody discussed this matter of his sudden change to goodness. Men said: "Can such a bad man have become good? No; perhaps he has become a false Christian to deceive the Christian minister in some way." They tried various means to tempt him and to test him, but, failing to move him, they said, "This man is truly a Christian. What magic did the minister use? Has this doctrine power to transform such a bad man into a good one?" Then they went to him and questioned him: "You—man—how or why did you become so changed?" He answered, "It was the power of God which regenerated me. It was the grace of Jesus which saved me. I, Tiong Lung, this man, with no man near me—only the love of Jesus so great that he was willing to receive me—this caused me to live again from the dead." Men kept asking him this question, until finally he said, "I have told you many times over; why are you not willing to believe?" "Thus," writes Yong Mi, "the reputation of Jesus's doctrine became fragrant everywhere. Many people came afterward to have great faith in Tiong Lung. Beforetime men were not willing to trust him with a single cash. Now traders, rich men, and genteel, gave him large sums of silver to take to Foo Chow for the purpose of making purchases. His latter state differs widely from his former and manifests the power of the Holy Spirit to transform the inner heart of man. Tiong Lung still lives, a firm Christian and an honest tradesman, in Lĕk Tu." In a village which was the center of the idol festivities many were sick with intermittent fever; Yong Mi says he gave them "quinine and the Gospel." Here is Yong Mi's experience with the Church in Ku-cheng, about forty members, mostly poor. These poor people being in need of assistance because of a severe drought, he appealed to the members who were better off to contribute for the relief of the distressed. "It was done; but there was dissatisfaction about the distribution of this fund, one thinking too little had been given him and that another had too much." These began to harbor ill-will against Yong Mi. "Some wished certificates to go and join the English Church. There were also members who gambled and were quarrelsome. One was addicted to opium." Yong Mi says: "Some too favorite members had been treated as is often a precocious child. It is overpetted. It is busy all the day in all manner of activities, till the parents are too weary to eat. One must just have patience with such." There were a few

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discreet, consistent, and zealous members, who acted withhim to restore tranquillity, and he writes—and his story is like the experience of many a troubled minister: "These circumstances were not unprofitable to me. God used them for my discipline. I had before resorted to secret prayer and fasting, to prevent self-trust and negligence of important matters. Now, again, I felt that it was necessary I should fast. I also, with a few members of like mind, met daily before daylight to pray for the Church. Before long we had help from God. The Church was lifted up. I began holding meetings in private houses in different villages round about. I saw the Church members, ardent in spirit, longing for the Gospel, serving the Lord with gladness of heart." Methodists in China, it seems, have one very peculiar experience: "Certain members of the English Church frequently said, 'The Methodist Episcopal Church is not established,' meaning not a State Church, and caused men to contemn us." In one place Yong Mi preached to his enemies until they were humbled and confessed their wrong, and listened to his preaching so that they forgot their meals. When members of their families came to summon them to dinner they replied, "Hearing this doctrine is better than eating." Once Yong Mi was sent to a hard appointment where no preacher wished to go, and he thought it was because of prejudice against him in the Conference. He thought the missionaries wanted to compel him to retire from the work and therefore gave him a hard place. He says these suspicions were due to a fit of depression of mind. He went to his appointment, thinking to himself: "All things are in God's hand to rule and determine. Dare to doubt? No. I must put away every imagination of my own. Preachers, whether in sorrow or joy, must finish their course. Therefore I, in depressing circumstances, must trust the Lord the more and hope for the manifestation of his power." Going in this spirit, he found on his large circuit a wide open door for the Gospel and won many victories; so that he afterward wrote: "In all things it is best to follow God's guidance. It is not profitable to heed what one sees, hears, or imagines. I have repented of my suspicions concerning my appointment, as a sin." The Chinese are peculiar in the almost superstitious value they set upon every bit of paper which has anything printed on it. "All printed paper is held in great esteem; must not be used for wrapping paper nor trampled under foot; this because of their regard for books and learning." We have societies for almost everything, but the Chinese are one ahead of us; they have a "Society for the Preservation of Lettered Paper," which detects and punishes those who are guilty of misusing printed paper. All through Yong Mi's book the grateful attachment of the native converts to our missionaries comes out in appreciation of the patience and self-denial and loving-kindness of such men as Drs. Wentworth and Maclay and Gibson and S. L. Baldwin; as also testimony to the helpfulness and impressiveness of the visits of our bishops to our missions in China. No testimony can be more important than that of converted heathen and native preachers in the field. This book, with its simple, strong, sincere, heroic story, is a good one for all men to read.

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English Lands, Letters, and Kings. By DONALD G. MITCHELL. 12mo, pp. 354. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Two previous volumes covered the ground "From Celt to Tudor" and "From Elizabeth to Anne." This one treats of "Queen Anne and the Georges." The very name of the author is a guarantee of racy and charming narrative, character study, scenic description, and moralizing. The literary flavor and finish of the book make delightful reading, and knowledge is absorbed without the effort of study. It has been said that the author endows his readers, not merely with his critical opinions, but with his prejudices. We cannot do better than borrow the words of another reviewer: "There is a sly stroke at Gibbon apropos of the marriage which never took place that illustrates the author's skill in suggestive criticism where personal character and literary mastery are thought of together. 'Not a nice person, that Gibbon,' the author seems to say, 'but, dear me! my young friend, if you are going to write history, let me urge you not to meddle with the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. That has been done.' One finds out soon enough that Mr. Mitchell has an astonishing respect for Hume and a curious contempt for Rousseau. But he is, on the whole, as tender as he can be with everybody—even with that ideal of malice, Samuel Rogers, one of the best specimens in literary history of a poet made after he was born to something quite different. In his own fashion Mr. Mitchell has given a gallery of portraits, sketched rapidly. All the salient features necessary to complete recognition are there, though perhaps the details are not filled in. Some pictures which another artist might have neglected—for example, that of White of Selborne—are unexpectedly elaborate. The abnormally pious Cowper is as carefully done as the skeptical Hume; and Crabbe, whom the author does not admire, is as fully treated as Wordsworth, for whom he still retains the reverence of his college days. He regrets that he did not make bold to call on Wordsworth in those days, and he still remembers his glimpse of the aged poet one Sunday morning in the little chapel on the Heights of Rydal, when 'from my seat I saw him enter, knowing him on the instant; tall (to my seeming), erect, yet with step somewhat shaky, his coat closely buttoned, his air serious and self-possessed, his features large, mouth almost coarse, hair white as the driven snow, fringing a dome of baldness; an eye with a dreamy expression in it, and seeming to look beyond and still beyond. He carried, too, his serious air into his share of the service, and made his successive responses of "Good Lord, deliver us!" and "Amen!" with an emphasis that rung throughout the little chapel.'" As to Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son* the author quotes Samuel Johnson's saying that they taught "the morals of a courtesan and the manners of a dancing master."

Bringing the Sheaves. Gleanings from Harvest Fields in Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia. By WILLIAM I. FEE, D.D., of the Cincinnati Conference. Crown 8vo, pp. 663. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is a refreshing book for the devout Methodist. The author is in the line of spiritual descent from those first itinerants who, a century since, rode the forests of the New World preaching the strange doctrine of a

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conscious and full salvation. Though chronologically he belongs to these last times, yet in his consecration, zeal, and methods he links us to Asbury, Lee, and Whatcoat. The territory where he labored has witnessed some of the most heroic struggles of our American Methodism and some of her most remarkable achievements. In her growth through the middle West Dr. Fee seems to have been an important factor. And it is well that the old warrior should now tell the story of his battles. While we may not dwell upon his successive appointments, through a long half century, we are persuaded that his volume is a valuable addition to the historical archives of Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia Methodism. But, besides its local value, his history has a lesson for all the preachers of our Methodism. In their hands it would be no mean text-book on the burning question of how to secure revivals. The price that Dr. Fee paid was enthusiastic consecration to the one work of soul saving; the methods that he followed were an implicit reliance upon the office work of the Holy Spirit, the enlistment of the godly members of his churches as his helpers, importunate prayer, pungent preaching, and opportune pastoral work; the results he saw were glorious outpourings and great additions whose very description is a means of grace to the reader. Nor can we think that the day has gone by for the application of the methods which Dr. Fee followed. The chief work of Methodism in the world is to give bread to starving souls, and well will it be if she is not diverted from this great mission. We have already alluded to the singleness of spirit in which Dr. Fee has prosecuted his lifework—and he is now dwelling too happily under the mellow skies of the Beulah land to mistake our words for those of fulsome compliment. He sought no appointments, but went where he was "sent;" he carried his protest against an acceptance of the presiding eldership to the point of threatening to locate, and was sent out upon a district in spite of this protest; he was elected to the General Conference of 1880, though he had so "little ambition" for the honor that he did not permit conversation upon the subject. His mission, in short, as expressed by himself, recalls the solemn vows which are taken at the door of an Annual Conference. "I felt it was my duty," he says, "to give myself wholly to this work, no matter what might be involved in it; no matter what cost or reproach it might bring upon me; that I ought to make full proof of my strength, and that the great business of my life was the conversion of men." His volume of reminiscences is published in response to the request of the Cincinnati Conference in 1884. Its introduction is written by Bishop Foster, a lifelong acquaintance and friend. Its vivid descriptions, as Dr. Fee's "sun of life is going down behind the western hills," should come as an inspiring call to his brethren who are yet gathering their sheaves under the sun of midday.

English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, late Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. 8vo, pp. 228. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.75.

These nine lectures were delivered at Oxford in 1894. Froude is too well known to need commendation or characterization. The titles of the

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chapters give the contents of the book: I. "The Sea Cradle of the Reformation;" II. "John Hawkins and the African Slave Trade;" III. "Sir John Hawkins and Philip the Second;" IV. "Drake's Voyage Round the World;" V. "Parties in the State;" VI. "The Great Expedition to the West Indies;" VII. "Attack on Cadiz;" VIII. "Sailing of the *Armada;*" IX. "Defeat of the *Armada.*" Put this book with Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho*, and read the great story of those great days told in both, and no man can wonder at England's pride in her thousand years of history, and no American can fail to feel a thrill of exultation over his own ancestral share in that heroic history nor suppress a throb of admiration at the deeds and victories of English-speaking men.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Illustrative Notes, 1897. A Guide to the Study of the International Sunday School Lessons. With Original and Selected Comments, Methods of Teaching, Illustrative Stories, Practical Applications, Notes on Eastern Life, Library References, Maps, Tables, Pictures, and Diagrams. By JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT and ROBERT REMINGTON DOHERTY. 8vo, pp. 376. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This book is a valuable commentary upon the International Sunday School Lessons for 1897, as found in Acts and various of the epistles. Besides such faithful interpretations of the text as have been written by the editors themselves, quotations have been made from nearly three hundred eminent authorities in modern biblical interpretation. In addition to which the "hints" provided for the use of teachers, the pertinent illustrative anecdotes, the tables and maps inserted, and the many graphic illustrations spread through the volume make it all that could be desired as a practical handbook for adult Sunday school workers. It is, in fact, a worthy issue in a long line of invaluable lesson helps. The comprehensive claim that it makes on its title-page of manifold aids to lesson study seems borne out by the facts in the case. For the results which have been reached it is only just to mention in commendation the name of Dr. Hurlbut, editor-in-chief of our Sunday school publications, and of Dr. Doherty, whose constant and wise workmanship has enriched the issue. All Sunday school teachers and adult scholars should add to their facilities in lesson study for 1897 by the ownership of the volume.

A Lone Woman in Africa. Six Years on the Kroo Coast. By AGNES MCALLISTER, Missionary under Bishop William Taylor. 12mo, pp. 295. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.

No more readable book than this has appeared in many a day. The story is told in a straightforward, simple manner, with no effort at embellishment, and yet from the very beginning the reader's attention is so aroused that the desire to finish it at one sitting is well-nigh irresistible. We can scarcely imagine how anyone who follows Miss McAllister through the narrative can fail to become inspired with the "enthusiasm of humanity" which led her to welcome sacrifices that are inseparable from a life of mission work in the Dark Continent. Not the least interesting portion

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of the narrative is the author's description of her divine call to go to Africa. Thinking one evening that she heard a rap at the door, she opened it only to find that no one was visible; but she "heard a voice plainly say, 'I want you to become a missionary. . . . Will you go?'" Hesitating to reply, the burden upon her soul became intolerable; but at last, like St. Paul, she became "obedient unto the heavenly vision," answered "Yes, Lord," and "so it was all settled." Given the relation of this experience, her subsequent devotion to the Master's work is rendered easy of comprehension. A few pages suffice to describe her conversion, the "call to the work," and the journey to Liberia; the remainder of the volume describes her personal experiences among the heathen, and the manners and customs of the various tribes with whom she came in contact during the six years of her residence at Garraway. That the Lord has abundantly blessed her labors, "confirming the word with signs following," is one of the many wholesome conclusions to be drawn from this unpretentious, but none the less charming, volume.

Origin and Development of the Nicene Theology, with Some Reference to the Ritschlian View of Theology and History of Doctrine. Lectures delivered on the L. P. Stone Foundation at Princeton Theological Seminary, in January, 1896. By HUGH M. SCOTT, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Chicago Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 390. Chicago: Chicago Theological Seminary Press. Price, cloth, $2.

A book by a specialist for specialists, and of very little value to anyone else. It claims to be, and so far as we know undoubtedly is, "the first attempt in English to outline the growth of the Nicene theology with any real reference to the work of the school of Ritschl." It is a thoroughly German production, vigorously defending orthodox Christology against Harnack, Pfleiderer, Nitzsch, Schultz, Loofs, Zahn, Kaftan, Hermann, and great numbers of others. The pages bristle with these names, and are laden with their opinions. Defective views of all sorts are set right, and recondite lines of development are traced in respect to many doctrines. A vast amount of scholarship is shown, and good work is done, but the circle of those who will be interested in these exceedingly abstruse and abstract dogmatics must, we think, be very small.

In His Footsteps. A Record of Travel to and in the Land of Christ, with an Attempt to Mark the Lord's Journeyings in Chronological Order from His Birth to His Ascension. By WILLIAM E. MCLENNAN. 12mo, pp. 111. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

This is a well-planned and successfully executed endeavor to make the life of Christ more interesting to young people. A teacher takes his pupils from New York to Bethlehem, then from Bethlehem to Nazareth, and so on in the footsteps of the Master until at Bethany those sacred feet are lifted from earth. Views, charts, and maps in abundance help to make the scenes more vivid and the routes more real. The references to Scripture are also very complete, and the chronology follows the high authority of Andrews. It is evident that the best sources of information have been drawn on in the preparation of this handbook, and only good can follow from its proper use. Dr. Schell particularly recommends it to those having in charge Epworth League juniors.

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